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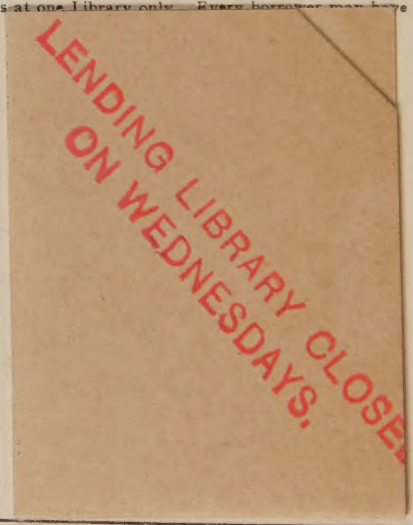

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SOCIAL ENGLAND.

CHAPTER IX.

THE OLD ORDER CHANGED. 1509–1547.

"If a lion knew his own strength, hard were it for any man to rule him."

In these quaint and characteristic words More summed up his own experience of Henry VIII. as a master, and his advice to Thomas Cromwell. The words are a summary of the whole reign. Year by year the royal power grew stronger, and revealed itself in more startling forms. Before his death, this king without an army, without an independent revenue, with no open breach in constitutional forms, was exercising over a nation, still proud of its instincts of freedom and jealous of political innovation, a self-willed authority that amounted to a real despotism. Every fresh publication of the State-papers dealing with the time brings out in a clearer light the great abilities and the deeply-marked personal character of the king, the importance of his initiative, his extraordinary power of carrying the nation with him, and the magnitude of the results which he achieved. At his accession there was more than conventional rejoicing. Foreigners saw in it the promise of a golden age for his dominions. England turned gladly from the dynastic troubles and the repressive administration of Henry VII., from a reign of suspicion, extortion, and ignominious inaction, to the young prince, who embodied so brilliantly the learning and culture of his time, its tastes and ambitions, even its ideal of manly vigour and beauty. He was the first king for 110 years who had a title

A. L. SMITH. The Reign of Henry VIII.

beyond cavil; he had inherited a treasure which the Venetian Giustiniani puts at 10,000,000 ducats; by marrying his brother's widow, Katharine of Aragon, he had secured the alliance with Spain; and the arrest and execution of his father's hated ministers, Empson and Dudley, raised the new ruler's popularity to its climax.

England and the Continent.

It was an age of great European wars. In these wars France, full of a restless military class, conscious of her new centralisation and unity, was the moving spirit. There was much talk of Charlemagne and the Holy Sepulchre; and more business-like schemes to recover Naples or to rob Venice. But in England the sullen traditions of Crecy and Agincourt, the ancestral and inveterate hostility to "our adversary of France," had been quickened to fresh life by French ambition, and were ready at a moment to leap into flame. Henry seized the opportunity in 1511 to join the "Holy League" to protect the Papal territories from French aggressions in Italy. The expedition concerted with Ferdinand to attack the French from the Spanish side was a disastrous failure. Ferdinand, overreaching himself as ever in his own cunning, infuriated his son-in-law by treating him as a catspaw: the troops, drinking Spanish wine as if it were beer, fell ill, mutinied, and insisted on a return home. The failure made Henry determine that the campaign of 1513 should be on the Flemish side of France, to get Maximilian's co-operation. It also brought Wolsey to the front, the one man whose organising capacity and omnipresent energy were to give a distinctive impress to the first twenty years of the reign. The autumn of 1513 witnessed the French panic and defeat at the Battle of the Spurs, the capture by Henry in person of Tournay and Terouenne, and the overwhelming ruin of the invading Scotch host at Flodden Field. James IV. had fallen on the field; his successor was an infant, his widow was Margaret Tudor. Scotland was forced to submit to a peace, and for many years to come Wolsey's skilful management of the Scots' intestine feuds—his "fiddling," as Dacre called it—availed to put an end to all danger in that quarter It was considered also a masterstroke of policy when, after the most secret negotiations, peace was made with France in 1514, and not only peace but an honourable alliance by the marriage between Louis XII. and

Henry's sister Mary. It is true she was seventeen and he about sixty; but in three months his death set her free again. With Francis I. on the French throne, and Charles now ruling Spain as well as the Netherlands, the drama somewhat shifts its actors; and these three remarkable contemporaries enter upon their historic rivalry. Between Francis and Charles the duel was inevitable and, so to speak, justifiable. But Henry's intervention is less easy to understand. The leading motive of it has sometimes been sought in a desire to appear as the champion of the Papacy, sometimes in a vigilant calculation of the balance of power. But no one motive suffices to explain it. His normal relation to France varied from jealousy and intrigue to open warfare, while the interests of trade and (till 1525 at least) the sense of relationship kept him normally in alliance with Charles. The famous meeting of the French and English kings at the Field of the Cloth of Gold in 1520 is thoroughly typical of the time, in its almost brutal magnificence, in its affectation of an effete chivalry, above all in its barefaced diplomatic futility. Immediately before he met his "dear brother of France," Henry had pledged himself in a personal interview to the emperor; and immediately after the meeting he hurried back to another such interview at Gravelines. Francis knew well that he was being shamelessly tricked; and Henry knew that he knew it. Yet the portentous farce which ruined many nobles of both countries was played out with decorous hypocrisy to the end. In 1523 France, weakened in Italy and threatened by the emperor and the Swiss on three sides, seemed to offer a favourable moment for attack. The chief French noble, the Constable Bourbon, had put his sword at the service of the invaders. But, as the penetrating genius of Machiavelli had pointed out, France is a country as hard to hold as it is easy to invade. With one burst of her ancient spirit she shook off all her foes; and when the rout of her great army and the capture of her king at Pavia in 1525 seemed to lay her again at the mercy of her old foes, Henry thought better of his first vengeful impulse and made a treaty with Louise of Savoy, the Regent. The treaty was renewed in 1527, and was to be cemented by a French marriage for the Princess Mary. No doubt Henry was reluctant to push Charles' aggrandisement any further.

The Field of the Cloth of Gold.

But he was also beginning to feel his way to that rearrangement of his foreign position which the divorce from Katharine seemed likely to entail. This divorce question and the consequent estrangement from Charles explain the fact that there was from this time no war with France till near the close of the reign. In 1538 James V. of Scotland, by his marriage, introduced the Guise influence into his country; and in 1542, by this influence and the encouragement of the Pope, James was led to a rash invasion of England. It resulted in the English victory of Solway Moss and the death of the Scots king. A Scotch invasion was always the accompaniment of a rupture with France, and in 1544 Henry invaded France and captured Boulogne, which was held till 1550.

The Divorce Question.

Dr. Brewer has maintained that all this aggressive foreign policy was needed to rouse England from its insular isolation, and that its effect was to raise the country from the position of a third-rate Power to that of one of the first rank, making it the arbiter of Christendom. In a witty French masque, performed in Wolsey's presence, the truth was better expressed by representing the function of England as that of "paying the piper." It would be more just to call England the makeweight than the arbiter. Neither its interests nor its resources entitled it to such an offensive interposition in the strife of two Powers, each vastly its superior in population and revenue, and still more in organisation and military efficiency. Such a policy diverted it from its real work, which was to remain, for fifty years to come, the neutralisation of Scotland, the pacification of Ireland, the assimilation of Wales. At best, the more urgent need for the England of the Tudors was the creation of an efficient fleet, towards which not much was done by the king's occasional interest in his dockyards, or the building of a *Great Harry* (p. 79). The net result of such a policy was the addition of a huge item in the financial wastefulness of the most wasteful reign in English history. It can hardly be denied that Wolsey's administration was, in regard to his foreign schemes, costly, dangerous, and futile, however stimulating it may have been indirectly.

Wolsey's Foreign Policy.

Yet Wolsey was beyond all doubt a great man. His commanding abilities deserved the ascendancy which they won

him, not only in the popular imagination, but also in the councils of Europe. But, great as he was even then recognised to be, full justice was not done to him, nor could be done, till modern times. Only with the recent opening of our own and foreign archives has there been disclosed to us the boldness and magnitude of his aims, the comprehensiveness and practical sagacity of his highest conceptions, his almost incredible industry, and his thorough grasp of details. "Feared by all, loved by few or by none at all." This is the description by a famous contemporary. But a scholar, and a needy one, had a twofold grudge against this cardinal whose interests were practical and whose wealth was already pledged to a great practical scheme. Wolsey was indeed "lofty and sour to them that loved him not." But through all the invectives of his enemies, even through the biting doggerel verse of Skelton, there pierces a reluctant note of admiration. Wolsey was not free from some of the faults of his age—its rather vulgar ostentation, its arrogance and impatience, its unscrupulousness as to means, its low standard of private morals. That he had a household of eight hundred and a retinue bearing silver pillars and poleaxes, that he held at once three bishoprics and one of the richest abbeys, that he humbled the great nobles and bullied ambassadors, that he had, and openly promoted, at least one illegitimate child—these were not traits without precedent in the lives of churchmen, however highly placed. The defects which in a fair historical judgment must weigh more heavily against him are his misapprehension of the conditions before him and of his royal master. He was clear-sighted rather than far-sighted. He saw the need of Church reform; he did not see the speedy and inevitable advent of the Reformation. He saw that the land required a stern enforcement of order, that the lingering feudal spirit must be cowed, that the equity jurisdiction in Chancery needed acceleration and extension, that Parliament was not yet fit to be the direct instrument of government; but what he failed to see was that there was a spirit in the people which would resent even benefits if conferred without their co-operation, and which would endure a despotic sovereign, but not a despotic minister. In the same way he saw that the royal power expressed and embodied the whole nation,

Wolsey's Character and Aims.

that the king's glory and the king's will meant at bottom the national glory and the national will; but he failed to foresee how easily and with what callous remorselessness the king could strike down in a moment the servant who had so much as crossed him or had merely ceased to be useful. He was the last mediæval minister—the last of a line which goes back to Dunstan, and includes Lanfranc and Roger of Salisbury, Becket and Langton, Arundel and Beaufort, as well as Fox and Warham; men who typified the mediæval idea of the Church-State. With him fell the English Church of the Middle Ages, which had for two and a half centuries past been too wealthy and privileged not to challenge constant attacks, but too strong to yield to them, and perhaps too corrupt and too ultramontane to be reformed by any but the most drastic measures.

The End of the Middle Ages.

From 1485 to 1529, the date of the Reformation Parliament, the country was governed to a great extent without Parliaments. It is true that as long as Archbishop Morton was Henry VII.'s chief minister the Lancastrian tradition was carried on, and six Parliaments met in the first twelve years of the reign. But by Morton's successors a thoroughly Yorkist policy was adopted which continued till 1529, and of this policy Wolsey is the chief exponent. He cannot be called a constitutional minister. Both Henry VII. and Henry VIII., while observing the forms of the constitution, managed to manipulate them to their own ends. Wolsey, on the other hand, paid little attention to constitutional forms. As long as he was in office only one Parliament was summoned, and with that he quarrelled.

A. HASSALL. The Constitution under Henry VIII.

It was not till 1523, after an interval of eight years, that the necessities of the war with France forced Henry to summon a Parliament. Various circumstances had enabled Wolsey to carry on the government without having recourse to a parliamentary assembly. Henry VII.'s peaceful foreign policy, combined with his habitual parsimony, had smoothed the way for his son. Then the enormous increase of the king's estates,

Wolsey and Parliament.

patronage, and ordinary revenues, rendered Henry VIII. for many years absolutely independent of Parliament. There is little doubt that had Henry been satisfied with his life revenue and his unchecked power of exacting money from the rich, he might have continued to rule for most of his reign without having recourse to Parliament, and would have become substantially an absolute sovereign. To appreciate the real meaning of Wolsey's attitude to Parliaments and the danger arising from his unconstitutional views, the distinction between the regular and constitutional sources of income and those royal resources which were unconstitutional must be clearly realised. Henry's regular and constitutional sources of income were indeed considerable. Of the Parliamentary grants, tonnage and poundage, and the subsidy on wool, woolfelts and leather, were granted to him for life in the first Parliament of the reign. Then he could obtain from Parliament a vote of tenths and fifteenths, and subsidies which resembled a graduated income and property-tax, and which were levied for the expedition for 1512 and 1513, and for the warlike preparations in 1523, 1539, and 1543. In addition, Convocation voted taxes in due proportion to those granted by Parliaments. Besides these constitutional taxes, the king could at times fall back on a benevolence, or amicable contribution, such as he attempted to levy in 1525, on heavy loans which were exacted in the years 1522-28, on exactions from the clergy, on sums raised under occasional forfeitures, and, later in his reign, on the plunder of the monasteries. Of these unconstitutional methods of raising money the most important were the loans that were never repaid, and benevolences exacted under the title of free gifts.

The Income of the Crown.

It was by forced loans and benevolences that the money which was constantly required for the wars was collected. In employing these methods for raising money, Henry and Wolsey were but following the example of earlier sovereigns. Richard II. had used forced loans and blank charters; and these measures—some of the worst in his reign, resembling, as they did, similar acts on the part of Edward II.—were extremely unpopular. They were not repeated by Richard's immediate successors; and it was not till 1473 that Edward IV. began to collect contributions

Benevolences.

under the inappropriate name of benevolences; and this course was repeated in 1482 in order to raise money for the Scottish war. This collection of a benevolence was regarded as an innovation, and as a new method of unlawful taxation. But Edward IV. was popular, and showed considerable financial ability in the way he requested and extorted "free-will offerings" from his subjects. Still he was rich both in respect to Parliamentary grants and also by private enterprise, and had no excuse for the collection of benevolences.

Though Parliament in 1484 declared benevolences illegal, Richard III. would not forego this easy method of getting money. In spite of the fact that benevolences were unconstitutional, Henry VII. continued to collect them, and his son, as has been observed, followed in his father's steps. The importance of benevolences is at once realised when it is remembered that they "were adopted with the view of enabling the sovereign to rule without that reference to Parliamentary supply and audit which had become the safeguard of national liberty." It seemed quite possible that Henry VIII., with an unchecked power of exacting money from the rich, might have become an absolute sovereign of a Continental type. But benevolences were always unpopular, and their collection required considerable tact. The struggle at Acworth in 1492 was probably caused by the exaction of a benevolence in the previous year.

At the same time they were of great value, and the king was not willing to forego them. The Parliament of 1495 passed an Act empowering the Crown to enforce, if necessary by imprisonment, payment by those persons who had promised money in 1491 and had not fulfilled their engagements. Hence is was natural, Henry VIII. being in a stronger position than Henry VII. and far more popular, that Wolsey should have recourse to the system of benevolences; and we do not find that he met with any marked resistance at first. Under the Tudors, benevolences, as long as they fell on the wealthy classes, were, for very obvious reasons, by no means unpopular with the lower orders. If Henry VIII. and Wolsey had abstained from wars and foreign expeditions, it is quite possible that the king's unchecked power of exacting money, together with his life revenue, would have rendered

him entirely independent of further Parliamentary grants. Forced loans were very similar, but they were loans without interest. Though usury was legalised under Henry VIII., these forced loans were, later in the reign, regarded as a real hardship, because the king was on several occasions released from repayment. Queen Elizabeth was far more honest, and consequently her loans were cheerfully provided. As time went on Wolsey's difficulties began: the weight of taxation became oppressive, the royal expenditure increased, and the king's ordinary revenue proved quite unequal to the task of giving England a prominent place in European politics. The expenses of the campaign of 1522 against the French were difficult to meet, and it became necessary to summon Parliament. Thus the extravagance of the king, and an ambitious foreign policy, combined with the decline in the value of money, owing to the influx of the precious metals from the American colonies of Spain into Europe (p. 125), compelled Wolsey to deviate from the lines of his domestic policy, and to acquiesce in the summoning of Parliament.

The Parliament of 1523.

He had, on becoming Chancellor in 1515, assumed the entire responsibility for all affairs of state, and had introduced some order into the finances. He had hoped to dispense with Parliament, but the costliness of the French expeditions and the king's debts were matters with which even Wolsey, single-handed, could not cope. In April, 1523, Parliament was opened. Wolsey's whole attitude to this memorable Parliament proves conclusively that he had no regard for constitutional forms, and little appreciation of the influence of precedent. He thought that the sole function of Parliament, if it was summoned, was to grant money for the king's needs. This was not the view held by the members of the Commons, and the whole proceedings of this Parliament, together with the words used by Wolsey in his speech proroguing the Assembly, testify to the existence of a new spirit which was unknown in the previous reign. The famous anecdote of More's conduct as Speaker may or may not be authentic, but at any rate it is valuable as illustrating the temper of the House of Commons. The cardinal, so it is related, made his appearance in the House, and, after a long oration advocating the necessity of a subsidy, asked the

opinions of various members. His questions being received with "a marvellous obstinate silence, he required answer of Master Speaker." Then More, on his knees, "excused the silence of the House as abashed by the sublimity of the cardinal's presence among them, and showed him that it was neither expedient nor agreeable with their ancient privileges to comply with the cardinal's demands." This defence of the privileges of the House was unexpected, and "the cardinal, displeased with Sir Thomas More, that had not in this Parliament in all things satisfied his desire, suddenly arose and departed." The story is very characteristic of Wolsey's conception of the position of Parliament in the Constitution, and of the duty of its members.

The object of the summoning of Parliament being to obtain supplies, Wolsey had proposed that Parliament should vote a subsidy of £800,000; and when the Commons demurred to this proposal, Wolsey had attempted to browbeat them and to set aside their privileges. He did not understand the temper of the English people: he failed to manage the Parliament and to convert it into a "submissive instrument" of royal despotism. Parliament, indeed, agreed to give the subsidy, but the payments were to be spread over a period of four years. But what was more important, the members showed, by refusing to debate in his presence, that they would not submit to Wolsey's high-handed dictation, and that if they were to be managed, skill—not force—must be employed. Wolsey had, however, been successful in his immediate object. Parliament had granted the subsidy, which, with a loan which had already been arranged before Parliament met, would, it was hoped, prove sufficient for the king's needs. When Parliament was prorogued Wolsey, as Chancellor, thanked the two Houses in the king's name for their grant: "Whereas for the furniture of the said war, both defensive and offensive, ye have after long pain, study, travel, great charges, and costs, devised, made, and offered an honourable and right large subsidy which ye have now presented in the name and in behalf of all the subjects of this, his realm, unto his majesty, his Grace doth not only right acceptably and thankfully receive, admit, and take the same, but also therefore giving unto you his most hearty thanks; assuring the same that his Grace shall

in such wise employ the said subsidy and loving contribution as shall be to the defence of his realm and of you his subjects, and the persecution and pressing of his enemy; for the attaining of good peace, recovering of his rights, and redress of such injuries as hath been done to you his loving subjects in time past." In these words the Crown assured Parliament that the money should only be used for constitutional purposes, and recognised the principle that the king was as much a part of the nation as the Lords and Commons, and that the king's cause was the cause of the nation.

The whole affair is a striking example of Wolsey's genius and boldness. A great financial scheme was carried out in the face of strenuous opposition from both clergy and laity alike. The taxation was oppressive and general, but the fact that the national prosperity was in no way impaired by it justifies the confidence of the minister, and is a conclusive proof of the wealth and elasticity of the nation. The entire responsibility of these measures was borne by Wolsey; Henry VIII. remained in the background, and while Wolsey was wringing supplies from a reluctant Parliament, the king was spending whole days in the chase. Henry VIII. was, undoubtedly, personally popular. Wolsey stood between the king and his subjects; he did all the unpleasant work, and willingly bore the odium incurred by the imposition of taxation, while Henry spent the nation's money at his own pleasure. While Wolsey laboured in all things to exalt the royal power, he incurred on all sides great personal unpopularity. Every harsh measure was attributed to him; every unsuccessful act was visited on his head. He was regarded as the king's chief adviser, and responsible for all the policy of the government. And this, the popular view of Wolsey's position, was undeniably correct. During the cardinal's tenure of office, Henry, though he always made his will felt on critical occasions, was only feeling his way and finding out what he could do. The civil and religious administration was, in reality, concentrated in Wolsey's hands But though the nation was right in its estimate of the position held by the great minister in the councils of the country, men were unaware that Wolsey was at one with them in desiring peace. It was obvious to him, as it was to them, that a Continental war at that juncture was a mistake—

that by it agriculture would be interfered with, trade and industry deranged, commerce disturbed.

As there was no chance of obtaining in future large supplies from Parliament, a lucrative peace was clearly the best policy. Contributions, though readily granted, were not always easily levied. Discontent was rife, a new Parliament was out of the question; an arbitrary loan in the present crisis would have caused a violent outcry. Till peace was actually made Wolsey was bound to raise supplies, for the captivity of Francis in Madrid had raised Henry's hopes of conquests in France. For war or for diplomacy a loan was required, and it seemed very improbable that a loan would be successful. In his extremity Wolsey hit upon an expedient which had long been forgotten. He announced that the king proposed to cross the sea and lead an invasion of France in person. For the king's proper equipment he demanded an amicable loan, and in 1525 commissioners were appointed in every shire to assess property, and to require that "the sixth part of every man's substance should without delay be paid, in money or plate, to the king for the furniture of his war." This amicable loan raised a storm of opposition; the people cursed the cardinal, and complained that before they had paid the subsidy voted by the Parliament of 1523 they were exposed to a new exaction. The clergy also distinguished themselves by their hostility to the loan. It was argued that coin was scarce in England, that France would be enriched by the money spent there, and that if the king conquered France he would waste his time and his revenues in a foreign kingdom.

The "Amicable Loan and Benevolence."

Most of the counties evinced great unwillingness to contribute, and they were encouraged in their attitude by the dogged opposition of the clergy and religious orders. Many hoped that through the resistance of London and other places they would escape from the necessity of paying; in no case was anything but reluctance shown in considering the king's demand. It became evident that the opposition all over England would become still more fierce if the cardinal's determination to collect the amicable grant was persisted in. The Commission was accordingly withdrawn, and this attempt to raise money on the basis of each man's ratable value was

abandoned. When the cardinal announced to the mayor and corporation the abrogation of the Commission, he assured them that the king would take nothing from them except a benevolence or free grant. But this new attempt to obtain money by means of a benevolence met with an equal amount of opposition. The mayor and corporation being assembled a second time showed increased boldness, and one of the citizens declared that by the statute of Richard III. no such benevolence could be legally demanded. Wolsey retorted that Richard was a usurper and murderer: of so evil a man how could his acts be good? "An't please your Grace," was the reply, "although he did evil, yet in his time were many good acts, made not by him only, but by the consent of the body of the whole realm, which is the Parliament." Wolsey was forced to withdraw from his position, leaving each man to "grant privily what he would."

But the feeling in the country was as strong as that shown in London. There the popular discontent, fired by the example of the clergy and also of London, and intensified by the bad management of the commissioners themselves, became so threatening that it was evident that the money could not be collected without risk of a rebellion of a very serious character. At one time it seemed as if the main features of the peasant insurrection then raging in Germany might be reproduced in the eastern counties of England. Essex showed little disposition to comply with the demands made by the royal agents, and with Lincolnshire was ready to follow the example of Cambridge, where the town and university had combined to offer resistance to an unjust exaction. In Suffolk the commissioners were threatened with death; in Norfolk the attitude of the people was still more menacing, When the duke appeared to appease a tumult in Norwich, the leader of the Commons, one John Greene, thus addressed him:—

'My lord," he said, "sith you ask who is our captain, forsooth his name is Poverty; for he and his cousin Necessity hath brought us to this doing. For all these persons, and many more which I would were not here, live not of ourselves, but all we live by the substantial occupiers of this county, and yet they give us so little wages for our workmanship that scarcely we be able to live; and this is penury—we give the time, we, our wives and children. And if they by whom we live be brought in that case that they of their little cannot help us to earn our living, then must we perish and

die miserably. I speak this, my lord: the cloth-makers have put all these people, and a far greater number, from work. The husbandmen have put away their servants and given up household; they say the king asketh so much that they be not able to do as they have done before this time, and then of necessity must we die wretchedly."

The period of social change through which England was then passing finds forcible expression in John Greene's words. The growth of corn was less profitable than the growth of wool, the towns were thriving at the expense of the country (pp. 115, 121). The great displacement of labour and the existence of grave discontent were not incompatible with the increase of England's wealth as a nation. The benevolence was distinctly unconstitutional, but the refusal of some and the reluctance of others to advance money towards the king's necessities were due to the temporary exhaustion owing to wars and bad seasons rather than to any desire to oppose a demand because it was unconstitutional.

The policy which had resulted in the proposal for an amicable loan certainly did not originate with Wolsey. The king and his companions advocated war, and encouraged the royal extravagance; Wolsey desired peace and economy. Henry dreamt of the conquest of France; Wolsey saw clearly that war with France was a mistake, that England's true policy was to counteract the emperor's designs, and that her real strength lay in neutrality and alliance with France. But in carrying out this statesmanlike policy Wolsey ran counter to the wishes of the mass of the nation. The preference he showed for a French instead of an Imperial alliance tended to make him more unpopular. Bad harvests aggravated the discontent caused by war with the emperor, which stopped trade and inconvenienced the merchants. It was true that Henry's anxiety for a divorce led him to desire a French alliance, but on Wolsey, always regarded as the author of all the royal acts, fell, as usual, the brunt of hostile criticism.

Wolsey and the King.

The whole history of the amicable loan is important for several reasons. On that, as on previous occasions, Wolsey assumed the responsibility for a policy to which he was in reality opposed, and screened the king from the popular odium which he himself incurred. His sense of ministerial obligation belonged rather to

the nineteenth than to the sixteenth century. Then, again, the occasion was important in that the rebuff administered to the king was the first he had experienced. Henceforward Henry bore a special grudge to the clergy, whose example of independence was as unexpected as it was effective. Henceforward, too, the popular hatred of Wolsey, wrongfully regarded as the real author of the Commission, increases in vehemence and in intensity. It is also interesting to notice that the amicable loan had to be withdrawn mainly on account of the opposition which it met with in Kent. That county had ever taken an independent line. The memory of Wat Tyler and Jack Cade still lingered there, and as soon as the loan was resolved upon, Kent at once menaced the Government.

This failure to raise money, however, rendered war impossible and aided Wolsey in carrying out his peace policy. Henry VIII. had just convinced himself that nothing was to be gained from his alliance with Charles V., and henceforth he accepted Wolsey's views of peace with Francis. In 1527 the Treaty of Amiens was signed, and England and France were again allies.

Wolsey's Domestic Policy.

Wolsey could now turn to the many domestic questions which required careful attention. The labouring population was discontented, the merchants were irritated. The sweating sickness had reappeared (p. 257). The popular dislike of the cardinal was deeper than ever. But, undeterred, Wolsey set to work to carry out necessary internal reforms. Since 1515 these reforms had been thrust into the background, and an adventurous foreign policy had been embarked on. For a successful foreign policy a strong government at home was necessary, and Wolsey had succeeded in making the monarchy exceedingly powerful. He had, indeed, no conception of a strong government of a constitutional type. He found England in the midst of a political, social, and intellectual crisis. The nation wished for a vigorous government capable of putting down anarchy. Henry VII. had made the monarchy strong, Wolsey made the basis of monarchical power still stronger. All classes looked to the king, and Wolsey, conscious of the necessity of a constructive policy in domestic affairs, was convinced that the royal power was the only

possible instrument capable and vigorous enough to carry out reforms.

To make that instrument as strong and as efficacious as possible was therefore Wolsey's aim from the first. And, in exalting the king's power, Wolsey was acting in agreement with the general feeling of Englishmen. "For good or evil, England was identified with her king, and it was long before it could be otherwise." Though Wolsey was a far greater man than his successors, he was inferior to both Henry and Cromwell in his grasp of the true position of the English monarchy. But his mistakes or shortcomings only bring out the more clearly the real temper of the English people and the problems of the time. In 1528 Wolsey began what might have proved the inauguration of a successful internal policy by suppressing a certain number of the smaller religious foundations; but in 1529 he fell, before he had had time to carry through any great religious revolution. The history of his ministerial career is most instructive, and constitutionally of distinct importance. We can, as we study it, grasp the salient characteristics of the Tudor monarchy, and discover numerous illustrations which prove conclusively that the Tudor despotism existed because it was popular, and that Parliamentary rights, during the most despotic period of Henry's rule, were not abrogated, but evaded.

Wolsey undoubtedly wished to convert Parliament into a submissive instrument of royal despotism. His conspicuous failure with the Parliament of 1523, and the further failure of the amicable loan and benevolence of 1525, must have brought home to him the existence of definite limitations to the monarchical power. He had underestimated the strength of constitutional forms; he had expected to find the Parliament servile, and ready to submit to his overbearing treatment. He had imagined that the nation would contribute willingly to the royal necessities, whereas, though the king might raise money by unconstitutional exactions levied on rich individuals, it was only courting failure to embarrass the bulk of the middle classes, busied with trade, by endeavouring to fix upon them increased burdens. Wolsey would have not only rendered the Crown independent of Parliament; he even wished to dispense with Parliament itself. His attempt to make the royal power supreme over Parliament failed because he

did not understand the temper of the English people. His endeavours to raise money in 1525 failed because he did not see that the king could only do what he liked provided he did not ask for large sums from the middle classes. He did not appreciate that condition of national feeling which was willing to give the king a free hand so long as the pockets of the Commons were spared.

In spite, then, of his industry and broad views, Wolsey failed in managing the middle classes, and his failure enabled Parliament and the middle classes to show that they were by no means in a condition of servility. His ministry lay in an exceptional period, when, for the maintenance of order at home and for security from foreign aggression, the nation was willing to acquiesce in the temporary evasion of its constitutional rights and in temporary illegal acts. But the royal exactions were not taxes, nor were the royal proclamations laws. Wolsey's failure taught Henry VIII. a lesson. From 1529 begins a period of government by means of Parliament. Henry VIII., instead of attempting, like Wolsey, to make the Crown independent of Parliament, "induced Parliament to be a willing instrument of the royal will. Wolsey would have subverted the constitution, or at least, would have reduced it to a lifeless form; Henry VIII. so worked the constitutional machinery that it became an additional source of power to the monarchy."

The Manipulation of Parliament.

With Wolsey's fall the manipulation of Parliament began. This system was introduced under Cromwell's auspices, and by his means the subservience of Parliament was secured. The methods employed were: direct interference with elections, bribery, the creation of boroughs, and the influence of the Court over members of the Lower House. This new policy was attended with decisive success, and the result was that the royal power was established on a "broader and securer basis than Wolsey could have erected."

Wolsey's ministry, then, covers the period when the power of the Crown was more free from constitutional limitations than in any previous reign. His term of office saw the attempt made by the royal power under Edward IV. to dispense with Parliaments reach its culminating point. The meeting of the Parliament of 1523 was a definite blow at this

unconstitutional system, and with the fall and death of Wolsey that system came to an end. It was not, however, till Elizabeth's reign that Parliament definitely emerged from its position as a tool of the Crown. The Tudor despotism had by that time done its work: it was a means to an end, and that end was attained. Wolsey's great fault was that he regarded the royal absolutism as an end in itself, and that he never appreciated the fact that it was but a means towards the attainment of a definite end. As soon as England had been safely steered through the political, social, and religious revolutions of the sixteenth century, the necessity for the Tudor rule had passed away. Wolsey was a minister "of an age of grand transitions," and, though his political measures were often shortsighted and his financial policy a hand-to-mouth one, he was too great a man to be a mere tool of his despotic master.

A. L. SMITH. The New Era in Church and State.

With Wolsey's fall begins a new phase, not only in the history of the English Church, but in the position of Parliament and in the character of the king himself. It was significant that the issue of writs for a parliament in 1529 was held to be a decisive sign of the coming ruin of the minister who during all his years of power had called a parliament but once—in 1523; and that assembly he had tried to bully into submission. His method had been to ignore or override parliament; from 1529 the king rapidly learned that it was nearly as easy, and much safer and more specious, to work with a parliament, to flatter and bribe it, to play upon it and make it his mouthpiece. Above all, it became clear to him that if he was to secure his divorce from Katharine and his marriage with Anne Boleyn, it must be by a rupture with the Papacy and by the nation supporting him in such a course; and this, again, could only be effected by utilising the national jealousies against the clerical order, and by thus breaking down the power of the Church for resistance. The first step to this was to emphasise the ancient doctrine of Præmunire. This doctrine, implying the denial of any foreign authority over the English Church and the complete subordination of the spiritual courts to the supreme jurisdiction of the Crown, had

already been asserted in the remarkable case of Doctor Standish in 1515. Accordingly in the Long Parliament of the Reformation ecclesiastical abuses were at once assailed, and by adroit manipulation the king got bills passed against them. In 1531 he forced the clergy to buy off the penalties by paying a fine, set with a show of legal precision, at an exact sum (£118,840 8s. 8d.), and by acknowledging him as "Supreme Head of the Church after Christ"—"a futile reservation," as Chapuis, the astute imperial envoy, contemptuously characterises it. In 1532, Henry presenting himself in person both in the Lords and the Commons, forced through both Houses his bill transferring "first fruits" from Pope to king, and later got the Commons to accept as their own the attack on clerical jurisdiction drawn up by himself. By 1533 Warham and More had been replaced by Cranmer and Audley; Cromwell was now the chief minister; the king had already secretly married Anne: the lords had been brought round to the side of the Boleyns; and the parliament was coerced into finally ratifying the Statute of Appeals. The rupture with Rome was thus an accomplished fact. Later parliaments show similar submissiveness. They allowed the king to repudiate his debts and to be reimbursed for such as he had already paid; they gave his proclamations the force of law, adding the suicidal declaration that if this power were not conferred the king would be forced to assume it for himself. They legalised the surrender of the monasteries retrospectively. They made it treason to reject a form of oath under the Succession Act, and left the king to draw up the terms of that oath. They stirred not a finger to save Katharine, or More, or Fisher, any more than to save Anne or Cromwell. They gave Henry the unheard-of right to dispose of the crown by his will. They accepted in 1536 the Statute of Uses (pp. 27, 129), and in 1540 the Statute of Wills, against both of which they had at first protested in 1532. They bowed to the ground when the royal name was mentioned; they wept aloud when the king himself addressed them. No wonder that some writers have maintained that in all he did the king was the interpreter of the real wishes of the nation, that the preambles of the statutes are simple statements of facts, that the people desired a dictator. Others represent the nation as submitting, in a

The Breach with Rome.

sort of dream, to acts which none fully realised, and statements which none could approve, as intimidated, tricked, and bribed by the deep-laid plans of a wholly conscienceless and masterful ruler.

The truth lies somewhere between these two extremes. But the exact discrimination in more than one important point still awaits determination from a further knowledge of foreign and domestic State-papers. Perhaps, in the nature of the case, it can never be finally determined, but will continue to be somewhat differently judged by each inquirer according to his religious and political bias.

Thomas Cromwell.

It is as natural to connect the years 1529 to 1540 with the name of Thomas Cromwell, as to connect the years before 1529 with the name of Thomas Wolsey. But, as a matter of fact, when Shakespeare so dramatically makes the fallen minister's loyal champion succeed him at once, he is using some poetic licence. There was an interval of some three and a half years between Wolsey's disgrace and Cromwell's rise to the chief position. When Chapuis says "he rules everything," it is towards the close of 1533. This interval, like the time before Wolsey's rise and the time after Cromwell's fall, was occupied by the influence of the great nobles, especially the Howards, the Duke of Norfolk, and the Earl of Wiltshire, Anne Boleyn's uncle and father. But abler heads and tempers more flexible than those of proud nobles were needed to conduct a policy in the critical months when Henry was expecting an invasion by Charles, and a possible rising at home. The man who now stepped to the front, and for six years at least seemed the virtual ruler of England, was one whose career had already had strange experiences, and whose inmost character and aims still remain to some extent a mystery. Thomas Cromwell was at this time about forty-eight years old. He had lived in Italy, the school of courtesy as well as of statecraft; he had served there as a common soldier and then as a clerk; he had lived as a merchant in Flanders, and from 1513 was a law-agent in London. The next year he entered Wolsey's service, and conducted the dissolution of some small monasteries for him. He had become so identified with Wolsey's schemes that he must needs stand by his ruined master; and he did so with great apparent courage. But it is probable

that he played a double game—winning the king's favour while he facilitated his designs on the cardinal's wealth, saving the victim at the cost of his benefices and his intended colleges. It was his subtle suggestion—for Cardinal Pole's account is too emphatic and circumstantial to be rejected—which encouraged the king to cut the knot of the divorce by getting himself declared Head of the Church. It was, again, his open boast to Pole that he took his views of government, not from the dreams of Plato, but from the practical wisdom of "a deadly book"—Machiavelli's "Prince," then just coming into notice. It was by his double dealing, the Commons complained in 1531, that the laity were not expressly included in the pardon granted to the clergy. He was not merely unrivalled as a bold and original councillor, and as an unerring go-between; he was also a most adept and indefatigable contriver in finance. This combination of qualities made him indispensable; and in rapid succession he was made Privy Councillor, Master of the Jewels, Clerk of the Hanaper, Master of the Wards, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Royal Secretary, Master of the Rolls, general Visitor of monasteries; and, finally, in 1534, the king's vicegerent in all causes ecclesiastical, with precedence over all prelates and peers. On him rests the immediate, as on Henry the ultimate, responsibility for the scandalous manner in which the suppression of the monasteries was effected and the punishment of the recalcitrant Carthusians (p. 55). By his advice, though with Henry's full complicity, the nobles and gentry were bribed into acquiescence by a wholesale participation in the spoils. It was he who managed the trial and execution of Anne Boleyn, and the shameless persecution of the Princess Mary. Naturally enough, therefore, the "Pilgrimage of Grace," the armed rising of Lincolnshire and the North, was directed against "the villein blood in the king's council," and the rebels denounced him as a heretic and a traitor.

The Pilgrimage of Grace.

That which distinguishes the great rising of 1536–37 from all other such movements is its complex character. It was at once aristocratic and popular, clerical and lay. It was revolutionary and yet conservative; reactionary as well as progressive. Its watchwords are sometimes political, sometimes religious, sometimes merely agrarian. The cries of "Down with

Cromwell!" or "Down with enclosures!" swell now and again almost to a demand for a separate administration of the North, or a clamour for the dethronement of Henry by Scotch and Papal aid.

The leaders were remarkable men. Yet they were only the mouthpieces of a deep and widespread feeling already armed and organised. To this feeling all classes contributed, for each class had its own grievance. The lords hated the recent changes and their low-born authors. The gentry raged against the new statutes which forbade a man, they said, to leave aught to his daughters or his younger sons. The "poor commons" saw in "enclosures" the cause of rent-raising, decay of husbandry, and depopulation of parishes. The whole of the North resented the growing concentration of lawsuits at Westminster; and still more the destruction of the abbeys which were their pride and veneration; which furnished teachers for their sons, and trustees for their estates; which were the centres of culture and traffic, of hospitality and industry to the scattered folk.

The Lincolnshire Rising.

Finally, all classes were united in detestation of the idea of heresy. In the autumn of 1536 three commissions were at work, any one of them adequate to produce a revolt—one for assessing the subsidy, one for suppression of monasteries, and one for a visitation of parish clergy. At Louth, in Lincolnshire, on Sunday, 1st October, 1536, the people rose under "Captain Cobbler." By Wednesday, 4th October, the whole shire was in revolt. Their banner bore a plough, a chalice and host, the five wounds of Christ, and a horn. Vicars and priests, seven or eight hundred in number, headed them: and they sent their demands to the king at Windsor. Henry acted with true Tudor spirit; and his lieutenant, Lord Shrewsbury, was undaunted. But he had only 4,000 men. By 6th October there were 30,000 rebels gathered at Lincoln. But by 11th October the king's muster under the Duke of Suffolk had come up. The rebels were already dispersing for lack of provisions. A split took place among their leaders; the gentry were nearly murdered by the clergy and the commons. On Friday the 13th Suffolk entered Lincoln. The revolt was over. No wonder the royal letter, pardoning all but a few ringleaders, spoke with scorn of the presumption of "the rude

commons of one shire, and that the most brute and beastly of the whole realm."

The Yorkshire Rising.

But already the great shire of York had taken up the cause, and this time the cause was guided by the wise and active brain of Robert Aske. His orders ran like royal writs from Humber to Tweed. On 16th October 40,000 men in harness were encamped in and around York. The Archbishop of York joined them. So did Lord Darcy, the chief noble in the East Riding and a soldier of sixty years' experience. "The king feareth much this matter," wrote his secretary. The only great houses of the North who remained wholly loyal were the Cliffords and Dacres. At Doncaster the royal array under Norfolk, some 8,000 in number, saw that only the swollen river was between them and 30,000 "as tall men and well horsed and appointed as any men could be." What saved England from a civil war was mainly the rebel leaders' generous confidence in the righteousness of their own cause and in the royal justice.

Submission and Suppression.

Norfolk agreed to their terms. They sent envoys to the king, who gained them over by fair words. He promised in December a general pardon, a northern Parliament, to be held at York, and (so Norfolk as well as Darcy thought) some concession to their demands. It is noteworthy that the popular grievances (enclosures, fines, subsidies) had some remedies applied; but in the direction of reaction desired by the clergy and the nobles the king would not stir a foot. Garrisons were placed in the North; the oath of allegiance reimposed. A new rebellion blazing up again in January and February, 1537, was made an excuse to arrest the leaders of the former revolt.

The king's councillors knew that the Scots king was planning an invasion; and Reginald Pole, from Flanders, was corresponding with malcontents in England. The vengeance taken was exemplary, and was perhaps treacherous; but there was no wholesale bloodshed. Punishment fell on the chiefs alone. Of the Lincolnshiremen, Lord Hussey, the Abbot of Kirkstead, and seventeen others were executed. Of the Northerners, sixteen were condemned in due legal form; Darcy was beheaded, the heir of the Percies hanged, with five gentlemen and the Abbots of Fountains and Jervaulx. Lady

Bulmer was burned. Aske and Constable were paraded through the Eastern counties and hanged in chains, one at York, the other at Hull. Darcy's fierce outbreak on his trial ("Cromwell, thou art the cause of this rebellion. . . I trust ere thou die there shall one noble head remain to strike off thy head") showed the bitter wrath of the nobles. Pole's eager hopes and the wild words of the Northern vicars show the deep fury of the clergy.

The Significance of the Movement.

But neither nobles nor clergy could stay the destruction that was laying low the two orders. Only on the popular side of this remarkable movement can we discern its importance for the future. It is in the resolute pleadings of Aske, in the passionate cries of "the poor commons," that we catch the first mutterings of that mighty voice of the people before which, a century hence, the fabric of absolutism reared by the Tudors was to fall for ever to the ground.

Meantime Cromwell had been adding office to office: he was made Lord Privy Seal, Baron Cromwell, a Knight of the Garter, Dean of Wells and Prebend of Sarum, Warden of the Forests north of Trent, Captain of Carisbrooke, Constable of Leeds. The revenues of four great monasteries were made over to him.

But all along there were signs that, once the hour had struck, his fall would be even more sudden and irretrievable than Wolsey's. Even in the height of his power, "the king beknaveth him once or twice a week and sometimes knocks him about the pate." He committed the fatal error of trying to guide the king where he should have been humbly seconding him. Already, in 1539, the passing of the Six Articles Act indicated a check in the forward policy which he had pursued. By his zeal in pushing negotiations for the king's marriage with Anne of Cleves, he doubtless intended to make it impossible for the king to draw back from the alliance with the Lutheran princes which would arrest any further relapse in English policy from the onward progress of the Reformation movement. With that inscrutable tigerish humour which is so marked a feature in Henry's character, the king continued to heap honours on the servant he must already have determined to destroy, and created him Lord Chamberlain in 1539, Earl of Essex in

1540. The king was disgusted with Anne of Cleves, the "great Flanders mare"; the Lutheran alliance was needed no more; Cromwell had accumulated upon himself and diverted from his master as much unpopularity as was possible: his usefulness was over; he was to be struck down as mercilessly as he himself had struck down others. Indicted for acts of which it was pretended the king was not cognisant, attainted by Parliament without a trial, refused leave even to speak in his own defence, his last appeals for life left unanswered, he was beheaded 28th July, 1540. Few, if any, of English ministers had higher abilities than Thomas Cromwell; perhaps no single one ever wielded wider powers or a more critical influence; certainly none present so strange a career and so enigmatic a character. This "hammer of monks," this iconoclast and destroyer of the Church, can hardly be credited, nevertheless, with any sincere Protestantism. In life he inveighed against Lutheranism; at the block he declared he died a true Catholic; in his will he left money for masses. There were even wild rumours that he was plotting to marry the Princess Mary and to make himself king. We are fain to confess that over the man himself and his fate there still hangs a mystery.

Fall of Cromwell.

After Cromwell's death there was, indeed, no further need of anyone to stand between the king and any possible opposition, for opposition had ceased. Clergy, lords, commons—all seem to have no will of their own left. Even the influence of the Howards ceased when the immorality of Queen Katherine Howard was discovered in 1542, and she was hurried to execution with the same ferocious abruptness as the others. The elastic theory of "constructive treason" undid the protecting work of Plantagenet parliaments. It was easy thereby to dispose of the victims to dynastic or personal jealousy; de la Pole, beheaded in 1513, Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham in 1521, were possible rivals. Henry Courtenay, Marquis of Exeter, was descended from Edward IV.; Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, from Edward's brother Clarence. Such pedigrees suggested the scaffold, and the head of the Marquis fell in 1539, of the aged Countess in 1541. Even the Howards could not escape: on trumpery charges, the Duke of Norfolk and his son the

The King left Supreme.

Earl of Surrey were imprisoned. Surrey was put to death, and Norfolk only owed his life to the fact that the king died that very morning. This might seem enough to cow the nobles into submission. But they were bribed, too. For example, Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, received no less than thirty grants of monastic foundations in the single county of Lincolnshire. Out of the confiscated Church lands new families were built up by the royal favour. Russell, Cavendish, Seymour, Grey, Dudley, Sidney, Cecil, Herbert, Fitzwilliam—these are the names that henceforth replace the Mortimers, Bohuns, and Bigods, the Mowbrays and Nevilles, of the Middle Ages. So that in this respect as in others Henry VIII.'s reign and Henry VIII.'s personal will have exercised a permanent influence on our national history. But neither intimidation nor corruption exhausts the list of means by which the Tudors controlled the great houses. The State-papers show an intricate system of loans, fines, remittances, official appointments, by which an irresistible network of financial obligations was drawn about the embarrassed lords and greater gentry. And in that age of costly pageants and reckless personal expense, of rapid fluctuations in money-values and of fast-changing economic conditions, there were few who were not embarrassed.

The Old Nobility and the New.

The similar question—How the Tudors managed to secure such an astonishing acquiescence on the part of the people at large—must be answered somewhat differently. No doubt it was due in a great measure to the fact that the people desired, above all things, peace and order. They had not forgotten the Wars of the Roses. No doubt, too, the parliamentary struggles and victories of the fourteenth century had been obscured, and Parliament itself discredited, by the humiliating failure of parliamentary government under Henry VI. Moreover, as the nations of Europe passed from the feudal to the modern mould, there was an imperative demand for a strong central power in each to watch over the transition; and England was now feeling what France and Spain had already experienced. But, true as these considerations are, there were two further factors in the case which historians have been apt to ignore. One is the very real and present sense there was of probable attacks

King and People.

upon England either by France and Scotland, or later on by the emperor; the other factor is the extraordinary skill with which Henry manufactured public opinion, or at any rate anticipated and magnified it. There still remains enough to admire in what he achieved and presented to the nation as its own deliberate acts. But the State-papers begin to give us some insight into the means by which it was all done.

The Popular Check and the Statute of Uses.

That there were limits to his power, that the popular spirit of freedom was dormant but not dead, he himself probably saw, and more clearly than we can. A good instance is the conduct he pursued in regard to the Statutes of Uses and Wills (p. 129). The former had been introduced in 1531. It was in strict analogy with the ecclesiastical reforms. By the practice which had grown up of creating "uses," or equitable interests in land, the king lost his succession-dues on estates, just as by the practice of paying "annates," or first-fruits, to the Pope, the king lost his succession dues on benefices. The remedy was to bring uses within the common law, just as the Church jurisdiction had been brought. Similarly, the extra-legal power of devise which had grown up should be allowed as to one-half a man's lands; to the other half the heir must succeed, and so the king would recover his old feudal rights. It was a great social and legal reform, and a justly-conceived one. But there was great uproar, as Chapuis tells us; men clamoured that the king was taking half of each man's lands. The king was not of yielding stuff, and he had right and common-sense on his side this time. But he had to postpone the Statute of Uses till 1536, and the Pilgrimage of Grace extorted from him the Statute of Wills in 1540, which gave him far less than he had aimed to get in 1531.

Disendowment and Reconstruction.

For the last seven years of the reign Henry was more than ever his own minister. The parliaments were fewer, of briefer tenure, and more deferential than ever. His hold on the people was unshaken. The spoliation side of his Church policy went on sweepingly. The chantries, hospitals, colleges, and gilds were attacked in 1545; the Oxford and Cambridge colleges were some of them dissolved, and all in danger. The scheme of new and sounder foundations was a fraud; Christ Church, Oxford, and Trinity, Cambridge, were simply the salvage from

greater wrecks. In spite of fifteen years of plunder on this Gargantuan scale, despite "amicable loans" and benevolences, pensions from France, and confiscated estates at home, this royal robber, who had inherited the vast treasure laid up by Henry VII., ended by that financial crime and blunder rarely perpetrated in England, a systematic debasement of the coinage (p. 124).

The King and the Reformation.

In other respects his policy aimed at an immovable balance between "the rash party" and "the dull party," to use his own words. He had become "Supreme Head of the Church," but he remained "Defender of the Faith." With his last wife, Katharine Parr, there came more Protestant influences about the court; but if Latimer was protected in his plain speaking, yet Anne Askew was tortured and burned for denying transubstantiation.

The Character of Henry VIII.

In the thousand years' record of our English kings, not one is so hard to judge as Henry VIII. The idol of his people in earlier years, their unquestioned master throughout, who harangues them from a superior height as much of goodness as of wisdom and power, he is apt to strike the modern sense as almost a monster of selfishness, cruelty and lust. It is, indeed, the truth to say that he was revengeful, self-willed, superlatively wasteful, and self-indulgent; that he was profligate, if not beyond contemporary rulers, yet with a harder and more unredeemed grossness; that we never see him touched by gratitude, remorse, or even misgiving, never see him waver in that belief in himself, that self-worship, which is almost sublime. It is not, perhaps, much defence to point out that this self-worship, coupled with a long tenure of absolute power, did much towards the degradation of his character. Fisher had been his father's counsellor and his own; More had been his intimate friend. It is after sacrificing them that his worst deeds are done: the trumping-up of charges against Anne, the heartlessness of taking a new wife the day after Anne's execution, the brutal treatment of Cromwell. The extraordinary thing is the ascendancy which he had over the mind, the will, almost the conscience even, of the best and greatest men. It must be remembered that he was cultured and learned, many-sided in his interests and his accomplishments,

and had thought deeply on the stirring questions of his day. He was, in fact, a man of exceptional abilities; abilities which were predominantly practical. He had a clear and fixed view of what was the wisest policy to adopt, and this view he forced through to the end, often with violence or fraud, with greed or cruelty. The moralist, the religious biographer, the constitutional lawyer, will condemn him. Yet in the general verdict of history it must be allowed that much that he did was necessary, much was good, and out of the evil itself came goodness in the final issue. He must be pronounced the strongest, ablest, and most individual personality among all English kings.

A. HASSALL. The Balance of Classes Changed.

During Henry VIII.'s reign the tendencies which were visible in his father's lifetime became still more strongly marked and more fully developed. The centre of gravity in the great ship of State permanently shifted. Henry VIII. won and established a dictatorship; he permanently changed the balance between the Church and State and between the Crown and the Estates of the Realm in accordance with the lines laid down by Henry VII.

The clergy, already dependent on the Crown, were forced by circumstances to act in harmony with the will of the king, and offered little or no resistance to the increase of the royal power. But their subservience did not save them from spoliation and loss of political influence. By his destruction of the monastic system Henry threw out of Parliament nearly two-thirds of the spiritual baronage, thus revolutionising the balance of forces in the House of Lords. The Church had been, at the time of the accession of the Tudors, the only power which might have resisted the Crown. But, owing to their loss of popularity, the clergy had been compelled to ally themselves with royalty, and when the breach with Rome came, they found that all possibility of taking up an independent attitude was gone. At the same time, they had in no small measure contributed to the growth of the monarchical idea. For royalty had, in great measure through the action of the clergy themselves, become invested with a spiritual influence in the minds of the people, and this remained after the king

had dismissed his spiritual advisers and changed his religious principles. The royal supremacy was established, and with the adoption by Henry VIII. of an ecclesiastical headship a gradual change can be observed coming over the composition of the ecclesiastical body itself. After the breach with Rome the clergy and bishops are often married men, taken generally from the middle classes, with whom they sympathise and by whom they are influenced. Thus a complete revolution was effected in the condition and status of the clergy. The ecclesiastical powers hitherto in the hands of the Pope were transferred to the Crown, the episcopal office became for a time subordinate to the king, and the Church, from being an independent rival, sank into a position of subservience from which she was unable to raise herself for many years to come. At the beginning of Henry's reign the number of spiritual peers was forty-nine; after the dissolution of the monasteries it fell to twenty-six.

The Old Nobility

But the growth of the royal supremacy was aided more by the altered position of the nobles than by any other single circumstance. Henry VIII. found no strong baronage to thwart him. The policy of proscription had destroyed all that was dangerous in the old nobility. During the Middle Ages the barons had borne the brunt of the conflict for English liberty, and their impotence after the Wars of the Roses cleared the way for the assertion of the monarchical principle. The nation, in its anxiety for order and good government, was content to leave the upper classes at the mercy of the king; and, taking advantage of this prevailing sentiment, Henry VII. had pursued a policy of levelling class privileges. His Government, carried on for the most part by capable officials whom he could trust, did not necessarily exclude the old nobles from office, but they were placed on the same level as the other officials, and when Henry VIII. ascended the throne, the power of the old nobles had practically passed away.

Henry VII.'s unbending rule had shown the remnant of the old feudal nobility the folly of entering upon rebellion, and his policy of founding a new race of nobles was adopted and developed with characteristic energy by his son. And the history of this policy of replacing the old by a new race of nobles affords valuable illustrations of the changes taking

place in social life. Throughout his reign Henry VIII. had numerous opportunities, which he readily seized, of creating a new nobility, absolutely dependent on himself. The powers of the Crown were enormous; its patronage and revenues were immense. The king had at his own immediate disposal "the stewardships of forests, manors, chaces, castles, fisheries, and mines; the collectorships of customs in various ports; appointments of ambassadors, commissions in the army and navy." By confiscations and by the attainders of the de la Poles, the Salisburys, the Empsons, and the Dudleys, the Crown lands, already increased by the rebellions in Henry VII.'s reign, were vastly augmented, and numerous lucrative posts connected with the royal estates could be bestowed on the king's favourites. Moreover, with the fall of the monasteries an enormous amount of land lay at the disposal of the Crown, and the greater part of it was handed over to Henry's courtiers, who formed a new Court nobility, owing its rise entirely to the king's favour, and disinclined as long as Henry lived, to show any political energy.

And the New.

The exclusive road to promotion in the earlier portion of the reign may be said to have lain in personal service to the king. It has been accurately stated that "the Howards, the Brandons, the Jerninghams, the Sidneys, the Plantagenets, the Sherbornes, the Fitzwilliams, the Marneys were or had all been Squires or Knights of the Body or Gentlemen of the Chamber." Similarly, all the important offices in the departments of the State and in the army and navy were filled by men who had been in personal attendance on the king, who were the servants of the Crown, and as keenly interested in the extension of the royal prerogative as was the king himself. An aristocracy was thus in part created of a different kind from the old feudal aristocracy and animated with different sentiments. The latter was taken from the upper ranks of society; it owed its position, in great measure, to vast territorial possessions, it kept a jealous watch over the powers of the Crown, it acted as a check upon the undue extension of its prerogatives. The former was taken from a lower class; it owed its elevation to personal services rendered to the king, to whom it was completely subservient. It was thus wholly unlike the old haughty nobility, "with its feudal

grandeur and its sumptuous living." A personal nobility, "indebted for their rank, their emoluments, their importance, and their employment to their personal services about the king—enriched by wardships, by marriages, by forfeitures, by stewardships in the royal demesnes, continually augmented by impeachments of the older houses, owed everything to the king."

As time went on, the ranks of the nobility were opened to merchants, lawyers, borough magistrates, and manufacturers—men who, risen from small fortunes, had been enriched by the confiscation of the monastic property. And thus it came about that from the ranks of the courtiers and from the middle classes arose a nobility which owed its position to wealth or to the favour of the king—a nobility which was for many years utterly powerless to check the absolutism of the Crown.

The Rise of the Middle Classes.

The rise and influence of the middle classes in the place of the gentry of race, was in itself a circumstance which contributed to the change in the balance of the Constitution. It was no longer race, but wealth, that made the gentleman. Trade owed much to the Tudor kings. Henry VII. had encouraged the commercial classes; Henry VIII. continued this policy. The old gentry, already impoverished by the civil wars, were, to a great extent, ruined by the extravagance of the Court of Henry VIII. They fell into debt, pawned their estates, and were succeeded by their tenants, or by the opulent merchant class, which derived much of its new importance from the discovery of the New World, from the rapid extension of commerce, and from the increasing taste for luxury.

The old nobles and gentry being weak, and no longer possessed of riches or of political influence, the middle classes, with their ever-increasing wealth and importance, naturally could not remain stationary. Their impelling spirit may be described as a restless propensity towards material progress which was determined at all costs to prevail. These new men "scented out needy heirs," they "purchased wards of noble birth" and married them to their sons and daughters. They looked upon farming as a commercial speculation; their one object was to wring from the land the highest possible return. Henceforward men took rank and exercised authority

according to the amount of their incomes, while in consequence of this new state of things the land changed hands rapidly, and rich merchants possessed themselves of estates. The ruin and spoliation of the feudal families and of the monastic orders, in a similar, though in a less degree, benefited also the yeomen. The improved methods of cultivation and enclosures enabled the farmers to work their land in a profitable manner, and the vigorous parochial system of the Tudors bears evidence of the active part taken by the yeomen in public business. The prosperity and number of the small landowners is a marked feature of rural England in Tudor times; and in Henry VIII.'s reign the importance of the yeoman class was clearly recognised. With the yeomen farmers and labourers the pushing and covetous race of new landlords were by no means so popular as the old proprietors had been. Still, the growth of the new squirearchy in the sixteenth century did not affect the political equilibrium by doing away with the "yeomanry or middle people, of a condition between gentlemen and cottagers or peasantry." Both subsisted and flourished side by side.

The New Nobility and the Land.

All these changes told in favour of the establishment of a strong monarchical power. The country required a firm hand to guide her through a religious as well as an agrarian revolution. Parliament was ready to carry out the king's wishes, even at the risk of being accused of subservience. Engrossed in the pursuit of wealth, and as yet unaccustomed to enforce constitutional restraints upon a sovereign, the Commons, now brought face to face with the power of the Crown, made no attempt to step into the position vacated by the old feudal nobility. They were satisfied with Henry's deference to their advice whenever it agreed with his own wishes, and their subservience contributed to complete the change in the balance of the Constitution. The Crown was, in effect, absolute. The spirit of feudalism had given way to the mercantile spirit. The various parts of society were linked together by a new principle; the whole social life of the nation was affected. The breach with Rome coincided in point of time with the social and economic changes, and by aiding in the successful assertion of the absolutist principle

The Strengthening of the Crown.

rendered the position of the Crown enormously strong, and enabled it to dominate all the remaining political forces in the State. There was no proud baronage to thwart the king; the clergy were defenceless against his hostility, and the higher ranks were regarded with a jealous eye by the middle classes; while the Commons, thrown out of working order by the absence of political energy in the House of Lords, busied with trade, and dreading a return of discord, were favoured and conciliated. The labourers hoped to gain more from the sovereign than from their extortionate landlords. Every class looked to the king, and the royal power was accordingly exalted.

As a result of all these changes, English society in Henry VIII.'s reign begins to assume a modern form. The English aristocracy has entirely changed. The development of wealth as a class-test was superseding the old distinctions of birth, and the highest elements of society became ready to receive into their midst and to assimilate the lower elements. The "anarchical autonomy of feudalism" was a thing of the past, its place was being taken by the unity of the State and the authority of law, and a revolution was being carried out affecting every class in the country.

The variations in the balance of forces in the State during the last hundred years had been excessive. At one time the pendulum had swung to the side of the nobles, now it swung to that of the king. Gradually the new nobles would assert their independence, and the Commons would make good their position. In this way a natural counterpoise would be again set up against the overweening power of the Crown, and the political balance would be more fairly adjusted.

C. RAYMOND BEAZLEY. Religion.

THE dividing-line between mediæval and modern England, it has been said, comes in the reign of Henry VII.; but it is in the life of his son that the change becomes apparent, as a revolution—from the age of rights to that of powers, from the Catholic to the Reformed system in Church and State.

General View, 1509-1529.

At the accession of Henry VIII. English religion did not seem very different from Continental. All Latin Christendom had passed through the common religious decline, and had shared in

the common failure to reform the Church from within. A practical paganism seemed to rule in the higher classes of Southern Europe, and a superstitious lethargy had crept over the lower, in every one of the Christian nations, except, perhaps, the Spanish. Devotion was more and more fixed upon the terrors of death, and hell, and purgatory. Gerson, and Sigismund, and Pius II. had worked in vain to restore the life of the Church. She was atrophied, said the alarmists, in head and members. The Popedom was vicious or paganised, and Christendom submitted to its rule. Commerce, science, and naval enterprise—the real activities of the age—now went on apart from religious impulse, except, again, in the Spanish peninsula.

The Decay of Religious Feeling.

In England, as on the Continent, Christianity had slowly become debased—not so much by a perversion of true doctrines into false, as by the general decay of zeal and interest. The chantry system, the mass traffic, the monastic decline, the later scholasticism, the widening gulf between clergy and laity, were all, in different ways, evidence of decay, though the gorgeous elaboration of the Church system had never been so great. From the days of Walter de Merton the energy of the religious leaders had been mainly turned to education. Even bishops* now divided "learned clerks" from "idle monks," and preferred—like Wykeham, Waynflete, and Fox—to found colleges rather than abbeys. Only eight houses of religion, and nearly seventy houses of learning and charity, had risen between 1399 and 1509, and in the 870 monasteries of earlier date numbers had decayed with devotion. A few examples may stand for all. The great Friary at Gloucester, which in 1267 had forty inmates, only sheltered seven in Wolsey's day. The Templars in 1310, and the alien priories in 1414 had gone the way that all were going.† The chantry system—almost unknown before Edward I.—had overgrown the

* *Cf.* Fox, Fisher, and Oldham of Exeter. Fisher is specially notable in this connexion as the real founder, through Lady Margaret, his penitent, of St. John's and Christ's Colleges, Cambridge, and of the Divinity professorships in both universities, as well as the true beginner of Greek study at Cambridge, just as he began it in his old age for himself and others.

† Of 1,200 monasteries, etc., founded in England during the Middle Ages, only about half remained for Henry's dissolution. During the thirty years before 1509 not one was founded.

cathedral and parochial, and the mass priests whom it produced, though sometimes used as additional curates, or local schoolmasters and lecturers, lived by abusing the very first principles of the Church; for they sold the Eucharist to those able and willing to buy so many masses for the remission of so many days in purgatory; and though much good work could be done by the chantry priests, and though chantries may have been chapels-of-ease to many parish churches,* this tendency to supersede† the regular organisation by an exceptional one was certainly felt in the time of Wolsey to have over-reached itself, and was one of the first and favourite marks of Protestant attack. But it was not only a practical, but a doctrinal exaggeration. We must connect it with the popular worship, "not of love, but of fear," with the pictures of hell and judgment, and the dance of death, and the material agonies of the damned, if we would understand, for instance, Latimer's horror of the "Devil's satisfactory propitiatory-mass—our old ancient Purgatory Pickpurse, that evacuates the Cross and the Supper of the Lord."

But to get anything like a general view of English religion in the first half of Henry's reign (1509–29), during the political supremacy of Wolsey, and while the mediæval system was still in name untouched, we must not only look at the proofs of a dying world, but at the preparation for a new and living one. For the historical Christianity of the older time was not destroyed in England by the revolution, but *re*-formed, and, as on the Continent, religion revived in the two forms of Protestant movement and Catholic reaction. Along with practical and doctrinal corruptions, along with decay in art and defection in literature, there was a mass of earnest conservatism, which would soon purify the Church from within, once it were made intelligent, roused to action by fierce attacks from without.

1509–1529. "Conservatives"

1. The main body of Englishmen, led by their clergy, still held to the mediæval faith, as it had been finally presented in the thirteenth century—the three creeds and seven sacraments, the

* As in York Cathedral, where Richard III. began a chantry of 100 priests.

† As the parish system had been superseded in past time—especially from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries—by monastic and mendicant orders.

mysterious presence and sacrifice in the mass, the primacy or supremacy of the Pope, and all the doctrine and discipline of their mother, the Roman Church—"Mater et magistra omnium ecclesiarum urbis et orbis;" but the Papal privileges were only a tradition by the side of the sacramental system, the belief in Divine action through material forms,* which was the philosophy of Catholicism, the essence of ordinary Christian doctrine at that time. Yet behind this there was, among the more ignorant, a certain background of superstition, and observers feared that this was on the increase. One saint, one day, one image, was preferred to another, for this boon or for that; some were accused of thinking that the body of Christ could only lie in a *round* wafer. The doctrine of the sacraments, by which the schoolmen had tried to spiritualise the spiritual gifts of the Divine presence, and which had been endorsed by the Lateran decrees of 1215, was not altogether realised by many, who still talked in the language, not of the thirteenth century, but of the eleventh.† Some of the ceremonies of Lent and Passion-tide seemed to countenance the more gross and material language; and the gloom of the later Middle Ages naturally passed into the religion of men whose daily toil was one of fearful necessity, and who were often forced to crouch before their lords as those lords crouched before the despotism of the New Monarchy. Local currency was certainly given to pious frauds,‡ to abuses of the Treasury of Merits, and of

Obstacles to a Conservative Reformation.

* *E.g.*, in holy places, causing pilgrimages; in holy earth and water, leading to churchyards and ceremonial sprinklings; in holy persons, causing relic-worship (and, on another side, the consecration of the ministry in Apostolical Succession); in holy words, causing mystical change of *substantia* or essence, as in the Eucharist.

† *Cf.* the Lateran Council of 1059, under Nicholas II., and its language about Christ's body in the Eucharistic wafer being ground by the teeth of the faithful.

‡ Beside the well-known rood of Boxley and wonder-working statues and wells, there was the Holy Thorn at Glastonbury, which bloomed at Christmas, and Our Lady's Girdle at Breton, which gave safe delivery in childbirth. *Cf.* Thos. More's "Adoracion of Ymages." "We set every saint in his office and assign him such a craft as pleaseth us—Saint Loy . . . a horse leech, Saint Ippolitus . . . a smith, Saint Apollonia a tooth drawer. Saint Syth women set to find their keys, Saint Roke we appoint to see to the great sickness, and Saint Sebastian with him. Some saints serve for the eye only, others for a sore breast." . . . "As many things as we wish, so many gods have we made," adds Erasmus ("Enc. Mor.").

the Church's "deposit of power." If only money could be raised, as for the Papal schemes in Roman buildings and temporal aggrandisement, indulgences were readily granted for thousands of years from that "fiery furnace that hath burned away so many pence"—along with "canonisations and expectations, pluralities and unions,* tot-quots and dispensations, pardons and stationaries, jubilaries and pocularies, manuaries for relics, pedaries for pilgrims, oscularies for kissers." So, at least, said the Hot Gospellers of the time.

The Church Courts as Obstacles to Reform.

But the Church courts and the unemployed and immoral clergy were the most serious difficulties of a conservative reformation, such as Wolsey desired, with the great majority of men of the old and new learning.† "Is there nought to be amended in the Arches?" says Latimer in 1536. "Do they rid the people's business, or ruffle and cumber them? Do they correct vice or defend it? How many sentences be given there in time, how many without bribes, if men say true? And what in bishops' consistories? Shall you often see the law's punishments executed, or money-redemptions used instead?"

"For the treatment of such moral evils as did not come under the common law was left to the Church courts: these became centres of corruption which primates, legates, and councils tried to reform and failed, acquiescing ‡ in the failure rather than allow the intrusion of the secular power."§ Again, "the majority of the persons now ordained had neither cure of souls nor duty of preaching; their spiritual duty was to

* A list was made by Bishop Gibson of twenty-three clergymen holding, on the average, eight benefices apiece at the opening of Henry VIII.'s reign.

† *Cf.* Colet's Sermon before Canterbury Convocation, December, 1512. "All evil in the Church is either the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, or the pride of life. . . . We are troubled with heresies, but not so much as with naughty lives. . . . No new laws are needed, only let the old ones be observed. . . . The Bishops must begin."

‡ *Cf.* Hunne's case, 1513–15, and the king's decision therein:—"You of the spiritualty act expressly against the words of our predecessors, who had never any superior but God. You interpret your decrees at your pleasure, but I will never consent to this, any more than my progenitors." On the other hand, Warham drew up rules for the reform of Church courts, and in 1518 summoned a special synod at Lambeth to treat "of abatement of divers abuses."

§ Stubbs, III., 373.

say masses for the dead," and, as the result, "instead of greater spirituality, there is greater frivolity. In the self-indulgent ranks of the lowest clergy there existed, as among the laity, an amount of coarse vice which had no secrecy to screen it or to prevent it from spreading;" and, though the higher clergy were mostly pure in life, they were violently charged with pride and worldliness. Churchmen like Morton and Wolsey, the prime ministers of the earlier Tudors, appeared to have more of the statesman than of the pastor; and in the growing prejudice of Englishmen against clerical government, even the abuse of Latimer found a hearing. "Unpreaching prelates . . . be so troubled with lordly living, so placed in palaces, crouched in courts, ruffling in their rents, dancing in their dominions, burdened with ambassages, moiling in their manors and mansions, loitering in their lordships, that they cannot attend" their duties. "Some are in king's matters, some ambassadors, some of the Privy Council, some furnish the court, some are lords of Parliament, presidents, controllers of mints." "Since priests have been minters," said an unfair proverb, "money hath been worse." The moral side of the Catholic system had been obscured by the ideal, and the rationale of worship, to some extent, forgotten in ritual developments. Latin, still popularly understood in the fourteenth century, had become a hierarchic and learned language in the sixteenth. Though of untold value in the revival of learning, and in the general intercourse of the educated world, the more rigid conservatives threatened to destroy much of its value by refusing to accept its results. For nearly a thousand years Greek thought had been known to the West in Latin versions: now the renewed study of Greek (as in Dean Colet's School at St. Paul's) was challenged as dangerous: "Greek is the tongue of heresy," said Colet's opponents, though Greek was the original tongue of the local Roman Church and its missal.

Unreasonable Ecclesiastical Conservatism.

2. But it was in this new learning that the chief hope of the historical faith really lay. Christian society was not altogether corrupt and outworn, even after Piers Plowman's vision and Morton's visitation of St. Albans (Vol. II., p. 467). The old Church only needed mending, not ending, and the reconstructive movement from

"Reformers."

within was led by such men as the Oxford reformers of 1498—by Colet, Erasmus, and More—men who deliberately chose conservative reform against revolution when they came to the parting of the ways. In Colet's sermon before the Convocation of 1512, as well as in his Oxford lectures* of 1497, and his oration on Wolsey's Cardinalate, we have, perhaps, the best expression of this temper, and of the party who, by such expression, saved the Church. To keep the Catholic system, but to make of it once more a reasonable service, the friend of every onward movement in society, was their policy. They would fain preserve by adding intelligence to caution.

Yet among these, the true reformers, there were two parties. One, represented by Erasmus, cared for knowledge rather as the end and religion as the means: the other, the party of Warham and Wolsey, of Tunstall and Colet and More, at least believed religion to be the greatest of social forces, if not of human goods, and hoped that learning would refine and invigorate the faith which was the basis of national character. From the latter the churchmen of the Catholic revival drew their leaders, from the former came more and more defection to avowed freethought.

Earlier Movement towards Reform from Within.

But even without the conscious action of reformers, there had been some signs in the mediæval system that it was coming some way to meet the new age. English was displacing Latin in hymns and carols—Wynkyn de Worde's first collection was printed in 1531 †—and even in some of the processional responses:‡ authorised private devotions, or primers, had been "wholly in vulgar tongue" since 1410, and more than thirty editions of these were printed as late as the years 1520–47.

* On St. Paul's Epistles.

† *Cf.* the "macaronic" hymn:—

"Now make us joye in this feste
In quo Christus natus est
A patre unigenitus.
Sing we to Him and say welcome.
Veni, Redemptor gentium."

‡ *Cf.* the Sarum Verse at sprinkling of holy water, *circa* A.D. 1470:—

"Remember your promise made in Baptism,
And Christ's merciful bloodshedding,
By the which most holy sprinkling,
Ye from all your sins have pardon."

Only the alarm of the Lollards prevented an authorised English Bible long before 1539. "'Tis not much above 100 years," says Cranmer, in his Preface to the Great Bible of that year, "since Scripture hath *not* been read in the common tongue within this realm." In 1497–98 Colet had lectured in English on the Epistles of St. Paul, and referred his Oxford hearers from all "mystical glosses" back to the true literal sense of the words.

Last among its advantages, the Church was in possession of the ground, penetrated men's lives as nothing else could do, and possessed in its 30,000 clergy, its 8,000 parish churches, its 100,000 consecrated buildings, its property equal perhaps to near one-fifth of the national wealth, resources which only needed direction. To pull it down from its privileged, wealthy, ultramontane position would be found a hard task; to remove its candle altogether could not be done, even by Puritanism.

The Revolutionists.

3. But with a sleepy conservatism and a new learning, not yet alarmed by a new fanaticism, there seemed an opening for the party of revolution. In the England of Wolsey these men were not yet formidable; the old Wyclifite movement, though very threatening in 1415, had ceased to stir classes or masses from the reign of Henry VI. For the first forty years of Tudor rule there were few signs of the Protestant upheaval.* The early "Lutherans" of Oxford, and Cambridge, and London mostly recanted or fled over sea, and the prudent leniency of Wolsey, Warham, and Tunstall deferred the danger till the Governmental struggles broke the English Church from

* *E.g.*, up to Wolsey's fall: (1) May 2, 1511, six men and four women, most from Tenterden, brought before Warham and made to abjure. (2) Later in May, in June, July, August, and September of the same year the registers of Fitz-James of London, Nix of Norwich, Longland of Lincoln, have similar entries. (3) All through March and April, 1521, Warham keeps urging Wolsey to purge Oxford; in August, 1521, accordingly takes place the book-burning at St. Paul's. (4) Five "noted Lutherans" are moved by Wolsey from Cambridge to Christ Church (Cardinal College), Oxford, *circ.* 1523. (5) Tyndale's New Testaments burnt in Cheapside, 1527. (6) Bilney and Arthur recant before Tunstall, November, 27, 1527. (7) In 1528 appears Simon Fish's "Supplication of Beggars." The London Protestants were organised into a "Christian Brotherhood," with a central committee and paid agents for distributing New Testaments, etc.

the communion of Rome, and faith began to follow the changes of jurisdiction.

But if the Lollards had failed in their own day, they seem to have prepared the lower classes for some great changes—not in conscious expectation or agitation, but rather in a readiness to acquiesce in steps which the mass of Frenchmen and Spaniards refused to take. From year to year, when once men had "leaped out of Peter's bark," England seemed to wake and find itself more and more Protestant. The earlier Puritans threw themselves heartily into the central purpose of the Tudor revolution—the laicising of the Church, the subjection of the clerical estate—and thus gained in great measure their own ends, just where the Presbyterian * doctrinaires of Elizabeth's day provoked a conflict. Latimer did not, like Cartwright, try to substitute a Genevan Popery for the Roman. He was "shod for the preparation of this gospel" when he "endeavoured to teach and set it forth as our Prince hath devised."

Thus the conservatives, the reformers, and the revolutionaries account for all sides of English religion in the first half of Henry's reign. We need not count the courtiers and the indifferentists as religious forces, though they powerfully aided the action of those forces. For though Cromwell and Cranmer became two of the Protestant heroes, the mission of both was one of policy rather than of "prophecy"—a mission not to believe or to disbelieve, but to make and to mar. Theirs is essentially a State religion, and their offices, however sacred, are of uncertain tenure—"quamdiu se bene gesserint."

The political rather than doctrinal reformers, whose chief interest in the struggle was personal and social, became in time the liberals of the seventeenth century, as the rigid conservatives grew into the Tridentine Romans of 1570; as the Oxford reformers grew into the Church of England, and the revolutionists into the Puritan Conformists and Nonconformists of 1662. Protestantism began as a revolt against the critical and pagan spirit of the Renaissance, and then,

* The earlier State Protestantism is well represented in a book like Jewel's "Apology" (especially Part VI.), speaking for the Church of England in 1562, before the High Church revival of 1589–1640. Jewel, attacking the Council of Trent, says in effect, "We [churchmen] can bear our own wrongs. But why shut they out Christian princes from their convocation? For five hundred years the Emperor alone appointed the Church assemblies."

passing into its stage of warfare with Catholic authority, allied itself for a time, and for a definite purpose, with the free thought it had risen up to combat. Thus the alliance of civilisation with the Christian faith, which had been the aim of the conservative reformers, was broken by the divisions within the religious world itself: thus, while part of the new learning remained the friend of the Church and recreated Catholicism, Roman and Anglican, the other part gradually lost all sympathy with theological interests, and gave itself to art, literature, and science. But as yet, in Wolsey's day, this new learning seemed far more likely to control Latin Christendom than, in any sense, to be put under the ban of the Church.

The histories of Church and State are interwoven in the reign of Henry VIII. in a special sense. Never before or after is the union, the subordination, so complete. The Church-State on its religious side becomes the State Church, the highest department of the civil service of the pontiff-king. Only after his death, and then only very partially, does religion slowly regain some independence of action.

Church and State to 1547.

But for his first twenty years (1509–29) he allows his father's system to continue. Wolsey, the greatest of Church statesmen, is the successor of Morton and Fox; the king himself is a far keener churchman than any Tudor before him, studying with eager personal interest, that systematic theology* which Julius II. and Leo X. were only supposed to know and to protect. Anti-clerical feeling was latent, but the agitation for Church disendowment, so marked in the Parliaments of 1395, 1404, and 1410, had not been renewed since Henry V.

The Lollard movement had died of inanition. Thus the official history of religion under Henry VII. contains no heresy trials—only a restriction of the rights of sanctuary and benefit of clergy, an increased authority given to the bishop over clerical offenders, and Cardinal Morton's slight attempt—in advance of Wolsey—to visit and reform the monasteries.†

* Writing in 1521, apparently with Wolsey's help, "The Assertion of the Seven Sacraments." His favourite author was St. Thomas Aquinas.

† Bringing about the disclosures at St. Albans.

For the first six years of the new reign Warham held the great seal—fifth of the Tudor bishop-chancellors, "*the* Archbishop" of Erasmus and Grocyn and Colet. It was with a letter of Erasmus that Holbein presented himself at Lambeth to see England and to paint the Primate's likeness. To Warham it was said all men were as brothers in the new love of knowledge; he only made difference between the friends and foes of Christian learning; but he was rather fitted for a patron of scholars than for a leader of Church and State, and between 1513–15 the reins slipped from his hands into those of Thomas Wolsey, once the Boy Bachelor of Magdalen, now the Cardinal Archbishop of York, who as Chancellor and Legate a Latere gathered up all the civil and spiritual power of England into his own hand, and so became the central figure in the last days of the old *régime*.

To understand Wolsey's position and aims was not in the power of the later partisans, with their division of the world into godly and Papist. His wars and intrigues, his taxes and personal pomp, his Roman connection, his attempts on the Papacy, his all-absorbing power in England, enraged for various reasons the innovating party in religion, the liberal party in politics, the dominant party in Lombard Street.* He meant, they said, to slave for the king till he had made his fortune and his master's and then escape to the Papal Court —to the chair of St. Peter, if he could. His own defence was ignored, that he wished for the universal See to reform universal Christendom. He disappointed the party of the new culture, who looked to him for more liberal measures in government and religion. He crushed Bible-reading, and so incurred the hatred of all Protestants, learned and unlearned alike. His long tenure of power began to tell upon him, as upon every minister. Each year there was a greater burden of failures, while men took the ordinary success for granted. The agrarian discontent, so serious later, began to show itself. There was "sore grudging and murmuring among the people" at the benevolence of 1525: it was worse, said the Kentish squires, than the taxes of France; and England, if she paid, would be bond, not free.

* Though a word of praise for Wolsey's commercial policy cannot well be left out of even the most cursory notice of Wolsey's life and work (*cf.* Cotton MSS.).

But it was by the loss of personal favour that Wolsey fell, as he had risen. Henry's will had set him in power, and that will could have kept him there. For nearly twenty years the Butcher and his dog had ruled,* said his enemies, looking on at Buckingham's ruin: but the servant was only there to satisfy his lord, who "for any part of his appetite would put the half of his realm in danger." As the cardinal, like More, was too great a man to be the mere tool of an irresponsible will, that will destroyed him, and with him, for a time, the cause of conservative reform. Revolution came in with his successor, Thomas Cromwell. Like the body of the clergy, Wolsey was felt, or said, to be "but half an English subject"; like them, the præmunire, from which he had been practically, if not legally, exempted, was used against him. When the seals were taken from him in 1529, the Church was left "at the foot of a dynasty that had learnt to kick over and trample upon it."

Wolsey's Work.

But what had Wolsey done—how had things moved—in these twenty years (1509–29)? There had been no open breach, no violent religious revival, but the Protestant movement had begun abroad, and had also begun to touch England from Germany; the new learning was passing into the religious revolution; the fifteenth-century division of Christendom into fully-organised nations was becoming a division into warring Churches; and, as the Papacy became more and more of a petty Italian State, and less of an œcumenical arbitrator, clerical power became more and more isolated, while the Crown grew stronger. The Tudors had not started with a design of secularising, but they had chosen their ministers from among churchmen, and made bishops of their ministers, till the bishops forgot that they were anything but ministers. Yet Wolsey, though many thought he had forgotten his profession, was still able to show at the end of life the example of a Grosseteste; and, in estimating his policy, it will be fair to call it essentially that of a churchman—the last great champion of the mediæval system.

He aimed first of all at reform of the English Church, by

* The butcher (Henry), the dog (Wolsey)—as Charles V. meant simply—are confused by Polydore Vergil, who starts the tale of Wolsey's birth from a butcher's family.

cautiously converting the monastic into an educational system, by enlarging the Episcopate, by a strict and constant visitation of the parish clergy, and by restating and guarding the constitutional position towards Rome. With doctrinal alterations, even with such practical reforms as the use of English for Latin, Wolsey does not concern himself. He seems to believe that all will come right if the old and new learning are once united, as Colet had tried to do in his school at St. Paul's, as Colet's lifelong friend tried at Ipswich and Cardinal College. In these two foundations Wolsey followed the plans of Merton, and of Wykeham—of Merton, in the general idea of reformation through education; of Wykeham, in the plan of a great country school as the necessary feeder of a university college. In 1524–25 his Oxford house of learning was endowed and opened; in 1528 the cardinal himself drew up the rules* for the Ipswich school, in Latin, prescribing the course of study for each of the eight classes into which he divided his boys. For this project he adopted a plan of uniting smaller monasteries with the larger, and devoting the funds thus gained to the new work of teaching; he even schemed to commute the payment of annates by a plan which would not only have satisfied the king's needs for a time, but have added funds for scholarship, and relieved the irritation with Rome.

His Foundations.

His school and his professorships were suppressed, and his college refounded and curtailed by the master who plundered him. His schemes appeared to fall with his power, and yet after he had surrendered everything and retired to his "benefice of York," he was more dreaded than before. The reason was plain: in the North he acted the bishop as well as he had acted the statesman at Court, and he was rallying all the countryside round himself, and the cause of the Church in him, when the final order came for his arrest:—

Fall of Wolsey.

"Who less beloved than my lord Cardinal before he came? Who more, after he had been there, and of utter enemies made them all his

* Still extant, and reprinted in 1825. Wolsey's foundation at Oxford provided for a dean, a sub-dean, 60 canons of the First Order, 40 of the Second, 13 chaplains, 12 clerks, 16 choristers, with lecturers on Divinity, Canon Law, Physic, Philosophy, Logic, and Humanity; and four censors, three treasurers, four stewards, 20 inferior servants, 186 students.

friends? He gave bishops a right good example to win men's hearts. There were few holy days but he would ride five or six miles, now to this parish church now to that, and there cause one or other of his doctors to make a sermon unto the people. He sat amongst them, and said mass before all the people; . . . he saw why churches were made; . . . he began to restore them to their proper use. He brought his dinner with him, and bade divers of the parish to it. He inquired if there was any debate or grudge between any. If there were, he sent after dinner for the parties to the church and made them all one." *

His journey northward from his Nottingham palace at Southwell to "Cawood by York," was the progress of a popular leader; the first day, from "eight till twelve and from one to four," he stood confirming the children brought to him as he passed, till "constrained by very weariness to sit down in a chair."

Next morning, "or ever he departed," he confirmed one hundred children more, and "at a stone cross near Ferry bridge there were assembled two hundred others, for whom he alighted, and never removed his foot till he had confirmed them all." At Cawood, "he lay with love of worshipful and of simple, exercising himself in charities and keeping open house for all comers, having also, to rebuild the castle, above three hundred artificers daily in wages," and preparing for his enthronement in York Cathedral, "not going upon a way of scarlet cloth like our predecessors (as he warned the Chapter) but right simplily upon the vamps of our hosen."

At this moment came his arrest. He was hurried up to London to answer for the social success of the last few months; but the countryfolk in York and Doncaster ran after him, when taken from them, cursing his enemies: "The foul evil take them—a very vengeance light on them—God save your grace."

Utterly broken in mind and in body, Wolsey could get no further than Leicester—"a very wretch replete with misery," but who at the last realised that religion and despotism, the old Church and the new monarchy, might not always be friends. "Every man layeth the burden from him; I am content to take it on me, and to endure the fame and noise of the people for my good will towards the king: but the Eternal God knoweth all."

* "Remedy for Sedition," published 1536 (*cf.* Cavendish's Life of Wolsey).

The Fall of Wolsey, and the Course of the Reformation.

The fall of Wolsey is not only a political tragedy, it is the sign of a social revolution nigh at hand; it is a proximate cause of the Reformation in England. The leader of the Church interest had barred, by his control of the executive, the entrance of foreign Protestantism. Lutherans he had gently but firmly kept under, as a new type of Lollard, as political incendiaries. By his favour with the Crown he had kept all aristocratic control and influence from the king; by his position alike in Rome and Westminster, he had been able to supersede the Pope till men could not bear the old foreign interference. The Legate-Chancellor prepared the law, the Church, the nobles, the gentry and commons of England for the new monarchy of Henry VIII.; and "the nation which trembled before Wolsey learned to tremble before the king who could destroy Wolsey at a breath." This was the underlying social fact of his rule, and his fall, taking away all check on the royal will, opened the door for foreign influence, Court factions, and a new national position, just so far as that royal will chose to go, and the nation, which it so wonderfully reflected, chose to follow. Wolsey had trained the king in tact, in statesmanship, in knowledge of politics and of life, till "he could manipulate the very prejudice and ignorance of the people to his own purposes."* From 1529 Henry VIII. is his own sole minister; no man could tame him.

The Causes of the Religious Revolution.

We are now on the eve of the Reformation Parliament and its evolution of the modern Church-State system of England. The separation from Rome, the reconstruction of English religion, if it began with the personal matter of the king's divorce, is carried through with something of the quiet power of a force of Nature, and we must clearly separate (1) the personal, (2) the intellectual, and (3) the social causes of the revolution (1529–36).

1. Personal.

1. Among the first came the king's scruples about his "incest" with his brother's wife, his passion for Anne Boleyn, his disgust at Roman evasion, his disappointment with Wolsey as an instrument his necessary abatement of strict orthodoxy through his

* Stubbs, "Lectures on Medieval and Modern History," p. 332.

connection with the hereticising Boleyns. The Defender of the Faith and Assertor of the Seven Sacraments gradually came to see in the disloyalty of a Papist something worse than Lutheranism. Wolsey, ruined partly for "Popery," partly for insufficient diplomatic conscience, was replaced by the agnostic Cromwell, who neither feared God nor regarded men by the side of his personal interests. Warham, a little later, replaced by Cranmer, More and Fisher by Audley and Wriothesley, Queen Catherine by Anne Boleyn and Jane Seymour—who can deny that the changed *personnel* of the Court acted as a part cause of the social change?

2. Intellectual.

2. The intellectual preparation for some great change is evident in the groups of classical enthusiasts and liberal reformers who had not yet been called to choose between the Church and science, and to this influence must be added that of the books and tracts which had been pouring out of Germany since 1517. After Wolsey's removal, these became the favourite reading of "earnest" people, as the wider schemes of social reformers—of More's Utopia, for instance—were forgotten in men's concentration on the religious struggle.

3. Social.

3. Of social preparation for the Reformation in England there was little in active, conscious movement; enough in passive indifference to, or dislike of, foreign bishops, in the dogged national pride and independence of character, in the popular love of English speech and ways and government. Catholicism without the Pope was the latent wish of most Englishmen, and Henry succeeded by interpreting into fact just so much and no more. He struck the true average, and that average backed him against the Pope and the clergy, against all tendencies to go back into "Papism," against the reaction caused by the monastic dissolution.

There was not only a social aversion to Rome, there was the old Lancastrian layman's feeling of rebellion against anything of sacerdotal dominion. The bishops' courts, the privileges of sanctuary and of clergy, had all been "blown upon" under Henry VII.; and now the vast wealth and separate Parliament of the clerical estate, its alleged control of one-fifth of English land, its dominance in the peerage (where the spiritual lords still numbered forty-eight out of eighty-four),

its hold on political power through the almost unbroken succession of clerical ministers,* as chancellors, keepers, and presidents of council, all provoked the cry "Restrain." Want of governance had been the complaint under the House of Lancaster; now it was plainly seen by the king that the clergy, by their local power as well as by their foreign allegiance, were "but half our subjects." Nobles, gentry, merchants, lawyers, thus invited by the Crown, made good speed to the feast. The wealthiest corporation in the realm was to be despoiled; this added zest to the thought of freedom from restraint. For however much the Church, in and out of England, had sunk from the thirteenth century, it was still the most powerful and penetrating discipline in society; men met with its prohibitions and canons, felt its help or its hindrance in every walk of life. The king himself was a spiritual subject of the servants of God; now the mass of Englishmen helped to raise him to a lay popedom.

The Characteristics of the Reformation in England.

The English Reformation was the overthrow of sacerdotalism as a form of government. Beginning, not with doctrine, as foreign Protestantism began, but with jurisdiction, it followed "no law but that of its own development," and resulted in a revolution which cannot be classified; for, in spite of its religious form and dress, it was in essence political and social, and, as a middle class movement, is connected with the Long Parliament of 1640, and with the dynastic change which we call so oddly "the Revolution."

The immediate effect of the breach with Rome, the imposition of the royal supremacy on the Church of England, the subjection of Convocation to impotence, and the dissolution of the monasteries, was "not to vary," as Henry said, "in any jot from the faith catholic," but to sever English Christianity from the older Western federation, and to interweave Church and State so closely that the Church became the nation in one of its aspects, but without power of independent action, controlled by that same nation in another aspect, by the lay power represented in Parliament and the king.

Here was the secret of the permanence of the English Reformation—in the social victory of the great lay classes

* Specially in the Tudor Period.

over the clerical estate, and their resolution to keep the upper hand. So the reaction, when it comes in 1539, in 1553, is limited in the nature of things. Mary herself flinches before the question of the abbey lands. The poorer classes are at least Catholic in sympathy, and both upper and middle classes will sometimes profess repentance, but they will not disgorge. For all interests were committed to the main work of Henry VIII. Edward's doctrinal changes and practical misrule made men willing to return to the older faith; but at the restoration of religious property and priestly power they stopped. Rome was finally rejected because she never forgot a claim or relinquished a possession that had once been hers. The lay power in the State—this, and not reformed doctrine, or liberty of conscience, or a vernacular prayer-book, or Catholic antiquity—was the ultimate social principle of the struggle. These other ideas had their place; but they all rested upon that of mastery—who is to rule?

The new position of the Church was seen in the emphasised, half-spiritual dependence of the bishops on the Crown, in the attempt to treat them as royal nominees, appointed on good behaviour, during the sovereign's lifetime, and so bound to sue out new commissions at his death, ordained, translated, and deposed at his will.

The same appears in the treatment of the lower clergy, in the pulpit-tuning of Cromwell's *régime*, in the wholesale revocation of preaching licences, in the destruction of the monastic life. Again, in the fine of 1531, in the transfer of annates from the Pope to the king, and in the general Church plunder of these years—perhaps equal to £4,000,000 in modern value—the clergy paid a direct compulsory tribute. It was no "amicable loan" or "benevolence"; it was the submission to the altered balance of power.

Lastly, a regal papacy was evolved out of a royal supremacy. The "headship" clause of 1531, the articles of 1532 on Church legislation, the Restraint of Appeals in 1533, the Act of Supreme Head, together with the Acts of Succession and Treason in 1534, and the king's commission to revise canon law in 1536, give us the stages of this development. "For subordinate purposes, such as dispensations and faculties, Henry allowed Cranmer as Primate to hold a quasi-legatine

The Royal Supremacy.

authority under himself in Chancery, but in all such matters he was the fountain both of power and justice; and by appointing Cromwell as Vicar-General, with authority and precedence over all prelates and nobles, he exactly reproduced the Pope's exercise of direct powers through a Legate a Latere." In the same way it is by royal letters patent that the English Bible is printed, and the new bishoprics created * (1539). Even the theological training of the people is undertaken by the king, who approves or dictates the "Institution" and "Erudition" "of a Christian Man" in 1537 and 1543: "for the King's Majesty hath the care of his subjects' souls as well as of their bodies."

Church and State, 1529-1547.

The last twenty years of Henry's reign fall into two periods; one of anti-clerical, anti-Roman movement from 1529–39, one of seeming Catholic reaction (1539–47). It will be necessary to summarise the history of Church and State during these years, noting the central interest in the struggle of clergy and laity, and then perhaps the changes of the time will find their best illustration in the history of religious usages.

1. Anti-Clerical Movement.

First, in 1529 (November 3), a new era begins with the Reformation Parliament. In the same year the Probate Act, the Mortuaries Act, and the Pluralities Act are passed into law, receiving the Royal assent December 17th, in spite of the opposition of Fisher to the two former, by which some of the fees paid to the clergy were "revised." On November 30th, 1530, Wolsey dies at Leicester Abbey, and in December of the same year the whole body of the clergy are declared to be involved in his præmunire.

On January 16th, 1531, the king's pardon is granted to the province of Canterbury on a fine of £100,000; on February 7–11th, the article of Royal Supremacy is proposed in Convocation, amended by Warham's rider, "as far as Christ's law alloweth," and unanimously adopted. On May 4th, the Province of York buys the pardon for £18,000, and the same submission to Henry's protectorate; but next year the attack is renewed in Parliament.

* Westminster, Oseney (Oxford), Chester, Gloucester, Bristol, Peterborough. A Bull for erecting six new bishoprics had been obtained from Rome in 1532.

In the legislation of 1532 Benefit of Clergy is limited to the higher orders ("sub-deacon at least"), and a supplication is presented against clerical legislation by the ordinaries (March 18th). On April 30th the Papal authority is first distinctly touched in the Act for Restraint of Annates, which, however, is not even conditionally ratified till July 9th, 1533,* but is kept in reserve and held over the Court of Rome to "compel them to hear reason."

On August 23rd Warham's death enables the king to place a creature of his own, Thomas Cranmer, in the primacy, and to obtain from the chief of his clergy a formal sentence of divorce from Catherine, and of sanction for his new marriage with Anne (May 23–June 1, 1533).

The Breach with Rome.

So far there had been no formal breach with Rome, but only with the clerical ascendency in the State—even the Annates Bill had not yet been confirmed: but in June, 1533, the king received certain news of the impending Papal decision, given on July 11th against the divorce. Accordingly he appealed from the Pope to a General Council (June 29) and summoned Parliament for the session of 1533–4 to pass the Restraint of Appeals, the Restraint of Annates, and the Act against Dispensations and Peter's Pence. This, with the submission† of the clergy to a State revision of the canon law, and the Act of Succession, completed the rough work of the Judicial revolution. What followed was the result of the four anti-Roman and the nine anti-clerical Acts of the past five years.

* Two days before the Papal decision against the divorce—"illud benedictum Divortium."

† The exact share of Convocation in the work of the Reformation Parliament is hard to fix. Latimer says in a sermon (June 6, 1536), preached before Convocation:—"What have ye done these seven years, that England hath been the better of a hair? Two things only: one, that ye burned a dead man; the other, that ye went about to burn one being alive." Yet, on the other hand it was maintained (*cf.* Fuller, V. 188) that "nothing was done in the Reformation but what was asked by Convocation, or grounded on some act of theirs precedent," and the list of measures taken in Convocation gives us:—(1), in 1534, a declaration that the Bishop of Rome hath no greater authority in England than any other foreign bishop, and a Petition for an authorised English Bible; (2), in 1536, a complaint of forty-nine popular errors and the passing of Ten Articles of Religion "to stablish Christian quietness;" (3), in 1539, the Six Articles approved; (4), in 1542, the "First Book of Homilies" introduced and authorised; (5), in 1543, the "Erudition" confirmed; (6), in 1544, the English Litany authorised.

The meaning of the whole movement, "to make this realm of England an empire governed by one lord," was gathered up in the Act of the King's Supreme Headship (November 3, 1534), and in the proclamation of the new title (January 15, 1535). The Primate passed from a Legate of the Apostolic See into a Metropolitan; the new State authority over Church law was expressed in the commission of thirty-two actually appointed for the revision of canons in 1536, and the several great Acts of Spoliation completed the destructive work. For before the end of 1534 the annates, now definitely taken from the Pope, were given to the Crown, and the suppression of the smaller monasteries in 1536, and of the greater in 1539, provided the sinews of war for later struggles.

F. A. GASQUET. The Suppression of the Monasteries.

The suppression of religious houses in England was not effected by one act of legislation, nor accomplished at one time. Several events led up to, and prepared the way for, the first Act of Parliament by which the lesser monastic establishments were dissolved. Rightly or wrongly, the general body of conventual ecclesiastics were regarded as against Henry in his quarrel with Rome, and their convents were described as so many "garrisons of the Pope" in England. In the matter of his divorce from Katherine, too, the king had reason for thinking that some of the religious bodies were in practical sympathy with the queen and opposed to his wishes. The Friars Observant—the strictest and most respected branch of the Franciscan Order—were the first to experience the resentment of Henry. Two of these friars were implicated with the "Holy Maid of Kent," and suffered with her at Tyburn on 20th April, 1534. Two others, Friars Peto and Elstow, had in their church at Greenwich, and in the royal presence, boldly attacked his marriage with Anne. By the early summer of 1534, Parliament, under the skilful management of Cromwell, had proved itself so pliable to Henry's will that he was able to proceed against the Greenwich friars. They were called upon to profess their adherence to the royal supremacy, to reject Papal authority, and to take an oath of allegiance to

The Franciscan Observants.

Queen Anne. Numerous attempts were made to bend these friars to the royal will, but in vain; and the suppression of the entire Order of Observants followed quickly upon their refusal of the articles proposed by the king's officials. Before the end of August, 1534, the seven houses of English Observant Friars had been emptied of their members, and about two hundred were thrown into prison.

The Carthusians.

Before the final dispersion of the Franciscan Observants the Crown had commenced its conflict with the Carthusian Order. These secluded religious had taken no active part in the thorny questions which surrounded the divorce, but yet their influence, which, owing to the undoubted sanctity of their lives, was considerable, was unquestionably exercised against Henry's rejection of Papal supremacy. In the spring of 1534, therefore, the troubles of the monks of the London Charterhouse commenced. The king was by this time fully committed to the breach with Rome, and had already made up his mind to override all opposition to this determination. The London Carthusians had the highest reputation for strictness of life, whilst a fearless superior, Prior John Houghton, presided over them. Chauncy, one of his subjects, says: "He was admired and sought after by all, and by his community was most beloved and esteemed." Early in April, 1534, the royal officials visited the monastery and demanded the signatures of the fathers to the oath of succession. First at a private interview and then publicly in Chapter, Houghton refused, saying "he could not understand how it was possible that a marriage ratified by the Church and so long unquestioned could be undone." To this view the whole community adhered.

Prior Houghton and Humfrey Middlemore, the procurator of the convent, were quickly committed to the Tower; there they remained for some weeks. Then, persuaded by the arguments of some who visited them, they consented to take the oath "as far as it was lawful." Six months later, on January 15th, 1535, the new title of "Supreme Head" was, by decree of Council, incorporated in the king's style, and in April Prior Houghton, Robert Laurence, the prior of the Charterhouse of Beauvale, and Augustine Webster, prior of Axholme, in Lincolnshire, anticipated the coming of the Royal Commissioners, and in a personal interview with Cromwell,

declared that they could never take the required oath. They were forthwith sent once more to the Tower, and on the 28th of April were indicted for that they "did, on 26th April, 27 Henry VIII., at the Tower of London . . . openly declare and say, 'the king, our sovereign lord, is not supreme head in earth of the Church of England.'" They were found guilty of this new form of verbal treason, and executed at Tyburn on the 4th of May of this same year, 1535. Over the gateway of the Charterhouse in London the arm of Prior Houghton was fixed as a warning to his brethren. A week or two later three more were lodged in prison, where, as the historian Stow relates, they "first stood in prison upright chained from the neck to the arms, and their legs fettered with locks and chains, by the space of thirteen days," when they were executed.

For two years the rest of the community were kept with great strictness in their house, whilst every effort was made to induce them to comply with Henry's demand. Most of them continued unshaken in their determination, and in May, 1536, those who held out were sent to other houses. At length, in May, 1537, the Commissioners attended at the Charterhouse to demand the oath. Twenty took it, but ten still resolutely refused and were carried off to prison, where, in a few weeks, as Stow says, nine of their number died "with stink and miserably smothered." The tenth lingered on in prison till 4th August, 1540, when he was hanged at Tyburn. The twenty members who had taken the oath on the promise of a pension, surrendered their house to the king. They continued, however, to live there until the 15th of November, 1539, when they were forcibly expelled, the monastic buildings being subsequently granted out as a place to store royal tents and engines of war.

The General Visitation.

Meantime, preparations were being pushed on for a measure of more general suppression of religious houses. By the middle of 1534 Commissioners were at work in all parts of England tendering the new oath of supremacy, which, in the minds of king and minister, was to be accounted the touchstone of loyalty and religion. Lord Herbert states that the scheme for the dissolution of monasteries was discussed at a meeting of the Council, where it met with considerable opposition. The disapproval of the measure must have convinced

the king of the need of caution. In the authority to visit all monasteries formerly subject to the Pope, which Parliament had bestowed upon the king two years previously, Henry, or more probably Cromwell, was not slow to recognise a valuable aid to attain the desired end. A general visitation of all religious houses was consequently determined upon. The chief visitors—Legh, Layton, Ap Rice, London, and Bedyll—were armed with the most complete authority, and their own letters are sufficient evidence that they fully understood that the purpose of the visitation was to find a suitable pretext for suppression, or by their vexatious injunctions to compel surrender. The visitors passed very rapidly from place to place in the autumn of 1535 and till the meeting of Parliament in February, 1536. The reports, or *compertes* as they were called, which the agents furnished to Cromwell seem to show that by no means all the monastic houses had been inspected. Sufficient had, however, been done to serve the royal purpose, and, true or false, their tales were used to induce Parliament to suppress the lesser religious establishments and to hand over their possessions to the king.

The *comperta* or *compertes*, together with the various letters written by the visitors whilst on their rounds, are the chief grounds of accusation against the character of the monks. It should in fairness be borne in mind that they do not profess to be more than reports, and there is no evidence of any investigation; whilst, as Mr. Gairdner, the historian of this period says, "considering the rapidity with which the work was done, the investigations could hardly have been very judicially conducted." It may be admitted that the summary of what was alleged against the moral state of many religious houses, even, be it remembered, some of the greatest in the kingdom, presents a black enough picture. Still, it should be remembered that the whole of the charges rests upon the worth of the visitors' word alone.

The Dissolution of the Smaller Houses.

In March, 1536, Parliament passed the Act by which the smaller monasteries were dissolved. The preamble of the measure itself contains practically all that is known of its origin and of the motives which induced the House to pass it. From this it would seem that the Bill was promoted by the Crown, and was accepted on the assurance of the king that evil lives were

being led in religious houses where the number of inmates was less than twelve. Of this, says the preamble, Henry had "knowledge . . . as well by the *compertes* of his late visitation as by sundry credible informations." And as a further reason, it was stated that the religious in the smaller monasteries would be useful to swell the ranks of "divers and great solemn monasteries of this realm (wherein, thanks be to God, religion is right well kept and observed)," and which "be destitute of such full numbers of religious persons as they ought and may keep." Acting upon this declaration, "the Lords and Commons by a great deliberation finally resolved" that the king should take possession of all monasteries which possessed an income of less than £200 a year; so "that his highness may . . . dispose of them, or any of them, at his will and pleasure to the honour of God and the wealth of this realm."

The Court of Augmentation.

To deal with the lands, movables, and other possessions which would come into the king's hands by this measure of suppression, Parliament sanctioned the creation of a special court, called the "Court of Augmentation." The institution of this has been regarded by historians as an indication that, at the time of the dissolution of the lesser monasteries, Henry contemplated further and more extensive measures in regard to ecclesiastical property. It was constituted, with Sir Richard Rich as first chancellor and Sir Thomas Pope as treasurer, on the 24th of April, 1536.

As a first step to the taking possession of the monastic possessions, it became necessary to determine which houses came within the pecuniary limit of £200 a year. With this object, the royal commission was directed to some of the leading men in each county to make a survey of the various houses within the limits of their respective districts; and on the very day when the Court of Augmentations was finally organised, instructions were issued for the guidance of these Commissioners. As regards the religious, the directions were simple. The officer was "to send those that will remain in the religion to other houses with letters to the Governors, and those that wish to go to the world to my lord of Canterbury and the Lord Chancellor." To the latter class "some reasonable reward," according to the distance of the place appointed, was

to be given. The superior alone was to have any pension promised to him, and he was to go to the Chancellor of the Augmentations for it. The rest of the instructions were chiefly concerned in the preservation of the property for the king.

The Effects of the Suppression.

It is somewhat difficult to estimate with any certainty the number of religious houses which passed into the king's hands by the operation of the Act of Dissolution. The authority of Stow, however, is usually relied upon for the statement that "the number of these houses then suppressed were 376, the value of their lands then £32,000 and more by year." Besides this, there was the money received for the spoils of the houses, consisting of money, plate, and jewels sent by the Commissioners into the king's treasury, and the proceeds of the sales of lead, bells, cattle, furniture, and even buildings. These "Robin Hood's pennyworths" are supposed by Lord Herbert to have brought more than £100,000 into the royal purse. Judging by the paltry sums realised by the sales of monastic effects and by the totals acknowledged to have been received by the Augmentation Office officials, this sum would appear altogether too high.

The Numbers Affected.

The number of persons affected by these first systematic suppressions was very considerable. Besides the monks and nuns who were turned out of their houses, and the servants, farm labourers, and others to whom they gave employment and means of subsistence, there must have been a vast number of men and women whose livelihood more or less depended upon the inmates of the dissolved religious establishments. Putting this latter class altogether on one side, Stow's estimate of "10,000 people, masters and servants, (who) lost their livings by the putting down of these houses at that time," may be taken as fairly correct. From such of the particulars given by the Royal Commissioners as are still extant, it may be roughly calculated that over 2,000 monks and nuns were dispossessed, and that there were between 9,000 and 10,000 people directly dependent on the monasteries dissolved.

It will be readily believed that the work could not have been accomplished without entailing considerable hardship upon many of the inmates thus rendered homeless. Thus, a nun of Arden, Elizabeth Johnson was allowed a pittance

"because she is helpless and deaf, and is said to be over eighty years of age," and William Coventry, of Wombridge Priory, had the sum of £6 8s. 4d. given him on his dismissal, "because he is sick and decrepid;" whilst two nuns of Esholt, in Yorkshire, were said to be disabled by infirmities, and were passed over to the care of their friends.

The Effect of the Reaction.

The Northern disturbances in the autumn of 1536 and the spring of the following year (p. 22), somewhat checked the progress of the dissolutions. But once the insurgents had been finally crushed and all fear of domestic danger was over, Henry used the rising as a pretext to effect further suppressions. Hitherto the attainder of a bishop or abbot for treason had not been held by English law to affect the property of the diocese or abbey over which the attainted superior ruled. The king, however, now determined to include the forfeiture of the possessions of the corporation in the punishment awarded to the head for real or supposed treasonable practices, and in this way several large and important religious establishments passed into the royal hands. Thus, upon the executions of the Abbots of Whalley and Sawley in March, 1537, the king's officials, acting upon his express orders, took possession of the houses and property; and in the same way the abbeys of Barlings, Jervaulx, Kirksted, and Woburn, with the priory of Bridlington, were brought into the king's hands under the law of attainder; whilst by threats and judicious management, the Earl of Sussex obtained the surrender of the great abbey of Furness, in Lancashire.

The Friaries.

The autumn of 1538, and the first half of the following year, witnessed the destruction of the English friaries. For some reason or other these houses, although they had but small incomes, had not been dealt with under the Act of Parliament dissolving the lesser monasteries. At the time of their fall, the friars were reduced to a state of great poverty, and this may have secured for them a temporary respite. The total number of their establishments in England was about two hundred. Of these the Franciscans had sixty, the Dominicans fifty-three, the Austin friars forty-two, and the Carmelites six-and-thirty. The rest were held by the Trinitarians and other less important bodies of friars. At the time of their destruction, although reduced by various

circumstances, the friars numbered probably about eighteen hundred.

From Michaelmas, 1537, to the same date in the following year, the work of dissolving the monastic houses was pushed on vigorously. During that time many of the larger establishments either surrendered to the king, or in some other way passed into his hands. Legally, Henry had a right only to those monasteries with a yearly income of less than £200; but after the failure of the Pilgrimage of Grace, the work of general suppression was actively commenced. It was of course necessary that the surrender of those abbeys which did not come within the operation of the Act of Dissolution, should at least appear to be voluntary, and every pressure was brought upon the monks and nuns to induce them to resign their possessions. The secret instructions given to the agents employed were precise: they were to take "the consent of the head and convent by way of their fair surrender under their convent seal to the same. If they shall willingly consent and agree," the Commissioners are directed to promise them pensions and other rewards. But "if they shall find any of the said heads and convents, so appointed to be dissolved, so wilful and obstinate that they will in no wise submit themselves to the King's Majesty," or "resign at the King's wish," the Commissioners are then to take possession of everything, and neither give pensions nor any part of their household goods to "such obstinate and wilful persons, till they shall know further of the King's pleasure."

Voluntary Surrender.

Meantime, however, whilst the secret instructions to the agents leave no room for doubt as to the royal intentions, by express direction of the rulers, the idea of any general attack upon the monastic system was not only kept in the background, but actually and publicly repudiated by both Henry and his agents. The monasteries stood alone. Singly they were approached with proposals for surrender, with a pittance for their members; or seizure, should they refuse, with poverty and possible punishment. Most of the houses made choice of the former alternative, and in the years 1538 and 1539 surrenders, which can hardly with truth be called voluntary, were obtained. In this way, some 150 monasteries of men and perhaps fifty convents of women passed into the royal possession.

The Application of the Endowments.

Early in 1539 it became necessary to obtain approval from Parliament for what had been done. There is evidence to prove that Henry at first thought of pledging himself to devote the appropriated property to public purposes. A draft of a projected Act in the king's writing suggests that the wealth of the religious corporations might with advantage "be turned to better use (as hereafter shall follow), whereby God's Word might the better be set forth, children brought up in learning, clerics nourished in the universities, old servants decayed have livings, almshouses for poor folk to be sustained in, readers of Greek, Hebrew, and Latin to have good stipends, daily alms to be administered, mending of highways, exhibitions for ministers of the Church," and considerable additions made to the existing bishoprics. Whatever inducements were put before the Parliament to win its consent to the king's proposals, nothing in the nature of public benefits is suggested in the Act itself, which for the second time dealt with the monastic property. It was introduced to the House on the 13th of May, 1539, and six days later became law. In no sense can this measure be considered properly as one dissolving or suppressing any religious houses. Its object was to secure to the king the property of such monasteries as had "by any means come into his hands by supersession, dissolution, or surrender since the 4th of February," 1536. Unlike the Act of 1536, this one does not allege any reasons, but simply states that "sundry abbots, priors, abbesses, prioresses, and other ecclesiastical governors and governesses of divers monasteries . . . of their own free and voluntary minds, good wills and assents, without constraint, co-action, or compulsion of any manner of person or persons," have resigned their possessions into the king's hands. These, therefore, Henry and his heirs are to hold for ever, and this permission was to extend to all houses subsequently surrendered or dissolved.

Extreme Measures.

By the autumn of 1539 comparatively few religious houses still remained in the possession of the monks. Monastic buildings in county after county were laid desolate by the royal agents, and the religious one after another expelled from their homes. Where resistance was offered, the ready process of attainder, with its accompanying confiscation, which, as Hallam says, "against

every form of received law," followed the treason, supposed or real, of the head of the corporation, was at hand to effect what threats or promises had been unable to accomplish. Under the working of this mysterious law of attainder, the abbots of the three great Benedictine houses of Glastonbury, Colchester, and Reading were executed, and their possessions seized for the Crown. From notes in Cromwell's own hand it seems clear that some time between the passing of the Act regarding the monasteries in April, 1539, and September in the same year, these abbots must have been sounded, and it had been found that compliance was not to be expected from them. Immediate action was taken; on the 19th of this latter month the royal agents appeared at Glastonbury, and having cross-examined the abbot, Richard Whiting, and ransacked his apartments for compromising documents, they sent him up to prison in the Tower of London. Immediately they proceeded to "despatch" the monks "with as much celerity" as possible, and by October the 24th, whilst Abbot Whiting remained still untried in the Tower, the rich plate of the abbey was handed into the royal treasury among the possessions of "attainted persons and places." Before the abbot left his prison his case was virtually concluded, and Cromwell could note: "Item: The Abbot of Glaston to be tried at Glaston and also executed there." The Church historian Collier is probably correct when he writes of the three abbots: "To reach them . . . the oath of supremacy was offered, and upon their refusal they were condemned for high treason."

The result of the trial at Wells was, upon Cromwell's own showing, a foregone conclusion, and the abbot's execution at Glastonbury, upon Tor Hill, with two of his monks, on November the 15th, 1539, finally placed the rich possessions of the abbey at the king's disposal. On the same day Hugh Cook, the Abbot of Reading, and two priests suffered death in front of the abbey gateway, whilst a fortnight later, on the 1st of December, 1539, Thomas Marshall, or Beche, the last Abbot of Colchester, was likewise executed. Within six weeks of his death the monastic buildings of St. John's Abbey had been dismantled, and workmen were busy stripping the lead from the roof of the church, melting it into pigs with the carved woodwork of the choir, and breaking up the bells that the metal might be conveyed away in barrels for sale.

By the beginning of 1540 the work of suppressing the religious houses in England was practically over. Between 1538 and 1540 probably about 250 of the greater houses of men and women had passed into the king's possession.

It has been estimated, from an examination of available sources of information, that the entire number of monks, canons, friars, and nuns dispossessed from first to last was probably in excess of eight thousand, whilst there must have been at least ten times that number of people more or less dependent upon them.

The Treatment of the Inmates.

Most, but by no means all, of the disbanded religious obtained some kind of pension. As regards the smaller houses, which alone had been dissolved by Act of Parliament, only the superior received any annuity. The friars, as a rule, obtained nothing, and as regards the rest of the monks and nuns, only such as resigned their houses in compliance with the royal wishes were promised annual pittances. Those who resisted or objected obtained nothing. Thus no monk at monasteries like Kirksted, Jervaulx, or Whalley in the north, or Glastonbury, Reading, Colchester, or Woburn in the south, obtained anything. Moreover, even a surrender does not always appear to have afforded any sure title to such a payment. Thus, to take an example, Furness Abbey was dissolved, apparently without the monks having obtained any promise of a pension. On dismissal from their cloister each received forty shillings, and to three, "who were sick and impotent," an extra twenty shillings was given. The following year the late abbot was provided with the profits of a rectory, which formerly belonged to his house: but, as far as appears, none of the thirty monks who were living at Furness at the surrender ever obtained anything for their somewhat tardy compliance with Henry's desires.

The Financial Results.

It is not easy to determine with anything like accuracy the value of the property which passed into the royal possession by the dissolutions. Speed has put the total annual value of the lands and benefices at £171,312 4s. 3¾d., and a modern calculation places it at £200,000 in round numbers. The existing accounts, however, show that Henry never derived anything like so large a benefit from the spoliation. Gratuitous grants,

speedy sales of lands, and other such things, quickly reduced the capital value of the prize, so that in no single year did the income from the confiscated property exceed £45,000.

The worth of the gold and silver plate received by the treasurer, and estimated by him at the melting price, was more than £85,000, or very nearly a million sterling of our money. Of the other spoils some of the richest were preserved and forwarded to London for the king's use; whilst the greater part were sold for what the things would fetch at the small auctions held all over the country in the cloisters or chapter-houses of the deserted monasteries. In round figures the money received by the king in this way from 1536 till his death was some £1,423,500, or between fourteen and fifteen millions sterling of the present money. Besides this sum, however, there was the worth of the vestments and other ecclesiastical furniture reserved for the king's use, and, what Cromwell evidently prized more than the rich plate itself, the countless precious stones and jewels from all the churches and shrines of the English monasteries.

C. RAYMOND BEAZLEY. The Disposal of the Spoils.

Out of the vast plunder obtained by the Dissolution there was some attempt made to refit the Church for the new time. First in 1534, twenty-six suffragan sees were indicated;* then, after the final monastic dissolution of 1539, eighteen new dioceses were promised; at last six were founded—Chester, Peterborough, Gloucester, Oxford, Bristol, and Westminster. Out of Wolsey's benefactions Cardinal College alone emerged from the wreck with diminished resources and the glory of a royal re-creation. To the end of his life, after his first taste of spoil in 1529, Henry's needs and avarice seemed to grow together. In 1545, less than six years after the last of the religious houses had been seized, the endowments of the universities, of all colleges of priests, and of all the chantries and guilds were put at the

* Thetford, Ipswich, Colchester, Dover, Guildford, Taunton, Southampton, Shaftesbury, Melton, Marlborough, Bedford, Leicester, Gloucester, Shrewsbury, Bristol, Penrith, Bridgwater, Nottingham, Grantham, Hull, Huntingdon, Cambridge, St. Germains (in Cornwall), and the Isle of Wight, with two others—in place of the Roman Bishops "in partibus." Seven were appointed, but the movement soon dropped, to be revived in the present reign.

Crown's mercy: commissioners were appointed to visit them, and only the king's death seems to have delayed their action till the new reign. As most of the landed spoil fell to the nobles and gentry, and most of the movables soon passed out of Henry's coffers, after meeting the calls of the moment, every great lay interest was thus united in the attack on Church property, which continued to the death of Edward VI.

But it would be a mistake to treat this whole period (1529–53) as on a level. For the first ten years of the revolution, as we have seen, the work is mainly destructive; for the next ten there is a distinct movement towards reconstruction, ending in the Prayer-Book of 1549. After the final statute of 1537 had been passed against the Pope's authority, embodying and supplementing all former Acts, and after the Great, or approved, English Bible had been published in 1539, the movement towards foreign Protestantism is roughly checked. The German and Lutheran marriage with Anne of Cleves is annulled; Cromwell, who had hoped by this to "bring the king to such a pass that he should not be able to resist," is thrown as a sop to the conservative or Catholic party whom he had ridden so hard, and the Act of Six Articles reaffirms transubstantiation, the celibacy of the clergy, the obligation of vows of chastity, and auricular confession—adding, more cautiously, that communion in both kinds was not necessary, and that private masses were both lawful and useful.

The Howard marriage (July 28, 1540) seemed to bind the king to the reaction as the Bullen and Seymour marriages of 1533 and 1536 had bound him to the revolution; but even as early as 1536 Henry's proclamation ordering the English Bible, "of the largest volume," to be set up in churches, shows his dislike of doctrinal change and of Protestant agitation. "The Scriptures are not to be read at the time of the mass, or for disputation or exposition of mysteries therein contained." The unauthorised versions, with their controversial prefaces and notes, are discouraged, and in 1539 superseded by the State revision of Tyndale's translation of 1525 (p. 195); while, in 1542, Edmund Bonner, as Bishop of London, is allowed to forbid "all crowding to read, or commenting on what is read." The more Henry learned of the Lutheran or of the Zwinglian system, the less he liked either.

In the same way, the Ten Articles of 1536 are explained

in the "Christian Man's Institution" and "Erudition" of 1537–43, which states the Catholic doctrine without change upon baptism, penance, the Eucharist, and justification, but explains the "*right* use of images, honouring of saints, ceremonies, and purgatory," denounces many abuses, and defines the "fundamentals of religion," as comprehended in the Bible, the three creeds, and the decrees of the first four councils —Nicæa, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon.

Again, in 1545, Shaxton, ex-Bishop of Sarum, is forced to admit all the disputed points in the mediæval sense; in 1540 Latimer is sent to the Tower; Cranmer about the same time, and again in 1545, is accused of heresy, and, from the time of Cromwell's fall, the party of which he was becoming the official chief, is clearly in opposition, while the conservatives, under Gardiner, are in power and favour at the Council. For, whatever were the king's personal leanings, doctrinally he sympathises to the end with the highest Churchmanship. Yet the tendency to treat all the Church system as of *political* obligation is found even here; tenets are "charitable," "comfortable," "godly"; ceremonies are "laudable" or "instructive." "In all disputes," says the proclamation of 1544, "recourse must be had to the Catholic Church; . . . therefore all books contrary to the doctrine now and to be set forth are forbidden; . . . but it is to the King, by Scripture, that all power is given of determining causes, of correcting heresies, errors, and sins."

Whatever the truth may be of Henry's supposed* conversion in his last illness, the doctrinal position of the earlier time is maintained in all his official acts till the end in 1547, and the English Prayer-Book of 1549 is only the result of Henry's reconstructive policy, which aimed at purifying and popularising the Catholic system, as he finally conceived it. This policy had already given the English people an English Litany in 1544, an English Primer in 1545,† with versions of matins and evensong, and parts of other services‡—and in

* After his marriage to Catherine Parr, he may have been influenced by her Protestant sympathies. She procured a translation of Erasmus's "Paraphrase," which was afterwards ordered, by Edward's injunctions of 1547, for use by the clergy.

† Or Layman's Book of Devotions, the authorised edition, following Marshall's irregular one (1535).

‡ On the English Liturgy of 1544, *cf.* the king's letter to Cranmer styling

1546 had directed Cranmer to "pen a form for the altering of the mass into a communion," just as in 1535 and 1542 the name of the Pope and all "apocryphas, feigned legends, and unscriptural saints, had been "put out of the service-books and calendars, newly castigated and reformed."

English Bibles.

In the same spirit, and with the apparent support of the Church leaders, Henry had steadily pressed for a reliable English Bible. Tyndale's original version of 1525, though its text was largely used in most that followed it, was put out of court by its "glosses" and controversial turns of sense. The achievement of this purpose will be traced in detail later (p. 193).

Thus before 1547 Henry VIII. had completed an English Bible and begun an English Prayer-Book; in 1531 Wynkyn de Worde printed the first collection of English carols, and soon after this Miles Coverdale compiled the first English hymn-book. The use of the vulgar tongue was one of the very few matters that seemed to have really united the sympathies of conservatives and Protestants in Henry's Council. Apparently both parties would have also agreed on some revision of ritual and popular religious custom, but they could not agree where to stop.

The Rejection of Relic Worship.

Among the superstitions questioned or rejected thus early were pilgrimages and their objects—the relics so vehemently attacked by Colet, Erasmus, and More—the older forms of veneration of images, and of invocation of saints, pardons, indulgences, and the purgatorial abuses. The shrine of St. Thomas the Martyr at Canterbury, as the monument of a priest who successfully defied a king and a Henry, and which for its wealth and fame had become the great English religious spectacle,* was plundered

it "The Common Prayer of Procession," and adding "that from henceforth general processions be had in all cities, towns, churches, and parishes, with godly prayers and suffrages in our native English tongue." This, with two chapters for daily lessons from the English Bible—one from the New Testament, one from the Old—and with versions of the Lord's Prayer and Ave Maria (translated in 1543), was all the English service authorised up to 1547, though in the preface to the Primer more seems promised, and probably much more was used irregularly in Puritanising parishes.

* *Cf.* Chaucer, Prologue :—

"But chiefely, from every Shire's endé
Of Engelond, to Canterbury they wendé
The holy blissful martyr there to seeké."

and rased, and the saint's name scratched out of the service-books. The king gained twenty-six cartloads of treasure, and the long-deferred present of Pope Paul's III.'s excommunication, drawn up in 1535, and suspended out of deference to the French king, as Henry himself had suspended his anti-Papal statutes, till all hope of reunion was passed.

By the time of Cranmer's catechism in 1548, pilgrimages had become a memory, with the more extreme abuses of images and purgatory; but nearly the whole of the liturgical ceremonies were kept up to the end of the reign. In the year of Latimer's disgrace, the king bids all his subjects "observe the holy bread and water, creeping to the cross, setting up of lights before the Corpus Christi, bearing of candles, offering of crysomes, and the rest." The attempt of Cranmer's German friends in 1538 to interfere with these and their related doctrines as superstitions, and the insults of the Protestant "ribalds," provoked the Act of Six Articles, deferred the English service-book, and made Henry maintain every jot of the old ritual to his death. In 1538 "at Hadley, in Suffolk, and Stratford, in Essex," the mass and Te Deum had been regularly said in English, and on August 23rd of the same year, the "rood of the north door in Paul's" was taken down by the king's commandment; yet the English Order of Communion did not appear till 1548. It was a premature beginning. The parish registers, ordered by Cromwell in September, 1538, had greater permanence, but this and the transfer of about one-third of the tithe to laymen, with the new diocesan and suffragan bishopries,* almost complete the list of alterations in the usage of the ordinary Church system under Henry VIII. The monasteries were an overgrowth, and were cut off as such. The normal parish, deanery, archdeaconry, and diocese, it was the avowed aim of the king's policy to strengthen; the normal doctrine and ritual, apart from the questions of power and income, it became his settled purpose to support. The English Church, he insisted, had rejected foreign tyranny and innovations and looked back to the first Christians for its model, but without any dissent from other national Churches, or any shadow of turning from the ancient Catholic faith. For it was an Old Catholic or Anglo-Catholic ideal which satisfied the first Reformers, though

* With the liturgical reforms already noticed.

it was impatiently discarded by the Protestants, whose slow but steady progress is proved by their irresistible strength at the beginning of the new reign and the new Court favour.

C. OMAN. The Art of War.

In the general history of the art of war, the period which commences with the great French invasion of Italy under Charles VIII. and ends with the peace of Cateau Cambresis (1493-1559), is of the highest importance, comprising within it the entire transition from mediæval to modern forms of warfare. But in England these years are of far less note, the corresponding change on this side of the Channel having come a full generation later. On the Continent the period ends with the complete supremacy in war of disciplined standing armies, in the discredit of the old belief in heavy armour, and in the triumph of fire-arms, the musket being always combined with the pike as the weapon of infantry. In England, as we shall see, no approach to a standing army had been made—indeed, such a thing never existed till the "New Model" Army of 1645 came into being. Moreover, the national arms were still the lance for the horseman and the bow and bill for the footman. All through the days of Henry VIII. we still hear of the old division into "spears" and "bows," which had been the rule in the wars of Henry V. in France, and the strife of the Two Roses.

The first half of the sixteenth century was neither a very notable nor a very glorious epoch in English military history. The two fights of Flodden and Pinkie and the "Battle of the Spurs" are the only general engagements which it can show. Henry VIII., it is true, made three serious invasions of France, but his efforts were singularly unfruitful. The captures of Tournay and Boulogne were not very striking or interesting feats of arms, and the general impression made by these campaigns on the reader is creditable neither to the leaders nor the led. No disasters, it is true, were suffered; but, on the other hand, the invaders, who started with the idea of emulating the deeds of Creçy and Agincourt, came home with no laurels to show. They barely penetrated the outermost defences of France, instead of being able to strike deep into the land and sweep all before them as their ancestors had

done. Yet the armies of Henry VIII. were not smaller and were far better equipped than those of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Nor can we explain their failures merely by the increased strength of the French monarchy and its adoption of the use of a standing army. It seems as if something were lacking in the English armies of the day, and a short examination soon shows what it was.

The Strength of the Old System.

The strength of the old armies of Edward III. or Henry V. lay in the close union between the leaders and the led. Though these forces had been raised, not on feudal principles, but on the system of "indentures" between the king and his knights and nobles (Vol. II., pp. 40, 327), yet the rank and file had always been the personal followers and retainers of the chiefs. The men whom a Salisbury or a Warwick brought to the royal host were their own tenants or household men, bound to their masters by every tie of local loyalty and personal attachment. As long as the old mediæval baronage existed, it could always count on the obedience and devotion of its tenantry. The men who wore their master's badge on sleeve and helm, who looked to him for maintenance in peace, and followed him as their born leader in war, were a very trustworthy force. They were not prone to mutiny or desertion, because disobedience to their lord in the field meant social ruin at home. All the treachery of the Wars of the Roses was on the part of the baronage against their kings, not on the part of the retainers against their lords.

The Weakness of the New.

But Edward IV. and Henry VII. had put an end to the old order of things. Half the land of England had been confiscated in the numberless attainders which followed Towton and Hexham, Barnet, and Tewkesbury. Many of the old baronies had disappeared: others survived nominally, but had passed into new lines. There had been a terrible breach in the continuity of the old feudal relations between lord and vassal. Of the old peerages of the highest rank and power we may fairly say that those of Northumberland and Buckingham were the only ones which survived into the time of Henry VIII., for the earldoms of Arundel, Westmoreland, and Oxford, the three other ancient titles which still existed, had never been very rich or strong, and the Howards of Norfolk were

not as great as their predecessors the Mowbrays. Moreover, Henry VII., by his stern repression of the practice of "livery and maintenance" (Vol. II., p. 490), had done his best to break the old military tie between the baronage and their tenantry.

Hence it came that the new Court nobility, who descended from the men whom Henry VII. and Edward IV. had raised to the peerage, had no such personal influence over their followers as had been possessed by the old baronage. When war was declared and a campaign over sea undertaken, armies were raised as of old by the "indenture" system, but the system no longer produced the steady and devoted bands which had followed the great lords of old. The crying sin of the armies of Henry VIII. was their abominable insubordination and disobedience to their chiefs. Except where the stern king was himself present to impose discipline by the power of the sword, the English hosts of the early sixteenth century tended to become unruly mobs at the first failure or the approach of discomfort. In 1512 Dorset's unfortunate expedition to Spain was entirely wrecked by mutiny; the soldiers grumbled at the bad food, at the inactivity of their Spanish allies, at the lack of beer—"because they had lever for to drink beer than wines and cider, for hot wines doth harm them and cider doth cast them into sickness." A strike of the strangest kind broke out: the men refused to march out of St. Sebastian unless their pay was increased from 6d. to 8d. a day. Shortly after, the astonishing spectacle was seen of a whole army deserting *en masse*. The soldiers seized shipping, baked a week's biscuit, threatened with death the officers who endeavoured to stay their departure, and sailed off for England. The king spoke of trying the Marquis of Dorset for treason, because he had not been able to keep his men to their duty, but let the matter blow over, because he could not punish the whole army.

Want of Discipline.

Eleven years later much the same thing was seen when the Duke of Suffolk took across the Channel an expedition which Wolsey called "the greatest army that hath been despatched from these shores for an hundred years," a calculation in which he was wrong, as Henry V., in 1422, and Edward IV. in 1475, had both put a greater force than 13,000 men in the field. In November the weather grew cold, and the men, for want of

winter clothing and good harbourage, began to suffer severely. At last the Welshmen in the camp set up a shout and cried "Home, Home!" to which some of the English replied, with contumelious cries of "Hang, Hang!" There was a tumult in the host which was put down with difficulty; but as the weather grew worse, discontent so increased that Suffolk was compelled to disband his troops and let them straggle back to Calais, though the king had given strict orders against a retreat, and had commanded the army to keep a forward position in France. It is small wonder that the duke, after this, "came not into the king's presence in a long season, because of his great heaviness and displeasure."

Henry VIII. in the Field.

When the king himself took the field, discipline seems to have fared better. Henry was both feared and respected, and their pliant loyalty to him seems to have sufficed to keep the soldiery from such outbreaks. But we should gather that his presence was as mischievous in some ways as it was useful in others; for the king was so given to misplaced pomp and ostentation that he used to go to war with a train of *impedimenta* which must have been a serious clog and nuisance to the army. The list of the retinue and baggage that he took over seas in 1513 is astonishing, and compares strangely enough with the modest equipment with which his predecessor Henry V. used to go on campaign. His "house of timber" went about with him in fourteen waggons, he had a tent of cloth of gold, besides several scores of minor tents and pavilions for his retinue. The non-combatant part of this following was absurdly large —scores of cooks, confectioners, lavenders, butlers, scullions, and henchmen. His wardrobe alone was calculated to occupy "a hall of forty-five feet long by fifteen broad." He took with him his Master of the Jewel-house, with many strong-boxes full of jewellery. But perhaps the most astonishing part of his train was the complete choir of his chapel-royal, to the number of no less than 115 chaplains and singers. With such a horde of useless followers, requiring hundreds of waggons and thousands of horses, Henry seems almost to vie with Xerxes in his absurd and unpractical ostentation. The mass of baggage would have been enough to cumber any host, and we easily see why his movements were so slow and ineffective.

Henry has left behind him a very complete code of camp

regulations and articles of war, dating from 1543. They are interesting in many ways, and much of their content is very practical and sensible. One most useful order, that all camp filth and carrion is to be buried nightly in trenches outside the encampment, marks an advance in notions of sanitation on any previous warlike practice. The rules as to discipline are very strict—a consequence, no doubt, of the numerous mutinies of his earlier years. The old royal jealousy of feudal particularism is clearly shown by a rule forbidding the use of any private badges or cognisances. Every soldier is to have a large St. George's Cross on his coat, and no other emblem whatever.

The Beginnings of Uniform.

Henry also endeavoured to introduce a regular uniform for the whole army, though the practice was not really established for a century after his death. This regulation clothing was to consist of a blue coat guarded with red, and a pair of breeches with the right leg red and the left leg blue, the latter having a red stripe three inches broad along the outer seam.

Equipment.

The troops are still divided into spears, bows, and bills. The bulk of the horsemen served in the old knightly equipment, now at its very heaviest, for the growing efficiency of firearms was still inducing the cavalry to pile more and thicker defences on their persons, till the armour "was more like anvils than mail plates." Light horsemen, called demi-lances, are also found; and towards the end of the reign a few mounted harquebusiers were also taken into the service—the prototypes of the dragoons of a later age.

Archery.

The infantry was composed, as in the time of the Wars of the Roses, of bows and bills in about equal numbers. The archery was still so good, and gave such an excellent account of itself when opposed to foreign troops furnished with firearms, that not the least tendency yet appears to drop the bow in favour of the harquebus. The great English weapon seems indeed to have been at its best in early Tudor times. The bows dredged up in 1841 from the wreck of the unlucky *Mary Rose* (p. 81), which sank off the Isle of Wight in 1545, were as much as six feet four inches in length, a size which demanded extraordinary skill and strength to manage. Bowmen and billmen alike were armed with breast- and back-pieces, and wore on

their heads either the older steel skull-caps and salades, or the more modern morion—a tall peaked headpiece with a curved brim, which came into general use and superseded all other infantry helmets in the second half of the Tudor period.

Artillery.

The quantity of artillery with the army was continually increasing in the sixteenth century, though still very moderate according to modern ideas; a couple of hundred gunners, with ten or twelve "serpents" or "bombards," being considered a liberal allowance to an army of 10,000 men. They were commanded by a "master of the ordnance," generally a knight in early Tudor days. But as the artillery grew more important we find great peers being given the post in the second half of the century. Down to the time of Henry VIII. a great part of the royal train of ordnance had been bought abroad, and only a comparatively small portion made at home. The first establishment of large public gun-foundries dates from the years 1520–30, from which time brass cannon were regularly cast in England, and quite superseded the old hooped-iron ordnance. Peter of Cologne, and Peter Baude, Henry's chief artificers, are said to have invented in 1543 the first shells for use for mortars. Stow describes them as "hollow shot of cast-iron stuffed with fireworks, fitted with screws of iron to receive a match to carry fire kindled, that the firework might be set on fire to break in small pieces the same hollow shot; whereof the smallest piece hitting any man did kill or spoil him." This invention was long before its time, like the occasional breech-loading cannon of the sixteenth century which are now and then found in artillery museums. Probably the uncertainty of explosion in the screwed match kept the invention from obtaining all the success that it merited.

Tactics.

We have already mentioned the curious dearth of general engagements in King Henry's long French and Scottish wars. Solway Moss and the Battle of the Spurs were mere cavalry scuffles. Flodden was the only pitched battle of the reign worth a careful consideration. It is one of the first British fights in which the time-honoured arrangement of the three great "battles"—the vaward, main-battle, and rear-ward—was abandoned by both parties. James IV., moved

Flodden.

(it is to be supposed) by the numerous French professional soldiers that accompanied him, had a front composed of five columns of moderate size, supported by four other columns in reserve in a second line. To prevent the crowding and hopeless inability to manœuvre that had always handicapped Scottish armies in the old English wars, there were wide intervals left between each column. This arrangement seems to have led the Scots into a fault the very reverse of their old mistake, for the separate bodies got out of touch with each other, and fought isolated engagements on different portions of Branxton hillside. Huntly's and Home's divisions on the left never kept their communication with the centre after the first charge. Bothwell's reserve column on the right centre of the second line got overlooked in a dip of the ground, and was not brought up at the right moment to succour the hard-pressed centre.

The troops of Lord Surrey were arrayed in a smaller number of divisions than the Scots, being in two great "battles" each furnished with two smaller wings. They advanced in echelon, with the right wing-division of the right-hand "battle" leading; but probably this array was caused by the hindrance of the marsh in front of the left "battle," not by any deliberate intention. It resulted, however, in the fighting beginning on the extreme right, and gradually spreading down the line as each English division got in touch with the Scottish column in its immediate front.

The details of Flodden have the same general character as those of the earlier Anglo-Scottish battles. It was essentially an infantry engagement, in which the Scottish pike was pitted against the English combination of bow and bill. All the columns in King James's army held their own at first, except the right wing, where the light-armed Highlanders of Argyle and Lennox were broken early in the day. But the spearmen of the centre and left kept the English at bay in the close fighting by their serried ranks, and only yielded in the evening to the archery fire, which galled them intolerably in the intervals between the charges of the billmen and the horse of Surrey's army. Night saved the wreck of the host, or the final retreat must have ended in annihilation, when the long-tried clumps of pikemen finally gave back and sought safety in a dangerous retreat towards the Tweed. For

the way back to Scotland lay round the English right flank, and could not have been gained by a single fugitive if the daylight had continued.

Before quitting the days of Henry VIII. it is necessary to mention that the reign was not unfruitful in castle-building. Henry's forts, however, were not the great strongholds of the Middle Ages, but smaller structures destined almost entirely for coast defence. The French were so often in command of the Channel, and descents on the southern counties were so numerous, that the king erected numerous castles along the coast of Kent, Sussex, and Hampshire, to serve as local centres of defence. They were intended to resist maritime descents, not to stand long sieges, and were of moderate size and simple structure, not like the complicated Edwardian structures on the Welsh and Scottish borders. They were placed on open stretches of shore where landing was easy, and destined to check and delay it. Sandown Castle, covering the long shelving east shore of the Isle of Wight, and Camber on the flats between Winchelsea and Rye, may serve as examples. These small castles had a permanent garrison of a few gunners, reinforced, when a descent threatened, by the local levies of the neighbourhood.

Fortification.

UNTIL the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Royal Navy of England consisted of very few vessels. These few, the property of the sovereign, were, in time of peace, occasionally let out to the merchants, but more often utilised to police the narrow seas, or to carry between England and the Continent personages of distinction. In war time they formed merely the nucleus of the fighting fleet, the far greater part of which was composed of the ships furnished, in accordance with their charters, by the Cinque Ports, and of a still greater number of vessels hired or "arrested" for the particular purpose in hand. Under Henry VII., the Royal Navy was augmented; but not until the reign of Henry VIII. was it organised as a standing force, and placed under the charge of a separate Government department. For this reason, Henry VIII., however partial may have been the success of his naval policy in other respects, may fairly be regarded as the Father of the British Navy. He

W. LAIRD CLOWES.
The Navy.

settled the constitution of the service upon a plan from which it has ever since steadily developed. He encouraged the planting and preservation of timber for shipbuilding purposes. He vigorously repressed piracy and all maritime irregularities. "The laws made in his time," says Campbell, "for the facilitating and support of inland navigation, clearly demonstrate that the importance of large rivers began to be understood and esteemed more than during the Civil Wars, when public welfare gave way to private interest. The Thames, the Ouse, the Exe, the river of Southampton, the Severn, etc., were freed from weirs and other obstructions: on the same principle an Act was passed for rendering the river of Canterbury deeper, in order to its becoming navigable. The illegal tolls and other oppressive duties on the Severn were suppressed, that the great communication by that noble river might be as free as possible. The making of cables, and other hempen manufactures, which had been the principal stay of Bridport, in Dorsetshire, was secured to that place by statute. More than one law was passed to prevent the harbours in Devonshire and Cornwall from being injured and choked up by the stream-works of the tin mines. An Act was also passed in favour of the port of Scarborough; and with regard to Dover, the haven being in a manner spoiled, the king expended between sixty and seventy thousand pounds out of his own coffers in building a new pier, and in other necessary works." Some favours he also granted, out of consideration for their harbour, to the inhabitants of Poole. He founded the Royal Dockyards of Woolwich and Deptford, and the Corporation of the Trinity House; and although, of course, the construction of the great and famous warship which was named after him went but a little way towards the creation of an efficient fleet, he deserves credit for the activity with which he prosecuted the work of coast defence. To this he paid special attention, while at the same time he was by no means inclined to overrate the importance of it, or to believe that England's protection could be effectively undertaken elsewhere than on the sea. He fortified the Isle of Portland, and built Hurst Castle, the forts at Cowes, Camber Castle for the defence of Rye and Winchelsea, Southsea Castle and other works for the defence of Portsmouth, and the castles at Walmer, Sandgate,

Fortification.

Deal, Sandown, Queenborough, St. Mawes, Pendennis, and elsewhere along the coasts. His methods may have been illegal, and even tyrannical; the results at which he aimed, and which to some extent he achieved, were certainly calculated to promote the power and enhance the grandeur of the country.

Henry VIII.'s Ships of War.

The *Regent*, the largest of the warships that had descended to him from his father, was, as has already been noticed, destroyed in action with the French in 1512. The king at once began the building of the celebrated *Henri Grace à Dieu*, or *Great Harry*, which he caused to be laid down at Erith, in September of the same year, and which was completed for sea in 1515. She appears to have been modelled upon the previous vessel of the same name, but to have been somewhat larger, and much more perfect both as a sailing and as a fighting machine. There are several alleged pictures of her. One hung for many years in Canterbury Cathedral, and was at length given by the Dean and Chapter to Admiral of the Fleet Sir John Norris, who died in 1749. Another is to be found in the great canvas, the property of the Queen, which represents the embarkation of Henry VIII. at Dover on May 31st, 1520, to meet Francis I. on the Field of the Cloth of Gold. This last, which is attributed to Volpe, but which has been claimed as a Holbein, shows the *Great Harry*, with the king on board, leaving Dover Harbour with her sails set. Charnock thus describes her as she is there shown: "She has four masts with two round tops on each mast except the shortest mizen; her sails and pendants are of cloth of gold damasked. The Royal Standard of England is flying on each of the four quarters of the forecastle, and the staff of each standard is surmounted by a fleur-de-lys *or;* pendants are flying on the mastheads; and at each quarter of the deck is a standard of St. George's Cross. Her quarters and sides, as also the tops, are fortified and decorated with heater shields, or targets, charged differently with the cross of St. George—*azure*, a fleur-de-lys, *or*, party per pale *argent* and *vert*, a union rose; and party per pale *argent* and *vert*, a portcullis, *or*, alternately and repeatedly. . . . On the front of the forecastle are depicted party per pale *argent* and *vert*, within a circle of two garters, the arms of France and England

quarterly crowned, the supporters a lion and a dragon, being the arms and supporters then used by King Henry the Eighth. The same arms are repeated on the stern. On each side of the rudder is a port-hole with a brass cannon; and on the side of the main-deck are two port-holes with cannon, and the same number under the forecastle. The figure on the ship's head seems to be meant to represent a lion, but is extremely ill-carved. Under her stern is a boat, having at her head two standards of St. George's Cross, and the same at her stern." An inventory of her gear and fittings is preserved in the Pepysian Library at Magdalen College, Cambridge. From this it appears that of brass guns she had: 4 cannon, 3 demi-cannon, 4 culverins, 2 demi-culverins, 4 sakers, 2 "cannon-perers," and 2 falcons: and of iron guns, 14 port-pieces, 4 slings, 2 demi-slings, 8 fowlers, 60 baessys, 2 top-pieces, 40 hail-shot pieces, and 100 hand-guns complete. The "cannon" of the period was an 8 in. 60 pr. gun, 8 ft. 6 in. in length; the "demi-cannon" was a 6·4 in. 32 pr., 11 feet in length; the "culverin" was a 5·2 in. 16 pr., 11 feet in length; the "demi-culverin" was a 4 in. 9½ pr.: the "saker" was a 3·6 in. 6 pr., 6 ft. 11 in. in length: what the "cannon-perer" was is not quite certain; the "falcon" was a 2·5 in. 2 pr., 8 ft. 6 in. in length. The iron guns were all of small calibre. For her guns the *Great Harry* carried 2 lasts of "serpentine" and 6 lasts of "corn" powder, in barrels, a "last" weighing probably about 4,000 lb. The allowances of shot for the big guns were: for the cannon, 100; for the demi-cannon, 60; for the culverins, 120: for the demi-culverins, 70: for the sakers, 120; for the cannon-perers, 60 ("of stoen and leade"); and for the falcons, 100. Among the "munycions" are enumerated 12 iron sledges, 12 iron crows, "canvas for cartowches," "paper ryal for cartowches," "bowes of yough," ten gross of bow-strings, bows, arrows, darts, and pikes. Among the "habilliments for warre," were ropes, nails, bags of leather, lime-pots, timber, spare wheels, and trucks, and "shipe skynnys." Her complement consisted of 349 soldiers, 301 mariners, and 50 gunners, or 700 in all. From other sources we learn incidentally that a streamer 51 yards long for her mainmast cost £3, and that two flags with crosses of St. George cost 10d. apiece. An inventory of her gear in 1521 shows that her main-stay was 16 inches in circumference, and

that she had a 22 in. cable, a 20 in. cable, and an 8 in. hawser. Writing to the King on June 4th, 1522, from the Downs, Sir William Fitzwilliam declared that the *Henri Grace à Dieu* sailed as well as, and rather better than, any ship in the fleet, and weathered them all save the *Mary Rose*.

Upon the *Mary Rose*, a ship of only 600 tons burthen, she was, no doubt, an improvement as much in general design as in mere size and power of armament. The unfortunate *Mary Rose*, whose lower-deck ports were but sixteen inches out of the water, capsized while going out to engage the French fleet at Spithead in 1545, and sank with her captain and 400 men. On the same day, the King himself had dined on board. Many of her guns, some of which are very fine, were long afterwards recovered and are still preserved. Among them are an eight-sided brass "culverin bastard" of 4·5 in. calibre, and 8 ft. 6 in. in length, and a brass "cannon-royal," the largest gun of that day, of 8·54 in. calibre, that would have carried a 66 lb. spherical shot, and that is said to have required a charge of 30 lb. of powder.

The naval pay of Henry's time was still low. A vice-admiral received 10s. a day, but a captain generally but 1s. 6d. Soldiers, mariners, and gunners received 5s. a month and 5s. for, or in the shape of, victualling allowances. Master gunners were paid 20s., and quarter gunners 15s. 3d. a month. The men, as in earlier periods, occasionally had gratuities or rewards over and above their pay. In 1514, two clerks to the admiral received 8d. a day each.

In action tactics began to be practised. Each side strove to get the weather gauge, and there was some attempt at manœuvring in regular formation; but the issue seems to have been usually decided more by means of bows and arrows, axes, pikes, lime-pots, stink-pots, and hand-to-hand fighting, than by gun-fire; and there is reason to believe that the number of rounds got rid of during an engagement was always comparatively small. The practice of saluting with guns seems to have been first adopted by the Navy in this reign.

Commenting upon the increased size of ships, Father Daniel says: "One observation will alone suffice to show that the largest men-of-war of former days were not to be compared for bulk with those of the present time. The proof is

that our fleets were once fitted out in harbours, where now vessels of middling size have not water to ride. Harfleur was one of the most considerable of these ports; but now sheep feed where formerly whole fleets rode at anchor, the sea having withdrawn itself the distance of a league; and it is very visible how shallow the water was at that time." Too much has been made of this somewhat illogical remark, and naval historians have, perhaps, unduly minimised the size of the ante-Tudor ships, forgetful of the fact that the recession of the sea has in many places, and notably at some of the Cinque Ports, been obviously caused by deposits of sand and shingle, so that the former depth of water cannot be accurately estimated. But there is no doubt that under the early Tudors, enormous improvements were effected, as regards both size and seaworthiness; and that from the time of Henry VIII. must be dated our first possession of a Navy "fit to go anywhere and do anything."

Henry established the Navy Office, and appointed certain officers, known as the Principal Officers of the Navy, to manage the civil branches of the service under the Lord High Admiral. These seem to have held their meetings upon Tower Hill; but precise regulations for their guidance were not laid down until the reign of Edward VI.

A striking incident of the early part of Henry's sovereignty, and one which not only shows the naval importance of the country, but must have had effect in stimulating the maritime pride of the people, was the appointment of Thomas, Earl of Surrey, as commander-in-chief of the allied fleets of England and of the Roman Empire. The Emperor Charles V., in his commission to Surrey, dated June 8th, 1522, granted to the English Lord High Admiral "the same authority, full and plenary power over our Royal Navy, the captains, soldiers, and seamen thereof . . . both in promoting the officers, in conferring the honour of knighthood on persons of merit, in punishing malefactors, in giving out fitting orders, in trying and judging all causes, and in executing and appointing all and everything under his command . . . as the said admiral hath in the King his master's fleet."

Sea-borne trade greatly increased and prospered. According to Hakluyt, the trade to the Levant especially rose

into importance. "In the years 1511, 1512, etc., till the year 1534, several tall ships of London, with certain other ships of Southampton and Bristol, had an ordinary and usual trade to Sicily, Candia, Chio, and sometimes to Cyprus, as also to Tripoli and Beirut, in Syria. The commodities which they carried thither were fine kerseys of divers colours, coarse kerseys, white western dozens, cottons, certain cloths called statutes, and others called cardinal whites, and calf-skins which were well sold in Sicily, etc. The commodities which they returned back were silks, camlets, rhubarb, Malmseys, muscadels and other wines, sweet oils, cotton, wood, Turkey carpets, galls, pepper, cinnamon, and some other spices, etc. Besides the natural inhabitants of the aforesaid places, they had, even in those days, traffic with Jews, Turks, and other foreigners. Neither did our merchants only employ their own English shipping, but sundry strangers' also; as Candians, Ragusans, Sicilians, Genoeses, Venetian galleasses, Spanish, and Portugal ships; all which particulars I have diligently perused and copied out of the ledger-books of the R.W., Sir William Locke, Mercer of London, Sir William Bowyer, Alderman of London, Mr. John Gresham, and others." The King freely employed his ambassadors and agents in the furtherance of the growing commerce of the country. He appointed a Genoese as English Consul in the distant island of Chio; and Ley in Spain, and Pace in Switzerland and Venice, had always, as much by Henry's direction as by their own inclination, as watchful eyes for the commercial as for the diplomatic advantage of the country. A very extensive scheme of Pace's for the enlargement of English trade with the Levant, was only prevented from coming to the King's notice by the jealous interference of Wolsey, who, as Campbell says, first decried him as a madman, and then, by his ill-usage, made him really such.

The Growth of Sea-borne Trade.

The age also began to breed great naval commanders, as well as adventurers and explorers (pp. 209–228). Among these were Sir Edward Howard, Lord High Admiral in 1513–14, who in the latter year met the French admiral, the Sieur de Porsmoguer (a name corrupted by the English of the time into Sir Pierce Morgan) off Brest, and fought a bloody but

The Great Admirals of Henry VIII.'s reign.

indecisive battle with him, and who soon afterwards fell once more gallantly leading a squadron to the attack of some French galleys in Conquêt Bay. When he knew that he must die he flung overboard his chain of gold nobles, and his great golden whistle, that the spoils of an English admiral should not pass into the hands of the enemy. The gold whistle, it should be mentioned, was then the badge of command of an admiral, just as the silver whistle or "call" now is of a boatswain: and more than once during the present century a sensible proposal has been made to revive it as such.

There was also Sir Thomas Howard, younger brother of the above, and afterwards Duke of Norfolk. He succeeded Sir Edward as Lord High Admiral. Both were sons of that Earl of Surrey who had said: "The narrow seas shall not be infested with pirates so long as I have an estate to furnish a ship and a son to command it." Sir Thomas first distinguished himself by defeating and slaying one of the most notorious of these pirates, the redoubtable Scot, Sir Andrew Barton. He also fought with distinction at Flodden; he was made, as we have seen, commander-in-chief of the allied fleets of Henry and the Emperor; and he won many successes at sea. Finally there was Sir William Fitzwilliam, who became Earl of Southampton, and who was not only a great commander, but also a very accomplished seaman, at a period when the two qualifications did not commonly go together.

Some interesting particulars concerning the government of a fleet at this period are to be found in an indenture made in 1512, between the King and Sir Edward Howard, admiral-in-chief. After reciting the rates of pay for the various ranks, the instrument declares that the officers and men engaged shall have "Certain *dead shares*, as hereafter doth ensue; of all which wages, rewards, and victual-money, the said admiral shall be paid in manner and form following:—he shall, before he and his retinue enter into the ship, make their musters before such commissioners as shall please our said Sovereign-lord to depute and appoint; and immediately after such musters be made, he shall receive of our Sovereign-lord, by the hands of such as his Grace shall appoint, for himself, the said captains, soldiers, mariners, and gunners, wages, rewards, and victual-money after the rate before rehearsed, for three months then next ensuing." From this it appears

that three lunar months' wages were paid in advance. The "dead shares," it must be supposed, regulated the division of prize-money. The stated tonnage of the ships engaged on this occasion was: *Regent*, 1000; *Mary Rose*, 500; *Peter Pomegranate*, 400; *Nicolas Reede*, 400; *Mary and John*, 260; *Ann*, of Greenwich, 160; *Mary George*, 300; *Dragon*, 100; *Barbara*, 140; *George*, of Falmouth, 140; *Nicolas*, of Hampton, 200; *Martenet*, 140; *Genet*, 70; *Christopher Davy*, 160; and *Sabyan*, 120. "The said soldiers, mariners, and gunners," continues the instrument, "shall have of our Sovereign-lord *conduct-money*, that is to say, every of them, for every day's journey from his house to the place where they shall be shipped (accounting twelve miles for the day's journey) sixpence; of which days they shall have evidence by their oaths, before him or them, that our said Sovereign-lord shall appoint and assign to pay them the said wages and conduct money."

J. BASS MULLINGER.
The New Learning.

Towards the close of the fifteenth century, learning and education in England underwent a permanent change, owing to the spread of the great movement known as the Renaissance to our shores. Commencing in Italy, in the time of Petrarch, its earliest pioneer, it gradually assumed a twofold character: first, in connexion with Latin literature; and secondly, in connexion with Greek literature. As regards the former, it is necessary to recall that many of Cicero's writings, which had been for ages lying in oblivion, were now for the first time again brought to light and studied with an almost unbounded enthusiasm by Italian scholars, with many of whom it became their chief ambition to be successful imitators of Cicero's Latin style; as regards the latter, it is also to be remembered that Greek literature, as associated with heresy, had long been under the ban of the Church, and was consequently neglected. But in the fifteenth century, both before and after the fall of Constantinople in 1453, there had been a continual migration of Greek scholars into Italy, bringing with them numerous manuscripts of authors almost unknown in the West, and interpreting them to admiring audiences in the universities of Florence, Padua, and Rome. The fame of their lectures

attracted scholars from all parts of Europe. In England, some students at Oxford—among whom were Selling, Grocyn, Linacre, and William Latimer—were thus induced to repair to Italy in order to acquire a knowledge of Greek, which, on their return, they imparted to their countrymen at home. Gradually their example was followed by a considerable number of scholars both from Oxford and Cambridge, and a great literary intercourse was thus brought about between Italy and England. This literary intercourse led in turn to a more general intercourse, which was attended by very important results in the latter country.

But in England, as in Germany, it was not without considerable opposition that the "new learning," as it was termed, made its way. Civilians and canonists disliked the Ciceronian Latin, by the side of which their crabbed and barbarous diction appeared yet more crabbed and barbarous than before. The theologians, accustomed to cite the Latin Fathers as incontrovertible authorities with respect to points of doctrine, could not patiently endure to hear Clemens, Origen, or St. Basil cited in opposition and as of equal authority. Schoolmasters throughout the country were almost invariably hostile to a movement which threatened to revolutionise the prevailing methods of education. A bitter feud broke out between the contending parties; and at the universities, under the names of "Greeks" and "Trojans," they carried on a series of animated conflicts. At one time, it even appeared probable that the latter would prove victorious. Erasmus, who was Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge from 1511 to 1514, after vainly endeavouring to establish a school of Greek in the university, abandoned his design in despair. At Oxford, the antipathy to the study was so violent, that in 1519 it became necessary to issue a royal mandate in order to obtain for the "Greeks" immunity from molestation. Had it not been for the exertions and influence of statesmen such as Bishop Fisher, Sir Thomas More, and Cardinal Wolsey, the progress of the new learning in England might have been indefinitely postponed.

The Work of Erasmus.

At this great crisis, the debt of our forefathers to Erasmus would seem to have been almost incalculable. Although he had failed in his endeavours on behalf of Greek in Cambridge, his influence there, in another direction, was considerable and enduring. It

was there that he mainly produced his *Novum Instrumentum*, a paraphrase of the New Testament into Latin from the original Greek, and not, as Wycliffe's English Bible, chiefly from the Latin Vulgate—the errors of which he exposed unsparingly. The paraphrase by Erasmus also paved the way for Tyndale's versions in the vernacular. The whole question of the study of Greek, at this period, is thus to be found standing in close relation to the other great movement of the first half of the sixteenth century—the English Reformation.

The "Germans" at Cambridge.

It was about the year 1521 that it became notorious in Cambridge that certain members of the University, mostly young men, were in the habit of holding meetings in the town, at an old inn, known as the White Horse, for the purpose of religious discussions. These assemblings would appear, in the first instance, to have had for their object simply the reading of Erasmus's Paraphrase, and an examination of some of the questions which it raised by its divergence from the Vulgate. A little later, however, it began to be rumoured that these discussions were extending to the yet graver questions opened up by Luther's earlier writings, in which he was assailing not only the prevalent abuses, but the doctrinal errors of the Roman Church. The White Horse now began to be known as "Germany," and its devout frequenters as "Germans." In reality, however, only a few of those who thus assembled adopted the Lutheran tenets; they mainly wished to bring about a moderate reform, which, while rejecting the Papal supremacy, on the one hand, would have retained the institution of the episcopal order on the other. Among the more advanced were Coverdale and Tyndale, whose versions of the Scriptures in the vernacular became an important influence in our literary history, by the manner in which they served to fix the standard of English prose. Among the more moderate was Hugh Latimer, who by his powerful pulpit oratory roused the laity to a more systematic study of the Bible for themselves, although he did not concern himself with Luther's doctrines. Another was Robert Barnes, who confined himself chiefly to inveighing against the abuses of the Church and the pride and pomp of Wolsey.

Erasmus himself, although he largely aided the Reformation by his labours, had little sympathy with the movement. He

would have liked to see the more glaring abuses and superstitious observances abolished, to see the authority of General Councils restored, as the supreme tribunal of the Western Church, and he would have rejoiced, above all, to see education and learning more widely diffused among both the clergy and the laity. When, however, he saw that Luther was leading his followers into a position of antagonism to the Church which could result only in complete rupture, he drew back and took his stand on the side of conservatism.

The Impulse to Education.

But there was yet a third field of labour in which the teaching of Erasmus was destined to be attended by more definite results than either in connexion with the study of Greek or of divinity. This was in relation to the improvement of education among the poorer laity. To no single scholar, indeed, is the cause of education in the sixteenth century under greater obligations than to Erasmus. His freedom from traditional prejudice, combined with his high scholarship and natural sagacity, enabled him to discern the conditions essential to the profitable acquirement of knowledge, whether in the case of a future monarch or of the son of a mechanic. It was in the year 1510 that the celebrated John Colet, who had been one of Erasmus's best friends in England, consulted him as to the choice of a master for a new school which he was proposing to found in London. Colet, the son of a Lord Mayor of London, was a man of fortune, and had studied at Oxford and in Italy; and it was his aim to educate for the Church a select number of youths who should reflect the best influences of the Renaissance, and especially be taught "pure Latin, the very Roman tongue used in the time of Tully and Sallust." His conception of the functions of the teacher was undoubtedly high; but he found Erasmus's yet higher. In fact, the letter in which the great scholar embodies the advice demanded, may be looked upon as one of the most remarkable compositions in the whole literature of the history of education. Erasmus held that a good teacher, even for boys, should not only be a good Latinist, but should also know Greek; that he should have studied the Fathers; that he should have studied the ancient philosophers; that he should have a knowledge of history, both sacred and profane, and likewise of geography and comparative philology. This high ideal can hardly have

been fully realised in the appointment of William Lyly, the compiler of the first Latin Grammar for public schools in England, to the Mastership of St. Paul's School; but it serves to show how high the theory of education had risen in the days and in the realm of Henry VIII.

Some six years later, in 1516, Erasmus compiled his treatise on the "Education of a Christian Prince," in which he enunciates a series of maxims designed to guide a monarch in his conduct of the realm and in his relations to the people. The compiler rather indicates the ideal to which the royal education should tend than lays down any distinct method to be pursued. The treatise, however, soon came to be regarded as the best manual for those select few whom accident of birth might some day call upon to sway the sceptre, and the library of St. John's College, Cambridge, still preserves the copy presented to King Edward VI. in his eleventh year, and containing the royal autograph.

In his old age, in the year 1529, Erasmus embodied the results of his long experience in a more practical treatise on the "First Liberal Education of Boys." To the reader of the present day so much of the advice here given will now appear trite and commonplace that it is only by recalling to mind what had hitherto been the discipline and training of the mediæval school that we can do justice to the originality and sound judgment which pervade this admirable treatise. We hear but little, it is true, concerning schoolboy life in mediæval times; but that little is generally unfavourable. One of the earliest glimpses we get is that afforded in the pages of Fitz-Stephen, the historian, of schools in London in the twelfth century (Vol. I., p. 379); it seems to show that disputations were a good deal encouraged among the scholars—a practice almost universally condemned by the most authoritative writers on the subject of education. Generally speaking, there appears to have been a complete disregard of special aptitudes on the part of the individual pupil; the traditional text-books were dictated to the class in a formal, unintelligent manner; the average acquirements were limited to reading and writing, to which, in the cathedral schools, there were added chanting and an elementary knowledge of Latin. At the same time, the discipline was harsh, and sometimes cruel in the extreme. And

Boys' Schools in the Middle Ages.

even among the gentry, as we see from the "Paston Letters," flogging was looked upon as a necessary stimulus to boyish disinclination to study. Mrs. Agnes Paston, in a letter to a teacher of her son (a lad of fifteen), written in 1457, begs that "if the boy has not done well, he will truly belash him till he will mend." Some endeavour was made to impart a few notions of deportment and manners, by instructing the youthful gentry in the "Book of Urbanitie." Erasmus, in his treatise, recommends that education should begin at home, and that a teacher should be chosen with aptitudes and a liking for his vocation. In learning Latin, a good vocabulary is first to be acquired, all grammatical rules being made as concise and general as possible; lessons are never to be tedious, but should be given at frequent intervals. As soon as a foundation had been laid in language, the learner was to acquire a knowledge of facts and things. Erasmus held that the training of the memory was a matter requiring especial attention; and, as essential thereto, he postulates a clear comprehension of facts, correct order of these in the mind, careful grounding in first notions and in distinctions. Such are a few of the really philosophic views on the subject of education with which, at this period, Englishmen, by the aid of this sensible tractate, became familiarised.

Wolsey and the Educational Movement.

It was Wolsey's policy, as far as his position permitted, to place himself at the head of the advancing movement; and the foundation of Cardinal College (afterwards Christ Church) at Oxford, in 1525, endowed with the revenues of some of the suppressed monasteries and with teachers of the new learning, some of them brought from Cambridge, gave practical proof of his sympathy. Brasenose had already been founded in 1511; and the rise of Corpus Christi in 1517, with chairs for lecturers in Latin and Greek, was a notable event in the history of learning at Oxford. The latter foundation owed its origin to Richard Fox, Bishop of Winchester, another eminent patron of education at this period. At Cambridge, Bishop Fisher, the patron of Erasmus, was proceeding on the same lines; and through his efforts, the munificence of the Lady Margaret, the mother of Henry VII., was successively directed to the foundation of Christ's College in 1505, and St. John's College in 1511. At all these new foundations the

statutes given for their observance served not only to encourage the new studies, but also, by the absence of many restrictions to be found in the codes of the older societies, to impart a greater animation and sense of freedom in other respects. At St. John's College was gathered together a brilliant circle of scholars, among whom were William Cecil (afterwards Lord Burghley), Sir John Cheke, and Roger Ascham, who vied with each other in their enthusiastic pursuit of the study of Greek and in the energy with which they devoted themselves to the instruction of the younger students.

New Grammar Schools.

Nearly at the same time that he founded Cardinal College, Wolsey also founded the Grammar School at Ipswich, and himself drew up a plan of classical instruction distributed through eight classes, which he designed should serve as a model for the grammar schools throughout the kingdom. The example thus set by Colet and Wolsey was widely followed, and before the close of Henry's reign some fifty other schools were founded. Among them were those of the newly founded sees of Bristol, Chester, Gloucester, Oxford, and Peterborough, together with those at Canterbury, Grantham, Norwich, Rochester, Stamford, Sutton Coldfield, Wisbech, and Worcester. Of the already existing foundations, originally designed solely for the sons of citizens and townsmen, some are to be traced as far back as the twelfth century—Derby having been founded in 1162, and St. Alban's in 1195. From that period down to the beginning of Henry VIII.'s reign, Carlisle enumerates some five-and-thirty more—among them, Winchester, Hereford, Eton, The Mercers', Chichester, Lancaster, and Guildford. Not a few others probably became extinct; for Roger Bacon asserts that in his time there were schools in every city, town, and borough, while in London the number was such as to cause the metropolis to be designated the "Third University." With the fifteenth century, however, these schools, like the universities, had rapidly declined, and in 1447 we find four London clergymen petitioning for permission to found schools in their respective parishes of Allhallows-the-More; St. Andrew's, Holborn; St. Peter's, Cornhill; and St. Mary Colechurch. It had also become the practice of many of the nobility and gentry to send their sons to be educated at the school of some large monastery—such as Glastonbury, Bury St. Edmund's, and Hyde near

Winchester. Others confided them to the care of some prelate, distinguished for his virtues and learning; and Sir Thomas More himself had been educated in the household of Archbishop Morton.

The Dissolution and its Effects.

The dissolution of the monasteries stands in very close connexion with the history of education in England. Of the effete condition of many of these foundations there appears to have been a widespread conviction long before the final catastrophe took place (Vol. II., p. 466 *seqq.*). The school at Ipswich, like Cardinal College, was endowed with the revenues of a suppressed priory, and in thus appropriating monastic property Wolsey appears to have had the sanction of the Roman see. Had it not been, indeed, for Henry's quarrel with the Pope, it is probable that a considerable proportion of the monastic revenues might have been thus transferred without involving so complete a revolution as that which ultimately resulted. But for a time a very different tendency seemed likely to prevail, and the greed of the courtiers, unsatisfied with the spoil of the monasteries, threatened to engulf the universities and colleges themselves. Considerable estates were permanently alienated from more than one foundation, and all found themselves distinctly menaced. In the year 1545, when Fisher's influence could no longer be invoked, St. John's College was in great danger. Fortunately, however, King Henry was induced to examine for himself the accounts of the society, and thereupon peremptorily refused to sanction the proposed spoliation, observing that "he thought he had not in his realm so many persons so honestly maintained in living by so little land and rent." In one respect, indeed, the dispersion of the monastic communities proved directly detrimental to the universities, for it had been customary for both monasteries and friaries to send their most promising members to Oxford or Cambridge, there to reside for several years, keeping their acts in the schools and attending lectures; "in order," says a royal injunction, so late as 1535, that "after they were learned in good and holy letters, they might, when they returned home, instruct their brethren and diligently teach the Word of God."

Simultaneously with the disappearance of the monks and the friars, the universities witnessed a complete revolution in

the ancient system of instruction. Cromwell's commissioners appeared both at Oxford and at Cambridge, and formally expelled the schoolmen and their commentators alike from the colleges and from the schools. One of their number, Dr. Leighton, in an oft-quoted passage, has left on record the scene to be witnessed in the great court of New College, Oxford, "full of the leaves of Dunce" (Duns Scotus), "the wind blowing them into every corner." Among the more notable of the new provisions were those requiring that each college should now found and maintain "two daily public lectures, one of Greek the other of Latin"; that all students should be allowed to read the Scriptures without interference, and also to attend lectures upon them; that lectures on the canon law and degrees in that faculty should alike be abolished; that the study of Aristotle should be pursued without "the frivolous questions and obscure glosses" of his mediæval commentators; that Rudolphus Agricola (an early German reformer) and Melanchthon should occupy a prominent place in the new list of text-books. In the year 1540 the foundation of the Regius Professorships at both universities on the several subjects of divinity, civil law, physic, Hebrew, and Greek, with separate endowments, afforded important extraneous aid to these several branches of learning. Ascham, writing about the year 1542, speaks with enthusiasm of the impetus thus given to classical studies at Cambridge, which he describes as "quite another place," "so substantially and splendidly has it been endowed by the royal munificence." "Aristotle and Plato," he goes on to say, "are being read even by the boys (the undergraduates); Sophocles and Euripides are more familiar authors than Plautus was in your time; Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon are more conned and discussed than Livy was then. Demosthenes is as familiar an author as Cicero used to be; and there are more copies of Isocrates in use than there used to be of Terence. Nor do we disregard the Latin authors, but study with the greatest zeal the choicest writers of the best period." Much of the credit attaching to this improved state of things appears to have belonged to Sir John Cheke, who had been appointed to the professorship of Greek. The foundation of Trinity College in 1546 is, perhaps, the last notable event in connexion with the history of

The Revolution in University Teaching.

education in Henry's reign. Through the royal munificence it was largely endowed, chiefly from the great tithes which had formerly belonged to the monasteries, while in its constitution the college represented the first complete example of a society administered and providing its various courses of instruction in entire independence of the university.

Sir Thomas More's Influence.

It is due to Henry himself to recognise the fact that he was a scholar and well-read theologian, and that he selected the ablest teachers to educate his own family. Ludovicus Vives was the tutor of the Princess Mary; Roger Ascham of Lady Jane Grey and Queen Elizabeth; Sir John Cheke of Prince Edward. No scholar in this reign, however, exercised a more potent influence than Sir Thomas More, whose wont it was to assemble under his roof young scholars destined for the clerical profession or for official life, whom he treated with parental kindness; while of the circle thus gathered round him, we are told that it resembled "rather an universite than a private school." His "Utopia" remained unprinted in England during his lifetime (p. 104), but in 1551 it was translated into English by Ralph Robinson, a fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and belongs accordingly to the literary influences of the reign of Edward VI. From its pages we may not unreasonably infer the breadth of thought and wise sentiments which characterised the author's conversation with those whom he, in a certain sense, educated. Allowing for certain communistic notions, it may justly be said that social reform and enlightened philanthropy, ever since More's time, have seemed to draw nearer to the ideal which he here holds up, of an imaginary community where life is carried on according to Nature rather than the dictates of mediæval asceticism, and where legislation places within the reach of all, healthy homes, prescribed hours both of labour and recreation, land and other property shared in common, perfect freedom of opinion, and every kind of intellectual pursuit and innocent pastime.

Among those who received instruction under More's roof was Sir Thomas Elyot, another of the many eminent men whom Wolsey's discernment raised to serve the State. In his remarkable book entitled "The Governour," which appeared in 1531, Elyot propounded a variety of views on the subject of education, many of which were startling to his

contemporaries. They were largely derived from Plato's "Republic," as well as from the writings of Patrizi, an Italian bishop of the preceding century, and thus distinctly represent Renaissance influence. But to the majority of Englishmen they were altogether new; and appearing as the utterances of a distinguished diplomatist of the day, they produced a great effect at the time, while their subsequent effect on educational literature was yet greater. Among the reforms which Elyot advocated were: systematic kindness to the youthful learner and a careful regard for individual aptitudes; the use of object-lessons in instructing children, with the aid of pictures and toys; in the study of Latin, less attention to the niceties of grammar and more to the meaning and spirit of each author; in the study of Greek, an observed sequence of authors; the use of maps in the study of historical writers less time given to logic.

Ludovicus Vives.

Superior in originality to Elyot was Ludovicus Vives, a native of Valencia in Spain. He had studied not only at the university of his native town, but also at Paris, Louvain, and Oxford. He resided in England from 1523 to 1528, and during that time acted as tutor to the Princess Mary. Although well read in the classical authors, he did not regard them with that unqualified admiration, approaching almost to idolatry, too often exhibited by the scholar of the Renaissance. He had the courage dispassionately to weigh in the balance the disadvantages as well as the advantages to be derived from the study of the pagan literature, and pronounced his conclusions with a candour and sobriety of judgment displayed by few of his contemporaries. He is perhaps the first writer on the subject of education who advised the use of expurgated editions of the classical authors. His discourse "On Studies" (De Disciplinis), which appeared about the same time as Elyot's work, is also the vehicle of many independent and enlightened judgments on other educational questions. He was not only one of the first to reject the notion of accepting the authority of Aristotle as final on all scientific subjects; but he, in a very remarkable manner, anticipated Bacon by insisting upon observation and experiment as essential to all true scientific advancement. In discussing the choice of a site for a school he dwells upon considerations rarely present to the minds of founders in those

days, such as the healthiness of the locality, cheapness of necessaries for living, the character of the crafts carried on in the neighbourhood, and other features of the local life. In connexion with teaching he lays special stress on a careful continuity in the work of instruction, the interdependence of the different parts being always maintained. He is of opinion that more should be left to the independent exertion of the pupil than was the practice in that day. And while he places, with justice at that time, the acquirement of Latin in the foreground, he holds that it should be taught, and grammar likewise, *through the medium of the vernacular*. Living languages, he considers, should be acquired, *not* through a grammar, but by learning to converse in them with natives.

It is astonishing that views so rational and enlightened should have been propounded so authoritatively in the first half of the sixteenth century, and should have produced so little effect that they appear to have altogether passed from recollection, and were again put forth two centuries later as the result of independent speculation. Much, on the other hand, of what Elyot had advised and taught was embodied by Roger Ascham in his well-known treatise, "The Scholemaster." The first edition of the book did not appear until 1570, but we know that as early as 1545 he was carrying into practice the views to which he here gives expression. During the early part of King Edward's reign he was acting as tutor to the Princess Elizabeth, to whose remarkable skill as a linguist and conversational command of Latin, Greek, French, and Italian, he pays a notable tribute. A temporary coolness arose, however, between the princess and her instructor, and from 1550 to the death of Edward, Ascham was absent from England, acting as secretary to Sir Richard Morysin, English ambassador to the Court of Charles V.

Ascham.

The most striking feature in the "Scholemaster" is the method recommended by Ascham in teaching Latin. It is borrowed from the younger Pliny, but improved upon, and is as simple as it is rational. As the text-book of instruction, Ascham recommends a selection from the easier "Letters of Cicero," which had been compiled by his friend John Sturm. A letter was to be taken, and the learner was first of all to be made clearly to understand its object and the tenor of its

contents. Then he was to render the original into English, and to do this more than once, until he understood the precise force of every Latin expression. Next, he was to parse the Latin, word by word. After this, he was to have a "paper book" given to him, in which he was to write a translation of the whole letter into English. Then, after a certain interval of not less than an hour, he was to have his English version given him back to turn into Latin. Then he was to take his Latin version to the master, who was to place the pupil's Latin and Cicero's side by side, and, pointing out the deviations from the original, to make these discrepancies the basis of *a lesson in grammar.*

Notwithstanding the manifest merits of this method, it involved too much trouble on the part of the teacher with the individual pupil, and called, perhaps, for too much intelligence in the average instructor to be acceptable in the class-room. The method which ultimately obtained in the public grammar school was that of Ascham's contemporary above-mentioned, John Sturm, of Strassburg—a system of carefully-graduated instruction extending through nine classes, in which little was left to the discretion of the instructor of each class and little regard was paid to the individual capacity of the scholar. It had, however, the merit of reducing the work of teaching the classics to a system of uniform, rigid drill, which appealed much more successfully than Ascham's method to the mechanical spirit of the age and to the interests of the ordinary schoolmaster. But although his method failed to gain currency, Ascham's "Scholemaster" at once took its permanent place as an English classic. The whole work abounds with choice anecdotes, admirable reflexions, pregnant sentiments from pagan authors, scholarly criticisms; and exhibits throughout, moreover, a deep yet kindly estimate of the boy nature, which makes it one of the most suggestive and fascinating books in the English language, and justly entitles the author to the praise bestowed upon him by Gabriel Harvey, of being "a flowing spring of humanity." Unfortunately, however, his pleadings in favour of a more kindly discipline remained as little regarded as his method of teaching Latin. The harsh treatment of the grammar school continued, and became proverbial; so that parents, as at Farnworth early in the seventeenth century, would sometimes

complain to the magistrates that their children were in "danger of losing their senses, lives, and limbs."

G. SAINTSBURY. Literature.

THAT period of the history of English literature which includes the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Mary, has an interest which varies remarkably, according to the standard of appreciation adopted. Judged by the positive literary merit of the writers whose names are included in it, it can hardly be admitted to the second class, and certainly not to the first. It produced no poet and no prose-writer whose works have retained, or have at any time reached, a prominent position among English classics. Skelton, More, Latimer, Wyatt, Ascham, and Surrey are the only names in it that are at all familiar to any but students of English literature; and if we add Hawes at the earliest part of it, and Udall later, we shall have pretty well exhausted the list of those whose literary interest, intrinsically and without the aid of the historic estimate, is above the average. We may add many as curiosities, as valuable for the matter of their writings as teachers, and so forth. But here we get into quite another order of appreciation—that of the historic estimate itself. Viewed from this side, the period is not only not insignificant, but it takes very high rank; for it is one of those by no means common periods when the order changes, not with the gradual and almost imperceptible kind of change which is always before us. It is not merely a shifting of scenes that is going on, it is the passage from one act to another—almost the passage from one play to another in a trilogy or tetralogy. In a certain sense no change has taken place since which has been so sweeping as that which began, if it was not fully accomplished, during these fifty years. Here English literature ceases to be mediæval, and prepares itself to be modern; it applies itself for enrichment and comparison to the classical tongues, regarded for the first time as literary models, and to modern languages other than French; it makes efforts at the drama; it discusses abstract questions of philosophy and polity no longer in the scholastic manner. Above all, it sets about a complete reformation of its poetry, a reformation the effects

The Beginning of the Modern Period.

of which, indeed, are not fully seen till a quarter of a century after it has ceased, but which is practically inevitable, not merely from the date of "Tottel's Miscellany" (1557), but from the much earlier date at which the more important contents of that Miscellany were written.

The causes of this great change were necessarily manifold, and some of them—the religious quarrels of the time, the immense impulse to new efforts and new thought of all kinds given by the discovery of America, the political alterations brought in by the Wars of the Roses, and so forth—were not specially literary; but in so far as specially literary influences were necessary and were at work, they were supplied by the two new studies above referred to. The first was the study of the classics, and especially of Greek (which was introduced by Grocyn, d. 1519, and Linacre, d. 1524, at Oxford, and by others somewhat later at Cambridge), not merely as texts, the matter of which was to be more or less implicitly believed, but from the point of view of scholarship as models of style, as examples of literary life, and instructions in literary manners. The other was the study of the literature of Southern Europe, and especially of Italy, and rather later Spain, not neglecting the more northern productions of Germany, for matter chiefly. France had already exercised her full teaching influence, and France at this particular moment had nothing whatever to teach. It was not till quite towards the end of our period that, in Marot and Rabelais, she began once more to produce writers of great individual talent, and neither of these had anything to teach Englishmen in what Englishmen were then specially anxious to learn—the formal parts of literature.

Hawes and Skelton.

It is seldom, however, that a period of change from the old to the new like this opens with such striking examples of the old as the two poets whose names have been mentioned above—Hawes and Skelton. They complete each other in a very remarkable way, and though they have wide differences in appearance, they have even greater agreements in reality. They were almost exact contemporaries, for though it is not known when either was born, Skelton certainly died in 1529, and the only positive mention that we have of Hawes as dead dates from the following year, though his death may reasonably be placed somewhat earlier. Hawes was an Oxford man,

Skelton was of Cambridge. Hawes travelled, was Groom of the Chamber to Henry VIII., was evidently a great student of Chaucer and his school, especially Lydgate, and in the main followed them in his own verse. Scarcely anything more is known of him personally. With Skelton, who was probably a rather older man, it is different. A Master of Arts at Cambridge from, it would appear, 1484, he was soon created Poet Laureate by the sister university—a dignity rather to be compared with the academic "crowns" of some foreign institutions than with the office of Dryden and Lord Tennyson. He was an industrious translator of Latin, and was patronised by Henry VII. and his mother Lady Margaret. He took Orders rather late, fourteen years after his Master's degree was presented to the Rectory of Diss in Norfolk (his native county), and proceeded to take to himself a wife, for which, though not deprived, he was suspended. He went to London and, though he had once been tutor to Henry VIII., and seems to have been well treated by him, plunged into the fray against Henry's favourite, Wolsey, attacking him in various satires of no great polish but of unsurpassed virulence and occasional vigour, the chief of which is "Why come ye not to Court?" He had to take sanctuary at Westminster, and died there but a few months before Wolsey's disgrace.

Although, as has been said, there are strange differences between these two contemporaries, the differences are accompanied by resemblances not less remarkable. Hawes is essentially, and not merely in his accidents, a courtly poet. His chief poem, "The Pastime of Pleasure: or, the History of Grand Amour and La Belle Pucel" (of which, with his other work, the first thorough edition has long been expected from Professor Arber) speaks itself by its very title to all who know the older English poetry. In general character, no less than in minor developments, it deviates hardly at all from the common form of the allegorical love romance which had been planted upon all Europe by the "Roman de la Rose," to which even the towering genius of Chaucer stooped at times, and which almost completely enslaved Chaucer's followers. There are a few touches of more modern English in Hawes, and there is a certain way of regarding his subject which has encouraged liberal critics to speak of him as at least a half-way house to the "Faerie Queene." The half-way house seems

to the present writer to have nearly all its windows turned to the first, not the second, stage of the journey. Hawes is not by any means a despicable poet, but he is altogether of the past, even for his own time.

It is fair to say, however, that the much more original and versatile genius of Skelton shows, in his more elaborate and literary work, exactly the same tendency, if tendency that may be called which refuses to tend. One whole division of his poems—the "Crown of Laurel," with its delightful minor addresses to the girls of high degree who had, at the Countess of Surrey's bidding, vied in embroidering a gift for the Laureate; the "Bouge of Court," an allegorical satire; the "Dolorous Death of the Earl of Northumberland," and the rest—runs in the ruts of the old poetry quite as much as Hawes. And the other half—the half which, in a somewhat second-hand way, keeps Skelton's name alive for those who do not care to examine the stately Chaucerian septetts, or the dainty skipping verses to Lady Muriel and Lady Elizabeth Howard, to the two Isabels (Pennell and Knight), to Margery Wentworth, Margaret Tylney, Jane Blennerhassett and Gertrude Statham—though it is fresh and vigorous enough, has no foretaste of Elizabethan form in it. "The Tunning of Elynour Rummynge" (anticipating and bettering Smollett at his filthiest, but full of masterstrokes), "Why come ye not to Court?" with its fearless onslaught on the all-powerful favourite; the illiberal but genuine and patriotic shout over the Rout of the Duke of Albany and his Scots and Frenchmen at "the water of Tweed"—these and minor things are written in a curious short skipping doggerel, which has preserved the name of Skeltonian, but which as little as anything of the time shows the influence of the real Renaissance, the influence which was to unite scholarship with vigour in poetry.

The Study of Foreign Languages.

Yet in the very time of these two poets, and partly by the means of one of them—for Skelton was no idle translator—the seeds of this Renaissance in England were being sown broadcast. Everybody, to adopt a pardonable exaggeration, was reading French, Italian, German, Spanish, Latin, Greek—but especially Italian and the classics—and applying their lessons to English. The great influence of the teaching of Greek, first at Oxford and then at Cambridge, has been referred to. The range and

vigour of the more modern studies of the time may be exampled by the excellent John Palsgrave, d. 1554, who not only was responsible for an "Eclaircissement de la Langue Françoise" (1530), historically very valuable, but translated (1546) what is, perhaps, the most brilliant of Renaissance Latin comedies, the "Acolastus" of the Dutchman, Wilelm Volder, *alias* Fullonius, *alias* Gnapheus. A French grammar had been, a little earlier, published by Alexander Barclay (d. 1552), a Scot—probably a Cambridge man, certainly a chaplain of St. Mary Ottery in Devon and a monk of Ely, an adapter of Eclogues (said to be the first in English, after Æneas Silvius and Mantuanus), and best of all known as the translator (1509) of Sebastian Brant's "Narrenschiff." Barclay, who seems to have been somewhat vagrant in taste, was subsequently a Franciscan at Canterbury, and after the dissolution of the monasteries, held divers secular benefices. But the range of his studies is more significant of the time than of any personal impulse. It was, indeed, a time which was "making itself" (to use the famous phrase in reference to the youth of Sir Walter Scott) in almost every direction: and the positive interest of its achievements, or of most of them, is not nearly so remarkable as their comparative importance in the history of literature. Independently of the foreign scholars who, chiefly in Latin, set examples to the English writers, such as Bernard André and Polydore Vergil; of the reforming controversialists, with Tyndale and Roy at their head, who helped to bring literature, or something like literature, in the vernacular, home to the vulgar; of the early translators of the Bible, among whom, of course, Tyndale himself is to be reckoned; of the half-historians, half-chroniclers, like Fabyan, Hall, and Grafton, some writers who, without being beholden to their matter or the novelty of their form in English, would have been at any time noteworthy for their purely literary talents, appeared in the reign of Henry VIII. There was Leland, the topographer; there was Sir Thomas Elyot, author of the remarkable book—partly political, but mainly dealing with the education of a gentleman—called "The Governor" (1531); there was Latimer, raciest of preachers, and an ancestor of a line of vernacular English writers which includes Bunyan, Defoe, and Cobbett. There were the early dramatists, partly writers of moralities

The Variety of Attempt.

and interludes, the chief of whom was John Heywood (1497–1575); partly anticipators of the actual drama, like Nicholas Udall (d. 1556), who, in apparent imitation of the Terentian or Plautine style, or, more probably still, of the Renaissance Latin imitations of it, stumbled on *Ralph Roister Doister* (in 1540), and thereby wrote what has been generally and justly held to be the first English comedy (p. 339).

The Four Leading Writers.

But in a very brief notice of the literature of this period, more than in such a notice of almost any other, it is difficult to avoid committing two mistakes: mentioning authors of really second-rate importance, without sufficient detail, for which there is no room, and omitting others of hardly less importance altogether. It will, therefore, be better to end with four persons who, if none of them is actually first-rate, all have intrinsic worth beyond the common, who represent (Sackville being postponed as more properly Elizabethan) the highest achievements in English prose and verse of the century before the accession of Elizabeth, and who, in the case of three of them at least, either actually display or very closely foreshadow the innovations in prose and verse style which were to introduce those great ages of English literature to which Chaucer alone, of all the forerunners, had distinctly pointed. These four names are those of More, Ascham, Wyatt, and Surrey; the first writing comparatively early, and more noteworthy for matter than for form; the second partly belonging to the period, and very characteristic of it; the third and fourth unpublished till its very end, but exemplifying in point of composition and influence the heart of it all.

The lives of these four are much better known than those of most of the authors previously mentioned; and that More in 1535, and Surrey in 1547, died on the scaffold, victims of Henry's capricious despotism, is, perhaps, the best known fact of all. Wyatt, a man of position and a prominent diplomatist, had more than one escape of a similar fate, and was perhaps fortunate in the opportunity of dying quietly in 1542, having hardly reached middle age. Ascham, too, was of the Court circle, but his humbler rank, or his greater prudence, protected him, and he outlived the terrors both of Henry VIII. and Mary. His well-known "Toxophilus" (1540) dates from this period, and, though a little more vernacular than the later

"Scholemaster," is an excellent example of the style which scholarly Englishmen, conscious of the superiority of classic models but not willing to make English a mere copy of Greek and Latin, were at the time writing in considerable quantity, though seldom with such taste or such judgment as Ascham's.

The "Utopia."

As for the elder, and, in non-literary matters, more illustrious prose-writer, it may, perhaps, seem odd that his greatest work—the only work by which he is generally known—was not written in English at all. The "Utopia," first printed (abroad) in 1516, was written by More in Latin, and was first introduced "in the English tongue to English men" long after its author's death, in a version by Ralph Robinson in 1551. As a matter of fact, More was a voluminous writer enough in English prose (he wrote in verse, too), the great bulk of it consisting of controversial pamphlets against the Lutherans, though he also left a "History of Edward V. and Richard III.," and other matter. Yet, paradoxical as it may seem, posterity, which is very generally though not always right, has been right in fixing on the "Utopia," which he never wrote in English, as his chief contribution to English literature. For it is almost the earliest exposition by an Englishman of the spirit of the earlier English Renaissance. More was an Oxford man, deeply imbued with Oxford Humanism; and in this little treatise (in form a kind of sketch of a Platonic commonwealth) he has exemplified at once the religious liberalism (free in his case from any laxity of belief), the comparative spirit in regard to ancient and modern literatures and institutions, the enthusiasm excited by the discovery of a New World—all the ingredients, in short, of the fermenting mixture which was at work on the national mind.

Wyatt and Surrey.

The literary position of the two poets was different and more distinct—being concerned almost entirely with form. Their work, first presented together to the public, as above observed, in 1557, by "Tottel's Miscellany," was of considerably earlier date. Wyatt, so far as we know, introduced the sonnet into English; Surrey, so far as we know, introduced regular decasyllabic blank verse. Both are sometimes said to have introduced a "New Prosody"—a phrase which is capable of being used in a rather misleading manner, though it is here right enough in intention. Strictly speaking,

it is impossible to introduce a new prosody into any language: for prosody is an inseparable accident, if not an essential property, of every language, as it is developed by its own organic growth. The followers of Wyatt and Surrey did endeavour to introduce a new prosody—sapphics, hexameters, alcaics, and what not—and failed as they were bound to fail. All that Surrey and Wyatt themselves did was to tighten up the bearings (if we may so speak) of English verse on the lines which the greatest English poets had themselves used, but which had been neglected or carelessly misused by their followers. The decasyllable, which was their staple metre, was the decasyllable of Chaucer, adjusted at first, especially by Wyatt, to the awkwardly enough altered pronunciation of the language. The Alexandrines and Fourteeners with which they varied it were also nothing radically novel. But they discouraged the mere doggerel—alliterative or other—which had survived the Chaucerian reforms, and had been specially patronised in different forms by Skelton and by the Scotch poets; and they rejected the loose versification (whether due to imperfect printing or not is a question differed upon by experts) which is remarkable in the printed work of Hawes. The Italian models which they studied, and still more the great Italian form of the sonnet which they introduced and cultivated, must have been of inestimable service in assisting them to observe this increased exactitude. At the same time, their anxiety to be accurate led them occasionally to wrest accentuation, to force rhyme, and in other ways to distort and play tricks with their mother-tongue.

Their Metres.

But this drawback, such as it was, was as nothing compared to the advantages which they gained. Whether Wyatt, at least, had a very good ear may be doubted; some of his experiments hardly look like it. But Surrey was evidently a born master of metre, and his elder contemporary was saved by his models from the stumbles to which he was naturally rather inclined. Both, moreover, had either by idiosyncrasy, or by saturating themselves with the spirit of these models, attained to a heat of poetical (chiefly amatory) conception, which enabled them to present their poetry in a fused and shapen form far different from the half-inarticulate utterings or mutterings of their predecessors. Alliteration on the one hand, and the endless repetition of French allegorising on the

other, had brought those predecessors sometimes very near to the verge of nonsense. Skelton in particular (and that not merely in the part of his verse which is popular, satiric, and burlesque) is sometimes very nearly impossible to construe; and, side by side with the nobler passages of such men as the Scotchman Dunbar, we often find other passages where words seem to be used, if not with no meaning at all, at any rate in a reckless fashion of "piling up," very much as a child smears the colours from its paint-box one over another.

All this Wyatt and Surrey changed; at least, of the change of all this they set an example which, slowly and not very promisingly followed, produced at last, after the transitional and undecided though fine work of Sackville, the magnificent poetical medium of Spenser. The companions who appeared with them in "Tottel's Miscellany," and who, with others of the same kind, peopled English literature during the third quarter of the century, were for the most part poor if respectable creatures. No one, except Sackville himself, had the least spark of divine fire. But the hearth for the reception of that fire had been laid, the implements and materials for its maintenance and adjustment had been fashioned or collected.

This was, in short, to recur to the point from which we started, the office of the whole period, though it was not so strikingly or thoroughly performed by any man in prose as by these two men in verse. Indeed, it was nearly a full century, or more than a full century (according as Jonson with some, or Cowley with others, is taken to be the Wyatt of English prose) that prose itself was thoroughly reformed. But the whole period was one, if not of eager experiment—it had hardly the original genius for that at its disposal—of diligent collection of material, of patient exploration and comparison of what had been done by others, of discontent (not scornful or insolent, but genuine) with the mere following of ancient ways, of attempts to refine and to correct—which were saved from the frequently narrowing tendencies of such attempts by the abundance and variety of the new interests and the new matter upon which the slowly increasing literary scholarship of the age had to work. To read Skelton and then to read Surrey—even to read Hawes and then to read Wyatt—is to pass at once and with the most vivid sensation of change from one age of literature to another; it might indeed almost

The Character of the Period.

seem that something had been skipped in the passing—that there must be a transition period somewhere—so abrupt and marked is the change. It is not possible—for reasons already given, and for others which, no doubt, depend upon the accidents of personality—to arrange any such striking contrast in prose; but both could hardly be expected. On the whole, this most interesting period has hitherto had scant attention from professed historians and scantier study from ordinary students. Yet at no time, perhaps, has the spirit of literature, such as it was, been more thoroughly a spirit of the age; and at none has it been more closely connected with the production of the greater things that were to come.

H. FRANK HEATH. Scottish Literature.

In the last chapter we left the brilliant Gawin Douglas after his first attempt in literature, made when he was a very young man. The "Palace of Honour" was an elaborate allegory with little to recommend it but its high purpose, its descriptions of natural scenes, and its occasional gleams of humour. The Palace of Venus reminds one of "The House of Fame"; the constant allegory is a feature common to a score of works which excel this one, but the grotesque detail with which the beauty in ugliness, the more dreary, wilder aspects of Nature are described, and the humorous passages, such as that upon contemporary literature, give a distinctive flavour which makes the "Palace of Honour" better reading than many works of higher artistic attainment. And this in spite of the general similarity of the plan to the "House of Fame." Douglas was a poet stricken with the love of affairs, a taste he afterwards paid for dearly. His family pride and his ambition were more constantly with him than his muse, and it was not till a dozen years later* that his translation of the "Aeneid" (1513) appeared. This work is one of the clearest signs of the passing of the literary middle ages. The forms were still mediæval, but Douglas was a pioneer in the critical methods of the Humanists. Chaucer's translation of Boethius, judged by modern standards, was slipshod and careless. Caxton's "Recueil of the

Gawin Douglas' Later Works.

His Translation of the "Aeneid."

* *Cf.* the "Dyrection of his Buik," prefixed to the translation.

History of Troy," and "Eneydos," were nothing more than translations of French romances.* Douglas' was the first serious attempt at a faithful rendering of a great classical author. He has a true appreciation of the beauties of the Virgilian verse, and is able to put himself at the author's point of view. He insists that Chaucer was wrong in blaming Aeneas for the desertion of Dido—the traditional mediæval view—for the hero only acted at the bidding of the gods.

> "Certes Virgill schawis Enee did na thing
> Frome Dido of Cartaige at his departing,
> Bot quhilk the goddes commandit him to forne;
> And gif that thair command maid him mansworne,
> That war repreif to thair diuinite
> And na reproche unto the said Enee."

It is true that he does not scruple to change the local colour of the original to make the appeal to his countrymen livelier, but he quotes Horace and Boccaccio in his support. He therefore has no hesitation in making the Sibyl a lady of religion who advises Aeneas to "tell his beads,"† or in talking of the "nuns of Bacchus." It is true that the commentary which he commenced and did not carry further than the first book shows him to have been not only a humanist, but a bishop, for he remarks on the passage quoted above—

> "This argument excusis nocht the tratory of Eneas na his mayswaryng, considering quhat is said heirafoir . . . . that is—
>
> Juno nor Venus goddess neuer wer, *etc.*
>
> It followis than that Eneas vroucht not be command of ony goddis, bot of his awyn fre wyl, be the permission of God, quhilk sufferis al thing and stoppis nocht, na puttis nocht necessite to fre wyll."

And he explains elsewhere how Jupiter, King of Crete, and Juno, his "sistir and spows," became deities through their identification with the elements, and quotes with evident approval the commentary of Cristoferus Landynus, "that writes morally upon Virgill," and shows how the adventures of Aeneas are but the striving of "a just man" towards the "soveran bonte and gudnes" to be found "in contemplation

* The "Recueil des Histoires de Troyes" (1464) of Raoul Lefevre, and the "Eneydos" (1490) of Guillaume de Roy.

† *Cf.* Michael Angelo's picture of the company of Sibyls in the Sistine Chapel.

of godly thingis." But in spite of these mediævalisms he is good enough critic to assert that the thirteenth book of Maphaeus Vegius accorded "to the text—

> Neuer a deill
> **Mair than langis to the cart the fyft quheyll,"**

and that "hys stile be nocht to Virgill like." He only consents to add a translation of it under the compulsion of "twenty strokes" from the ghost of the enraged Christian continuator. In the "Dyrection of his Buik" he expresses the hope that his translation will be found useful in the grammar schools, and the sense he had that the beauty of his original was so profound—

> **"Me semyt oft throw the deep sey to waid,**
> **And sa mysty umquhyle this poesy**
> **My spreit was reft half deill in extasy."**

The original prologues added to each of the thirteen books deal with a variety of subjects—reflective, critical and descriptive. Some, such as that prefixed to the seventh book, describing the dreariness of winter, and those to the twelfth and thirteenth books, descriptive of May and June landscapes, are certainly the best of Douglas' work. The ninth is interesting as the earliest example of the critical essay. Douglas discusses the verse and diction best suited to the epic, and decides for the heroic measure and a language grave and sententious. The translation and six of the prologues are therefore in the heroic couplet, the remainder in stanzas of varying length. The eighth prologue, a poem which reminds one of Langland, is based on the text, "Ressoun and rycht is rent by fals rite," and is written in rimed alliterative metre arranged in a thirteen-lined stanza, which is very similar to Dunbar's "Ballad of Kynd Kittok."*

Though Douglas does not reach the conciseness of the Roman poet, and seldom renders the pathos of the original, at any rate to the full, yet his style is always vigorous, and in passages of dramatic situation and rapid movement, such as the death of Priam, the funeral games, and even the complaint and death of Dido, he is very successful. Moreover, his

* In Douglas' poem the ninth line is a long one, like those that precede it; in Dunbar's it is short like those which follow it. Rime order, *a b a b a b a b c d d d c*

translation formed the basis of Surrey's blank-verse version of the first two books, and is, therefore, the first Scotch work to influence literature south of the Tweed. The work was completed in sixteen months from the date of commencement (*cf.* the short epilogue), a rapidity of work which was, perhaps, due to the practice in translation he had given himself in the rendering of the "De Remedio Amoris," a "Scottis" version of which Tanner assigns to him. This work is not extant. He has also been credited with "dramatic poems founded on incidents in sacred history," and "comoedias aliquot," besides other works, but all we know beyond his four extant poems is that Lyndsay, in his "Testament of the Papyngo," speaks of him as the author of five works.

"King Hart."

The date of "King Hart," his third important work, is uncertain. It is generally placed between the "Palace of Honour" and the "Aeneid,"* but internal evidence points to a later date, and although he was doubtless too occupied immediately after Flodden for literary work, there was nothing to prevent such a use of his leisure when engaged in the routine work of his bishopric after 1516. Compared with the "Palace of Honour," the tone of the poem is sadder and more self-restrained. It is more reflective and less turgid, the allegory is less complicated, the strophe simpler, and the verse more correct. The subject gives less room for hope, yet the sentiment is sounder and untinged with sentimentality; some passages, such as that in which King Hart takes leave of Youtheid, showing the pathetic sincerity only possible to the man who is looking back to the friend who "man pas."

The idea is old, an allegory of the endless conflict of the spirit with the flesh, the main theme being taken from the allegorical autobiography in verse and prose of his contemporary Octavien de St. Gelais, called "Le Séjour d'Honneur," some suggestions from which had already found their way into the "Palace of Honour." Some of the details are borrowed, such as the battle between Dame Pleasance and King Hart, which is similar to the theme of the Goldyn Targe, and others remind us of Piers Plowman. The verse is the eight-lined stanza used by Chaucer. And yet the reserve, the terse expression, the weight laid on action rather than

*Largely because at the close of the latter work he takes leave of literature.

description, the refinement of handling, and, above all, the sincerity of this poem, render it the most personal and the ripest, if not the best of his work.

The little poem in four stanzas of "rhyme royal," called "Conscience," is a witty "conceit" upon the corruption of the Church worthy of the "Tale of a Tub." The latter part of the Bishop of Dunkeld's life was spent in the hopeless attempt to support the cause of his weak-kneed nephew the Earl of Angus, who had married Queen Margaret soon after Flodden, and had lost his influence over her almost as quickly. Douglas died as an exile in London in 1522, his last years being chiefly spent in helping his friend Polydore Vergil, the Dean of Wells, in the Scottish portion of his colossal English Chronicle.

Lyndsay.

Sir David Lyndsay (1490–1555) is not so good a poet as Douglas, but is no less interesting as a writer. He had great political insight, a considerable power of putting things pithily, and no small gift of wit, but, like Lydgate, his poetical ambition exceeded his capacity. Lyndsay, indeed, drew his inspiration from Dunbar as Lydgate did from Chaucer, but directly he leaves politics or the life of the times his work becomes bad. His first work, "The Dreme" (1528), in "rhyme royal" (Vol. II., p. 209), is a parody of the Divine Comedy, a picture of the three kingdoms of the world through which the poet is conducted by Dame Remembrance—a sort of summary of things in general ending with a description of Scotland, and a speech from John the Commonweal, who attributes the poverty of the land to robbery and oppression and a lack of justice and policy. The only hope is to have a "gude auld prudent king," for "wo to the realm that hes ower young ane king." The "Complaint to the King" (1529) congratulates him on the acquisition of full power, and "The Testament and Complaynt of our Soverane Lordis Papyngo" (1530) denounces abuses even more boldly. The short poem in which he answers the king's "Flyting" is one of the most outspoken poems ever addressed to a sovereign, whilst one of the best of his satires, in the manner of Dunbar, is "The Complaynt of Bagsche, the Kingis auld Hound, to Bawtie, the Kingis best belovit Dog, and his companions." Of his lighter social satire the most amusing is his "Supplication directit to the Kingis Grace in Contemptioun of Sydo

Taillis," a poem similar to Lydgate's upon the ladies' head-dresses of his day, but far coarser. Both in its good qualities and its defects it reminds one more of Dunbar than any of his pieces. His "Deploration of the Death of Queen Magdalene" (1537) was written on the sad death of James V.'s fragile bride of France, within forty days of her landing in Scotland. Of his longer poems, "The Historie and Testament of Squyer Meldrum" (c. 1550), a realistic romance of a contemporary gentleman, is the best, and "The Monarche"* (1554), the last of the mediæval riming guides to knowledge, is the worst. His "Tragedy of the Cardinal" (1547) is a poem on the death of his old schoolfellow Cardinal Beaton, told by himself in the manner of the "Mirror for Magistrates." Two poems, "Kittie's Confessioun," a satire on the confessional, and "Ane description of Peder Coffer," found only in the Bannatyne MS., are not quite certainly his. "The Register of Arms of the Scottish Nobility and Gentry" (1542) is a piece of work done in his capacity as Lyon King of Arms.

His most interesting and important work is "Ane Satire of the Three Estaits," the earliest Scottish morality extant. It differs from other plays of the kind, for the allegory is almost completely merged in the satiric element; and besides the ordinary shadowy personifications of virtues and vices, real Scotch characters are introduced, such as Common Theft the border moss-trooper, Pauper the poor man, the Pardoner, and others, all of whom stand out as clearly as the characters in Burns' "Halloween." The same variety in verse-form is used as in other moralities—the real step forward in dramatic evolution being the introduction of concrete characters not only into the interlude, but into the play itself. The play was acted for the first time at Linlithgow on the Feast of Epiphany, 1540, before the king and queen with their Court, and twice subsequently at Cupar and Greenside.

W. S. ROCKSTRO. Music under the Earlier Tudors.

UNDER the Tudor Dynasty, the Art of Music made more rapid, as well as more satisfactory, progress than at any previous period in the history of the English Schools. At no time, before or since, have

* First published in shorter form with the title "Ane Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courteour."

our English composers so successfully held their own, in face of the brilliant triumphs achieved in Italy, in Germany, or in the Low Countries. And reasons for this marked advance are not far to seek. Not only had the love of music been long sown broadcast among the people; not only was the art of singing cultivated, with equal zeal and discernment, in every grade of social rank; but the monarchs themselves were among its most ardent admirers, and deservedly took rank among the best musicians of the day. Under the personal supervision of King Henry VIII., the music in the Chapel Royal was openly acknowledged, by Ambassadors from other countries, to be the best in Europe. Queen Elizabeth was a noted performer upon the virginals. Her victim, Queen Mary Stuart, was at least her equal in proficiency. What wonder, then, that examples so illustrious led to triumphant success in other quarters?

The *Fifth English School* is, happily, much more fully represented than the third and fourth. When the Wars of the Roses were over, and the union of the Houses of York and Lancaster once more left the kingdom at peace, the progress of Art, which had been fatally interrupted by the disturbed state of the country, was resumed with success so complete that the works produced in England during the earlier half of the sixteenth century will undeniably bear comparison with the best contemporaneous compositions produced either in Italy or the Netherlands. The leader of the Fifth School was John Redford, organist of Old St. Paul's. His most distinguished colleagues were Richard Edmondes, John Shepherde, John Taverner, George Etheridge, Robert Johnson, Robert Parsons, John Thorne, John Merbecke, Mark Smeaton, Thomas Abel, and, by no means the least accomplished of the number, King Henry VIII. Not a few of these composers were noted for reasons quite unconnected with their art. John Merbecke, the author of "The Booke of Common Praier Noted," was a zealous reformer, and suffered severely for his opinions. Mark Smeaton and Thomas Abel were executed for treason; the former in 1536, and the latter in 1540. All were men of undoubted talent. Redford's anthem, "Rejoice in the Lord alway," is one of the finest compositions of its kind in existence. Edmondes' charming madrigal, "In going to my naked bedde," may be

fearlessly compared with the most beautiful secular composition of the period, whether produced in the Roman or the Flemish School. King Henry VIII. wrote with the skill of a thoroughly accomplished musician. His anthem, "O Lorde, the Maker of all thyng," is of the highest order of merit; and other compositions by him, preserved in the library of the British Museum and other public collections, rank among the best productions of the time. Fortunately, the works of most of these composers escaped the consequences of the first spoliation of the cathedral and monastic libraries; but a vast number were destroyed by the Puritans during the progress of the Great Rebellion; and the beauty of those that remain only makes the loss of the rest seem the more deplorable.

W. J. CORBETT. Agriculture.

Agriculturally the reign of Henry VIII. is marked, like that of his predecessors, by a further extension of enclosures for the purpose of sheep-farming. During its course this movement, in fact, reached its climax. For everyone was now convinced from experience that the foot of the sheep would turn sand into gold; and so not only the lords of the manors and their "fermours," but also the free tenants, and it would appear the copyholders, if they had land enough, were all equally anxious to make as much as possible out of their estates by rooting up tillage and taking to grazing, regarding, as the malcontents said, "their own singular lucre and profit more than the common weal of the realm." In a fashion, as we can see from the Statute-book, Henry VIII. and his ministers set themselves all through the reign to oppose the current tendency, and they were supported by all the preachers and thinkers of the day. But, whatever the efforts made, they were all finally counterbalanced by the king's action in 1536 in suppressing the monasteries and re-granting their estates to a new class of owners drawn from the ranks of the merchants. For they, wishing either "to live like lords in the towns" or "to keep riot in their manors for a fortnight or a month," at most, were yet greedier for lucre than their predecessors, and less hampered in the pursuit of it by any sentimental feeling towards their tenants. It is to this class,

The Enclosures.

The Reformation and Enclosure.

in fact, that Sir Thomas More alludes as "covetous and insatiable cormorants"; for they had begun to buy up farms even before the dissolution of monasteries put nearly a fifteenth part of all the land of England into their hands, and were all along as a body disliked by the rural populations, who contrasted their slender houses and hungry hospitality with the good and continual houses of the honest folk they superseded. This, of course, was quite natural, for they regarded land as a commodity to be dealt with, like any other, for the profit to be gained, and not merely as a source of sustenance—a view which has since become so universal that we can hardly appreciate the storm of anger that greeted its first introduction at this period.

Attempted Legislative Checks.

As in his father's reign, Henry VIII. and his advisers seem at first to have been more impressed with the political dangers which might arise from the depopulation of the country than with the social grievances which were obviously being fomented by the continued increase of grazing. The weakening of the realm for defence against the foreign powers who formerly had "much feared its force and puissance," was the side of the matter that seemed to them to call most urgently for interference; and so, in 1514, the king issued a proclamation against the "engrossers" of farms, forbidding them to hold more farms than one, and ordering that all the houses of husbandry decayed since the beginning of his father's reign should be once more "put in tillage, and inhabited and dwelt in by husbandmen and labourers according as it was before the engrossing of the said houses."

This was followed up in the succeeding year by an Act embodying the same policy, and practically a repetition of the special Act passed by Henry VII., in 1488, for the Isle of Wight. As this was disregarded, further legislation in 1516 authorised the lords of the fees to seize the moiety of all lands decayed until the husbandry should be re-established. These Acts, it is interesting to note, are almost contemporaneous with the publication of Sir Thomas More's "Utopia," with its denunciations of sheep-farming, and no doubt they were popular. But the Government soon found that to have any effect they must be followed up, and so in 1517 a Commission of Enquiry was

The Enquiry of 1517

issued to the various counties to obtain accurate information, both of the persons who defied the Acts and of the extent of the evil to be dealt with.

and its Results.

The returns to this enquiry still exist for portions of some fifteen counties, and they enable us to see that the enclosing for sheep that was going on, though pretty general, was not in most places on a very large scale. Occasionally we read of whole hamlets destroyed and their inhabitants driven elsewhere; but on the whole enclosures of over 100 acres are rare, and the great majority are of areas of 30, 40, 60, and 80 acres. This looks as if it was the holdings of the smaller customary tenants that were being absorbed, but whether as the result of eviction or by their own action, or by their submitting to the bullying and bribery which their richer neighbours could no doubt inflict on them, does not appear. Many entries, of course, relate to enclosures of the demesnes either by the lords or by their farmers; but with regard to this part of the manors it would seem that generally their owners had enclosed them, if it was worth doing so at all, long before this, and without their right to do so being disputed; for Fitzherbert, writing in 1523, says that at that time most of the demesnes were enclosed, and does not speak of it as a recent innovation. What the returns of 1517 do not tell us, and what we should particularly like to know, is, How far the lords of the manors appropriated the commons of the villages to themselves or shared them with their more important tenants—for it was this form of enclosing that, carried to excess, must have affected the poorer kinds of tenants most particularly, its tendency being to drive them down into the class of the sturdy beggar and the vagrant, whose increasing numbers were beginning to be a nuisance both to the country and to the government (pp. 121, 247).

As a sequel to the enquiry we find Wolsey, as a judge in Chancery, in the next year decreeing that those who had admitted infringements of the Acts should pull down their enclosures within forty days. But the effect of this, even if it was obeyed, must have been very temporary, for only a few years later we hear of thirty ploughs that were still decayed, which had existed in Oxfordshire in Henry VII.'s time, while

Further Legislation.

in 1534 the Government were once more driven to begin legislating on the subject.

The recitals to the statute of this year show well the kind of grievances that were alleged to be caused by the sheep, and so they may as well be partly quoted. They run thus :—

"Forasmuch as divers persons, to whom God in His goodness hath disposed great plenty, now of late have daily studied and invented ways how they might accumulate into few hands, as well great multitude of farms as great plenty of cattle, and in especial sheep, putting such land to pasture and not tillage; whereby they have not only pulled down churches and towns, and enhanced the rents and fines of land so that no poor man may meddle with it, but also have raised the prices of all manner of agricultural commodities almost double above the prices which hath been accustomed, by reason whereof a marvellous number of the people of this realm be not able to provide for themselves, their wives, and children, but be so discouraged with misery and poverty that they fall daily to theft and robbery, or pitifully die for hunger and cold."

To remedy all these evils, it was enacted that no one should keep more than 2,000 sheep; while two years later, after the monasteries had been dissolved, another Act was passed binding the new grantees who obtained their lands "to cause to be kept on them honest and continual houses, and to occupy yearly as much of the demesnes in plowing as had been commonly used." As before, disobedience to the Acts was punishable by forfeiture of the land till the neglect was made good, and by a new Act, also passed about this time, the king was given the right to seize the lands into his hands for this purpose instead of the lords of the fee. The Government, therefore, cannot be charged with doing nothing to stop the growth of the evil. But all they did was in vain, for the very persons who had to see that the Acts were enforced were the justices of the peace, who were themselves probably the worst offenders. These Acts, then, like the former ones, remained a dead letter, being either ignored or evaded: as, for instance, by running a single furrow across a field and declaring that it was ploughed, or by "fathering sheep on children and servants," as John Hales mentions, and so getting within the 2,000 limit. On the whole the Government seem to have recognised their failure, for they attempted no more legislation till the next reign. The new landowners, therefore, were left to do much as they liked with the monastic lands, and by the growth of the discontents and by the frequent references to pasture farms as grievances in the riots and rebellions at the close of

The Transformation of the Land System.

Henry's reign, we are led to infer that they made the best use of their opportunity. Nothing, in fact, that the Government could do could really stop them. Latimer might cry, "You landlords, you rent-raisers—I may say you step-lords, you unnatural lords, you have for your possessions yearly too much!" But he was really struggling against the spirit of the times, which, not only into agriculture but everywhere, was introducing the modern idea of competition and the theory that the weakest must go to the wall. The germ of this idea had been introduced into the country with the new growth of trade in the previous century, and the struggle over the enclosures only marks one of the stages by which England gradually transformed itself into a commercial country.

J. E. SYMES. Commerce and Currency.

THE accession of Henry VIII. was followed by important changes in the policy of the English Government. Chief among these was the change from economy to extravagance. One of the main objects of the old king had been to accumulate wealth. The new king seemed to set himself to squander it as fast as possible. "The time is spent," wrote Queen Katherine to her father Ferdinand of Aragon, "in continual feasting."

Royal Extragavance.

Revels, masks, tiltings, and other sports were conducted on a scale of unprecedented magnificence. A taste for fantastic splendour was one of the characteristics of the Renaissance period; and in this, as in many other respects, the young Henry VIII. was a true son of the age. In 1515 he spent £5,000 on silks and velvets, and £1,500 on plate and jewellery. Other branches of the Court expenditure were conducted on the same luxurious scale, and it must be remembered that the purchasing power of money was then far greater than it is at present. The £5,000 spent in a year on silks and velvets would have supported a thousand families in rude comfort for the same length of time.

The Effect on the Nation.

The King's extravagance tended at first to stimulate trade. It raised prices, and encouraged many branches of industry; but, even at first, it probably injured the mass of the wage-earners, by raising the cost of living more than it raised average wages. And, in the long run, it was certainly disastrous to the nation.

Taxes had to be levied in order to pay for the king's luxuries, and the war in which he soon got involved (1511) added to the national burdens, and interrupted the growing commerce. Moreover, by persistent reckless expenditure, Henry was led on to the great confiscations and the debasement of the currency—which produced, as we shall see, terrible social evils and disorder. In fact, England passed, during the reign of Henry VIII., from a state of remarkable prosperity and content into one of the utmost industrial misery and confusion.

Foreign Trade.

The early years of Henry's reign were, however, on the whole tolerably prosperous. Our foreign trade continued to grow. The successful rounding of the Cape of Good Hope by the Portuguese (1498) opened to Europe a new route to India, free from the dangers and exactions which had surrounded the overland trade. Henry took a great interest in the Navy. His fine ship, the *Great Harry*, with its seven tiers of guns one over the other (p. 79), was the wonder of his contemporaries; and he used to insist upon his admirals sending him full particulars as to how each ship worked. But Henry did not adhere to his father's policy of strengthening the Merchant Navy. He suspended the Navigation Acts whenever it suited his convenience to do so—often preferring his own private interest to the encouragement of English shipping. After 1539, however, he fell back upon the policy of his predecessor in this respect, and his interest in foreign trade was also shown by his Charter to the Fraternity of the Holy Trinity at Deptford, which practically incorporated the Thames pilots into a guild, and gave them considerable control over "the science and art of mariners." The strong position of England after the Peace of 1515 was partly used to promote trade. Henry's alliance was eagerly desired by the rival powers of France and Spain, and the king was thus enabled to secure many privileges for English merchants, especially in the Netherlands.

This illustrates a great change that was taking place in the foreign policy of England. For centuries past, our kings had desired to extend their dominions on the Continent; but this ambition was now to be abandoned. At the beginning of his reign Henry was dazzled by the traditional ideas of the Hundred Years' War; but after 1515 his policy, so far as Europe was concerned, was practically limited to holding the

balance between France and Spain; and the national love of conquest soon began to take the form of a desire to acquire possessions in distant lands. Lord Herbert of Cherbury represents some of Henry VIII.'s advisers as arguing:—"When we would enlarge ourselves, let it be . . . by sea. The Indies are discovered, and vast treasures brought from thence every day. Let us therefore bend our endeavours thitherward." This advice may be mythical; but it correctly enough represents the new tendency, the growth of the commercial spirit.

The Problem of Pauperism.

We have said that, on the whole, the early years of Henry VIII. were tolerably prosperous. Yet there were soon some ominous signs. The efforts of Parliament to regulate wages, to punish vagabondage, and to repress unlicensed begging, indicate the growth of social evils; and the spirit of free inquiry aroused by the Renaissance made it certain that these evils would not be quietly acquiesced in. The treatment of beggars was especially severe (p. 250). Those who were incompetent to work were indeed licensed to beg in specified districts; but able-bodied men found begging were whipped and sent home, and the overseers were bound to find work for them to do. On a second conviction their ears were to be cropped, and on a third they were actually to be put to death.* From a quite early period in the reign of Henry VIII., we have distinct signs of growing disorder and discontent. In 1514 the royal treasure waggons were attacked and robbed, and eighty of those concerned in the attack were executed; and in 1517 a London preacher named Bell denounced the aliens who competed with Englishmen on English soil, and in the ferment which his action caused a plot was hatched to massacre the obnoxious foreigners. The scheme was discovered, and when the appointed night drew near, the municipal authorities ordered the citizens to keep within doors between the hours of nine o'clock at night and nine o'clock on the following morning. But the apprentices, armed with clubs, sallied out in great numbers and plundered large districts of London, especially the houses inhabited by foreigners. The Government succeeded in suppressing the rising; but it evidently

Discontent and Disorder.

The Aliens.

* The death penalty for the third offence is first enacted in a statute of 1536 (27th Henry VIII. c. 25)

shared the ill-feeling towards aliens which had prompted it; and an Act was passed in 1523 forbidding foreigners to take apprentices, and bringing them under the authority of the English Craft Gilds. The general policy of Henry's Government, of which this Act was one manifestation, was to strengthen the Craft Gilds, but, at the same time, to bring them under the direct control of the central or local authorities. Acts of Parliament with this object were passed in 1521, 1523, 1533, and 1534. These Acts, though dealing with different trades, have the common object of strengthening the power and influence of the Gilds; but, on the other hand, the Act of 1531 is directed against attempts on the part of the Gilds to prevent journeymen and others who had served their apprenticeships from starting in business on their own account. The Gild system was evidently in danger of breaking down, and it was necessary to bolster it up by Acts of Parliament, while, at the same time, preventing it from putting excessive hindrances in the way of competition and individual enterprise. Complaints of the "decay of towns" still continued (Vol. II., p. 558), and this decay was still to a great extent due to the tendency of Labour and Capital to escape from those places where Gild regulations were in full force.

The Government and the Gild System.

This tendency is illustrated by the growth of manufacturing villages. Whilst the old "corporate" towns were decaying, the "villages" of Manchester, Birmingham, and Sheffield were growing in importance, partly, no doubt, because they were comparatively free from vexatious restrictions. Parliament vainly endeavoured to compel people to work in the old towns. Economic forces were too strong for the Government; in fact, the mediæval organisations of labour were breaking down on all sides. The rise in the price of wool was inducing landlords to turn their arable land into pasture (p. 115), and this change involved extensive ejectments of agriculturists. These naturally flocked into whatever employment was open to them, and thus helped, by their competition, to disorganise manufacturing industries.* In the frequent complaints of journeymen and apprentices we

The Growth of Industrial Villages.

* It must be remembered, however, that it was natural for contemporaries to overestimate the evils and underestimate the advantages of the enclosures. *See* Mr. Hewins' remarks on page 247.

have the beginnings of the long struggle between Labour and Capital. For the class of capitalist artizans was now developing into a class of capitalist employers, and the demands of foreign trade were encouraging manufacture on a larger scale.

"Utopia" and the Social Problem.

It is perhaps from the pages of the "Utopia" (A.D. 1516) that we get the best idea of the social movement that was going on in the early part of Henry VIII.'s reign. The book itself is a romance, a fanciful description of the Kingdom of Nowhere, and of a Social State that existed only in the author's imagination. But that author, Sir Thomas More, was perhaps the best representative of the many-sided activities of the age in which he lived. He was almost equally pre-eminent in intellect, humour, and morality—as lecturer, author, lawyer, and practical politician. He had been an Oxford student when the new enthusiasm for the study of Greek was at its height, when many believed that the world might be renovated by the new learning. Leaving the University, More lectured on Divinity and Law. He was elected Speaker of the House of Commons, and led the House in its opposition to the king Subsequently, he became Henry's Chancellor and Chief Minister. Finally, he laid down his life for his religion.

Such a man's criticisms and ideals could not fail to throw an interesting light on the social conditions of his time and country. It was characteristic of the age that he threw his treatise into the form of a traveller's tale. A sailor, who has voyaged in strange seas and among unknown races of men, brings back to England this account of a republic—in some respects ideal, in others a thinly disguised satire on the England of More's time. In "Nowhere" they pay special attention to Sanitation, Education, and Toleration—three things which More evidently considered were specially needed in his own country. The streets of Utopia are all twenty feet broad, and had large gardens at the backs of all the houses. These houses are well supplied with light, and yet well protected from the cold; only six hours' labour is exacted of any man, but there is also a minimum from which none may escape. Instruction is provided by the State, and that in the early hours of the morning, so that men may study and think before they are tired out with the day's work. The assertion that they have few changes of fashion or of laws is a characteristic protest against the

Renaissance love of novelty. An organised regularity of life is set forth in contrast to the growing individualism and competitive anarchy of the sixteenth century. Its love of finery is satirised under the statement that "the Utopians wonder how any man should be so much taken with the glaring, doubtful lustre of a jewel or stone," when he might "look up to a star, or to the sun itself; or how any should value himself because his cloth is made of finer thread: for how fine soever that thread may be, it was once no better than the fleece of a sheep." But above all, More looks with horror on the growing religious intolerance. In Utopia, each man may be of what faith he will. This may seem a somewhat strange ideal to be set forth by one who was to pen bitter attacks on the Protestants, and to die as a martyr to Catholicism. But More's hatred of the "Reformation" was a hatred not for a set of theological opinions, but for a movement which would open up and embitter theological controversies. His intolerance was an intolerance of all that was likely to diminish toleration. He stands between Mediævalism and Protestantism, and is almost equally hostile to both. The former had been full of oppressions and abuses. It had passed laws to keep down wages; "so that the wrong already existing (for it is a wrong that those from whom the State derives most benefit should receive least reward) is made yet greater by means of the law." Such abuses More would correct, by a complete reform of the mediæval organisation, by a quite other sort of Statutes of Labourers than those passed by Plantagenet and Tudor Parliaments. But he evidently had no belief in a system of liberty, competition, and what we now call *laissez-faire*. The State must see that its subjects are properly instructed and enabled both to earn a livelihood and to live worthily—otherwise, the masses will have "a life so wretched, that even a beast's life seems enviable." And the social organisation must be spiritualised by a national religion. While there is to be freedom for all religious beliefs, the sects must join in common worship, and that conducted with beautiful and symbolical ritual. It was, no doubt, the sight of the growing commercial competition and social disorder which inspired More's ideal of an organised Society, spiritualised by a common worship. But he naturally failed to understand the forces which were at work around him, and the economic causes of the sufferings he deplored.

In every age of industrial transition, much misery is caused by the changes in the character of the demand for labour. Time would have partly healed the evils which such changes brought with them, if only the Government had been moderately wise. But in this case the evils were soon greatly aggravated by the action of Henry VIII., and especially by his debasements of the currency and by his great confiscations of the property of monasteries and gilds.

The Debasement of the Currency.

Extravagant governments can easily pay their debts, for a time, by issuing coins at a nominal value greater than that of the metal which composes them; but by so doing, they are likely to inflict terrible injuries upon the industries of the nation. It is far cheaper, as a rule, to pay debts by means of loans or taxes than by tampering with the currency, though the temptation to adopt this less open policy is often very great. For the rise in nominal prices which follows upon an at all considerable issue of debased coin temporarily stimulates many industries, and gives a delusive appearance of prosperity, as well as an immediate relief to the Treasury. Henry VIII. was one of the worst of sinners in this respect. There had, indeed, been several debasements of the currency between 1299 and 1464; but these seem to have approximately corresponded with a natural rise in the exchange value of silver, due to a constant flow of the precious metals to the East (which supplied us with many commodities, but took few of ours in return), and to a more injurious flow to Rome, consequent on Papal exactions and tributes. The stock of silver was thus constantly being reduced, and nominal prices would have fallen very greatly but for the debasements of the coinage. Accordingly, while we cannot justify these, we may admit that they exercised a steadying influence on prices, and did not cause much injury to the community. But it was very different with Henry VIII.'s debasements. They were so rapid and on so great a scale, that they caused a complete disorganisation of industry and almost incalculable misery. In 1465 twelve ounces of silver (containing $11\frac{1}{2}$ oz. of fine silver and $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. alloy) had been coined into 25 shillings. In 1527, the same amount and quality of silver was coined into 37 shillings. Then followed a series of fresh debasements, affecting both the weight and the quality of the silver, till at length, in A.D. 1551, coins were issued of metal

that contained 9 ounces of alloy to every 3 ounces of fine silver, and the 12 ounces of this debased material were coined into 72 shillings. In other words, the shilling issued in 1551 contained less than one-seventh of the amount of fine silver in the shilling of 1527.

This debasement of the coinage was undoubtedly the chief cause of the great rise in prices in the first half of the sixteenth century. Of course the great discoveries of silver in Mexico and Peru by the Spaniards tended in the same direction.

The Influx of Silver.

At the time of the discovery of America in 1492, it is calculated that the total stock of money (coin) in Europe was only equivalent to about thirty-four millions of pounds sterling. Between 1491 and 1545 this amount was increased by about 50 per cent. Then came the opening of the fertile mines of Cerro and Potosi and in the ensuing half-century a hundred million pounds worth of silver poured into Europe, quadrupling the total stock of money. But this silver went in the first instance to Spain, and in the existing state of international trade it only spread very gradually into other countries. Moreover, the great demand for precious metals for purposes of luxury and art swallowed up much of the new stock. Such gatherings as that known as the Field of the Cloth of Gold (1520; p. 3) were typical of the age; and we have already mentioned Henry's love of magnificent display. It seems doubtful, therefore, if English prices were much affected by the silver supplies from America till some years after Elizabeth had come to the throne; but the rise in prices began about the year 1520, and proceeded far more rapidly than the rise in wages. The changes that took place in these respects between the middle of the reigns of Henry VII. and Henry VIII. may be gathered from the following table:—

	1495.	1533.
	s. d.	s. d.
Price of a quarter of wheat	4 0¾ ...	7 8
„ „ malt	2 4½ ...	5 5¼
„ „ oats	1 7½ ...	2 9½
„ „ oatmeal	5 4 ...	8 0
	1495.	1533.
Average Weekly Wages:	s. d.	s. d.
Of artizans	3 0 ...	3 6
Of agricultural labourers	2 0 ...	2 3

Even here we find that while agricultural prices had nearly doubled, wages had scarcely increased. But this was before the great issues of debased coin in 1545, 1546, 1549, and 1551 respectively. These threw industry into such confusion that it becomes almost impossible to follow the fluctuations of prices and wages in the latter years of Henry VIII.'s reign, and in the period immediately following. On the whole, we may say roughly that while wages rose 50 per cent. the prices of necessaries rose considerably more than 100 per cent.* But even this was not the worst. Trade was almost a matter of barter, owing to the discredit attached to the legal medium of exchange. Wages were, to a great extent, paid in food, goods were exchanged for goods without any use of money, and many branches of industry which had hitherto flourished were utterly ruined.

* The following table will illustrate the general conclusion that wages and prices were tolerably stationary during the reign of Henry VII. and the first ten years of the reign of Henry VIII., but that they both rose greatly in the ensuing years, the rise in prices being, however, much greater than that in wages. In order to eliminate temporary and accidental fluctuations, so far as possible, the average wages and prices for periods of ten years are quoted. The first of these decennial periods includes the early years of Henry VII.; the second includes the early years of Henry VIII.; while the third includes the last year of Henry VIII. :—

	Wages.		
	A.D. 1481-1490.	1511-1520.	1541-1550 A.D.
Unskilled labour (daily)	3¾d.	3¾d.	4¾d.
Mason ... , ...	5¾	6	6¾
Plumber ... ,, ...	6	6	7½
Carpenter ... ,, ...	6	6½	7

	Prices.		
	s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Wheat (quarter)	6 3½	0 6 8¾	0 10 8
Barley ,, ...	4 5¾	0 4 0½	0 6 2½
Oats ,, ...	2 2	0 2 2	0 4 0½
Oxen (average)	16 0½	1 3 2	2 2 3½
Sheep ,, ...	2 4	0 2 5¾	0 4 11½
Candles (doz. lbs.)	1 3	0 1 2½	0 1 7½
Butter ,, ...	1 0	0 1 6	0 2 0
Table Linen (doz. ells)	7 4½	0 7 2	0 12 0½
Shirtings ,, ...	5 5½	0 6 5¾	0 8 10
Paper (doz. quires)	2 11	0 2 3	0 3 3
Iron, raw (cwt.)	4 1	0 4 8½	0 5 3
Hay (load)	3 2	0 3 5	0 5 7
Straw ,, ...	1 6½	0 1 7¾	0 2 4½
Wool (tod)	4 8½	0 6 7½	1 0 8

The above commodities are selected as typical from the large collection to be found in Thorold Rogers' "History of Agriculture and Prices."

The consequent misery was much aggravated by the abolition of the monasteries (pp. 54 *seqq.*, 134) and the spoliation of gild property. The monasteries, in spite of all the abuses existing in them, had certainly done much to relieve the poor, the vagrant, and the displaced; though it must be acknowledged that their methods of relief were often injudicious and undiscriminating, and that they did something to create the very poverty which they relieved. Nevertheless, it seems clear that the monasteries would have helped many people to struggle through the difficulties caused by the agricultural and industrial transition and by the debasement of the currency. But the smaller monasteries were suppressed in 1536 and the others in 1539. Only a very small fraction of the wealth thus confiscated was devoted to religious, educational, or charitable purposes. Most of it went to enrich the king or his greedy courtiers. Henry's own share of the ill-gotten spoil was soon squandered, and he then resolved to similarly confiscate the property of the gilds. These bodies had spent part of their income in relieving their poorer members, and in supporting their widows and children. This was a mode of relief preferable in many ways to that given by the monasteries, for it was less likely to be obtained by imposture, or to hinder thrift or undermine independence. And it is probable that at no previous period in their history had so large a number of members of gilds needed this sort of relief as in 1545, when an Act of Parliament authorised the wholesale confiscation of gild property. The excuse made for the Act was that the gilds spent some of their money for purposes which the Royal Defender of the Faith regarded as superstitious; but the real motive was undoubtedly the greed of the king and his friends. Still, it may safely be assumed that this measure of confiscation could not have been carried through Parliament if there had not been a widespread conviction that the gilds had to a great extent outlived their utility, and if their restrictions had not been felt as a grievance by large and influential sections of the community.

The Effect of the Suppression of the Monasteries.

Henry's government did very little to relieve the poverty which it had done so much to create. The Act of 1536 ordered local authorities to collect alms on Sundays and holidays, and bade the clergy stir up their congregations to give freely. It also condemned all giving of doles by private

persons to beggars and vagrants. But it did nothing to *compel* property-owners to contribute anything to the support of the needy. The only other branch of the Poor Law in the time of Henry VIII. was that which we have already referred to, which provided for the stern repression of vagrants and able-bodied beggars, but gave to the impotent licences to beg, and required overseers to find work for the poor of their district. This last command seems to have become, by the time we have reached, almost a dead-letter. The problem of finding work for the unemployed had to be taken in hand by Parliament. Several laws were passed for the encouragement of different branches of manufacture. Thus a statute of 24 Henry VIII., c. 4, orders "that every person occupying land for tillage shall, for every sixty acres under the plough, sow one quarter of an acre in flax or hemp." The object of this Act was undoubtedly to create employment, especially for the wives and children of the poor, in linen manufacture. It professes to seek to drive "that most abominable sin of idleness out of the realm." But, like most attempts to create employment by legislation, it seems to have had but little success in diminishing the number of the unemployed. With the same end in view the Government spent some of the money it got from the suppression of the monasteries on public works, such as the laying down of roads and the building of harbours, embankments, and fortifications. This, no doubt, provided occupation of a useful sort for some of those who had been out of work. But the spoils were soon squandered, and the condition of the labour market was then worse than ever.

The Problem of the Unemployed.

Henry suppressed altogether 644 monasteries, 90 colleges, 2,374 chantries or free chapels, and 110 hospitals. According to one calculation, more than 88,000 persons were cast adrift by the suppression of the first-named alone (*cf.* p. 64). This must have greatly aggravated the existing poverty and the struggle for existence. It is possible that the relieving of a large number of persons from the obligations of celibacy partly accounts for the great increase of the population which undoubtedly took place in Henry's reign. The relaxing of the gild system tended in the same direction, since many of the old regulations as to apprenticeships and other matters had tended

The Increase of Population.

to restrict and delay marriages. Moreover, experience proves that people reduced to poverty and desperation often show extraordinary recklessness in bringing children into the world. At any rate, it is estimated that the population of England rose from two and a half millions at the accession of Henry VII. to about four millions at the death of Henry VIII. England had never seen anything like so rapid an increase of population, except, perhaps, in the years that immediately followed the Black Death.

The Decay of Mental Culture.

But while the number of the people was increasing, there seems to have been a falling off in almost all branches of intellectual and moral life. The preachers complained bitterly of the decay of morality. The educational movement which started so energetically at the beginning of the reign practically died out long before its end. The twenty-three years from 1496 had seen the foundation of Brasenose and Corpus Christi Colleges at Oxford; of Jesus', Christ's, St. John's, and Magdalene, at Cambridge; and of Colet's great London Grammar School, St. Paul's. The remaining twenty-eight years of Henry's reign brought only the two great colleges of which Henry himself claimed to be the founder—Christ Church and Trinity. The rich endowments of these were only an insignificant fraction of the money diverted by the king from religious, charitable, and educational purposes. But the intellectual decadence was proved not so much by the comparative paucity of new institutions as by the lack of vitality in the old ones. The foundation of two magnificent colleges did not prevent a steady decay of learning at both the universities. Theological controversy had taken the place of study, and it was soon found that this needed neither much learning nor much morality.

Two laws in particular illustrate the social and industrial changes that were going on.

Legislation and the Social State.

The Statute of Uses.

The Statute of Uses (27 Henry VIII., Cap. 10) was an attempt to deal with the practice that had grown up of leaving landed estates "to uses," *i.e.* charged with payments, which in many cases amounted almost to a transfer of the property. The feudal lords (including the Crown) consequently often found it difficult to obtain their dues, *e.g.*, on marriages and successions and their wardships.

The king suffered not only as the greatest feudal lord, but also from the loss in cases of escheat, etc. The system was sometimes worked in such a way as to defraud creditors, and sometimes so as to evade the various statutes of Mortmain. Sometimes, however, it was used for perfectly legitimate objects, such as the making provision for daughters and younger sons, in days when real property was strictly subject to primogeniture and must pass to the heir-at-law. The system had been carried so far as to greatly complicate titles to land, and to make many nominal owners unable to meet their obligations. The statute created a Parliamentary title with the incidental obligations for those who had hitherto had the use of the estates: but it abolished the right of creating uses for the future. This soon caused serious inconvenience to the landlords, who were now unable to charge their lands for the benefit of their daughters and younger sons; and the new law was eventually evaded by the creation of "trusts." To the extent of its operation, however, it no doubt tended to simplify tenures and titles, and strengthen the position of the landowners and the Crown at the expense of the Church and other corporations.

The Statute of Bankruptcy.

Of a very different character was Henry's Statute of Bankruptcy, which may be regarded as the origin and foundation of our laws on this subject. The growth of English trade had naturally been accompanied by an extension of the practice of giving credit; and this again had given men new opportunities for dishonesty. Henry's Statute established a Court for the trial of defaulters, and for the distribution of their property among creditors. Of Henry's other laws affecting industry, we shall only have space to speak of the Act of

"Usury."

1536, abolishing the old laws against usury, and allowing loans at interest not exceeding ten per cent. In the Middle Ages the Church had condemned the lending money at interest altogether, and this condemnation might be ethically justified in days when there was practically no borrowing for commercial purposes, except by persons in financial difficulties. But the growth of capitalist artisans and capitalist employers had greatly altered the situation. Many now wanted to borrow merely as a matter of convenience. They were not in any particular difficulties, but

they saw their way to improving their position by borrowing, even at high interest. The loan would then be a convenience to both parties, and there need be nothing harsh or unfair in the payment of interest. The Act of 1536 simply recognised the new state of things, but by imposing a limit on the rate of interest that might be charged, it made a sort of compromise with the old traditional ideas on the subject. The compromise was illogical, and it was almost certain that it would be evaded: but it marks a new stage of feeling on the subject, and reminds us that this was a period of transition to a more elaborate industrial system.

C. R. L. FLETCHER. Town Life.

When the great explorer, whose fourth centenary Spain celebrated in 1892 with such pomp, went forth to seek Cathay—chiefly in reliance on the prophecies of Isaiah and Seneca*—and found a few islands peopled with naked savages instead, he had a very firm idea that he was going to make a great revolution in history; but he was quite wrong as to the direction which that revolution was going to take. The real result of the discovery of America, and of the far more important sea route to India by the Cape, was to make commerce oceanic instead of riparian. "The nations who dwelt upon the ocean," says a recent writer, "were now to be the inheritors of the riches of the world." London and Amsterdam, Cadiz and Lisbon, were to be what the queens of the narrow seas and of the Middle Ages, Lübeck and Venice, Wisby and Genoa, had been. It was indeed a great revolution to have begun chiefly in consequence of a "fall" in spice. Yet so it was. The absolute necessity of spices to season food in an age when there were no vegetables to speak of made the spice trade the most profitable thing of the time. To bring spices to Europe cheaply was the object of all the first pioneers of commerce. A bold

Commerce becoming Oceanic.

* Venient annis
Sæcula seris,
Quibus Oceanus
Vincula rerum
Laxet, et ingens pateat tellus,
Nec sit terris ultima Thule.
SEN. MEDEA.

"venture" in a ship of Hawkins' or Cabot's might make a merchant prince out of a very small man: and many a merchant prince was the maker of the fortunes of his native town.

The long sleep of the Middle Ages was already broken in many places before Columbus put out over Palos Bar. And if the English towns on the whole were somewhat late sharers in the wealth of the New World, it must never be forgotten that Bristol was in the very vanguard of the advance. It is a curious instance of the spirit that was abroad, that in 1480 two ships sailed from Bristol, as William of Worcester relates, "to find the Island of Brazil." They were out about two months, but were driven back by a storm to the west coast of Ireland. From Bristol, too, sailed John Cabot, in 1494, on that expedition which first sighted the mainland of North America (Vol. II., p. 497). And Pedro de Ayala, the Spanish ambassador, writes (in 1498): "The people of Bristol have, *for the last seven years*, every year sent out two, three, or four light ships in search of the island of Brazil and the seven cities, according to the fancy of this Genoese" (sc. Cabot). It is impossible, when we read such passages as this, to avoid the conclusion of the learned Dr. Ruge, in his "Zeitalter der Entdeckungen," that some real knowledge of the existence of the New World had come to the Old World in pre-Columbian days. But how and whence? At any rate, the enterprise of these Bristol merchants began long before Columbus. The Government of Henry VII. fitfully interested itself in the matter: but the main point that distinguishes the English pioneers from those of the Latin races is that on the whole the former were left to themselves, and private enterprise was of more avail than public. Before the close of the reign of Henry VIII. Robert Thorne (p. 212) had suggested the North-West Passage: the elder Hawkins had embarked on the Guinea trade, which first revived the prosperity of Southampton, declining since the "Flanders galleys" of Venice had ceased to visit it; and Newfoundland had been frequently visited both from Bristol and London.

The Effect on English Towns.

It is wonderful what a complete change in the relative positions of English towns this revolution of commerce produced. Norwich, indeed, clung for a little while to its primacy of the woollen trade, in spite of a terrible fire which almost destroyed the city in 1508: and the increasing population of the Eastern

Counties and of London led to a revival of Yarmouth as the great centre of the herring fishery, a position which it has ever since retained. But the Cinque Ports, with the exception of Dover and Hastings, crumbled into rapid decay; great open spaces began to be found within their walls; the grass sprang up between the boulders of the streets of Romney and Winchelsea. York, which had always remained a sort of northern capital, and on whose history, perhaps alone of English cities, the Wars of the Roses had any serious effect, was obliged to plead on one occasion, in the reign of Henry VII., that it was unable to discharge its fee-farm rent to the Crown. Acts of Henry VIII. continually bear witness to the ruined condition of many ports as well as "uplandish towns." On the other hand, we begin to hear seriously of Manchester, Sheffield, Birmingham (p. 121), and Plymouth; and Defoe has traced the establishment of the woollen industries of the West Riding to the importation of foreign artificers to Leeds, Halifax, and Wakefield by King Henry VII. Mr. Cunningham also quotes a characteristic petition of the clothiers of Worcester, Evesham, Droitwich, Kidderminster, and Bromsgrove, stating that their working men were deserting these towns and beginning to make cloth in the villages.

The Restrictive Effect of the Gild System.

This brings us face to face with a second great cause of the displacement of trade. It seems quite clear that the restrictive policy of the gilds, which has been noticed in an earlier section (Vol. II., p. 407), was driving artisans, and even small capitalist workers, out of the former centres of industry into other places where there were no such restrictions. When a man had to pay as much as six pounds of the money of that time—as was occasionally the case—before he could be admitted to the gild; when he had to prove descent from a gild member; when he had —as he almost invariably had—to serve a seven years' apprenticeship to a trade he could perhaps learn in as many weeks; when the number of apprentices was limited to two, from which restriction rich masters might free themselves by paying a fine beyond the means of their poorer brethren, it was natural that trade, in the hands of the men who, as Ulrich von Hutten said, were "beginning to awake and live," should seek other channels. But Henry VII., on the afore-mentioned petition being presented to him, sternly answered that no one was to make

clothes in Worcestershire outside the said towns. It is characteristic also of the age that side by side with these attempts to repress the rising spirit of competition, there should filter into the English Statute-book one or two enactments indicative of a disposition to favour free trade. Take the following from the Statute 12 Henry VII.:—

Beginnings of Free Trade.

"Whereas the fellowship of the Mercers and other merchants and adventurers dwelling and being free within the City of London, by confederacy amongst themselves, contrary to every Englishman's liberty, to the liberty of the Mart, and to law, reason, charity, right, and conscience, had made an ordinance that none should sell without their consent, except he first compounded and made fine to them, which had increased from time to time, by reason whereof the cities, towns, and boroughs, had fallen into great poverty—be it enacted that all should freely sell without any exaction for their liberty and freedom to buy and sell, etc."

Such an enactment shows us that the English Government of the time was a Janus-head, looking back often to the past but looking forward also to the future, when freedom of trade should be allowed to everyone, and all corporation and apprenticeship laws should be swept away. It was reserved for the quiet irony of Adam Smith to finish that which Henry VIII. and his son began by the confiscation of the property of almost all the existing craft gilds in the kingdom. London indeed saved her gilds because she was powerful enough to have made a revolution, even against the most absolute Tudor, and would, all honour to her therefor, have certainly made it bad her great livery companies been swept away; and one or two other gilds survived, as at Preston, in a condition of picturesque decay. And, indefensible as the gilds were, desperate hindrances to trade as they had proved themselves to be, valid excuse as the Protestant reformers had for abolishing the superstitious ceremonies with which most of them were connected, the Englishman who lives in the last decade of the nineteenth century may well pause before he endorses with his approval the commencement of the confiscation of corporate property by Parliamentary enactments.

The Suppression of the Gilds.

Another set of instances of the interference of the Government with the towns occurs before the close of our period. The Ministry of Thomas Cromwell has generally been regarded

as the first in which it was discovered that Parliament might be a valuable agent of the royal will, and to manipulate Parliament became in consequence a serious part of the business of the Minister. Henry VIII. did not go as far as his children, and create new boroughs by royal letters, with the right of returning members, but he frequently wrote to the burgesses desiring them to make return of a member whom he nominated. The burgesses of Colchester, on one such occasion, after the usual expressions of devotion and servility, begged to be excused for not complying with His Highness's request; but the probability is that few dared really refuse compliance to the majestic lord who broke the bonds of Rome, and embodied in his own large person, more than any king before him, the feelings and aspirations of the England of his day.

Interference with the Representation.

There stands a city by the banks of the Thames which owes to him a debt of gratitude which it has not always been willing to recognise, and which is, indeed, capable of being interpreted the reverse way. Charters of one kind and another had been given by Angevin kings to mediæval Oxford, and the usual fraternities of vintners and mercers, of tailors and dyers, existed within the walls. But even as early as 1300, when the articles for which English towns were famous were reckoned up by a writer of that year, it is worthy of note that Oxford had already attained to celebrity for its schools (Vol. II., p. 64). The University of Oxford was, in fact, the making of the city; but the burgesses were always unwilling to recognise the fact, and long and fierce had been the struggles between the two bodies. It has long been one of the commonplaces of history that "a murderous town and gown row preceded the Barons' War," and the citizens were annually reminded of their misdeeds by their repeated penances of Saint Scholastica's Day. Oxford was not in itself a place of much trade, except as the centre of an agricultural district (the county of Oxford ranked very high in the table of productiveness in the 15th century), and all "unthrifty wares"—*i.e.* all foreign luxuries—must have either come by common carrier across the wooded Chilterns from London, or by the slower, and probably hardly less expensive, route up the Thames in barges. It is, however,

Henry VIII. and Oxford.

a matter of much doubt how far up the Thames was navigable before the 16th century, and one cannot help thinking there must have been more than one transhipment of goods between London and Oxford. Certainly the present main stream at the latter place owes its existence to the Abbots of Oseney, who could have had no other reason for undertaking the cutting of new channels than to bring waterborne goods to their own doors. The great Abbeys of Rewley and Oseney formed almost separate towns without the western gate, where now the railway whistle has superseded the vesper bell; the great Abbey of St. Frideswide, and the splendid foundations of both the great Orders of Friars, almost redeemed the southern corner of the city from being classified as the worst slum in Christendom. The colleges and a few scattered houses of other religious orders held the rest. The period before us was witnessing a rapid extension of collegiate foundations; Corpus and Brasenose were being endowed on the lines of the greater foundations of Chichele and Waynflete, and Wolsey was busy with the great institution which was to hand down, as he fondly hoped, to the latest posterity, the name of the one Romish priest who became a Cardinal without ceasing to be an Englishman. Not less illustrious is the fame of the "Oxford Reformers," Colet, Erasmus, and More.

Small wonder then that King Henry VIII. or his ministers looked forward to closing for ever the disputes between city and university by the grant of the famous Charter of 1523. We may fairly attribute to Wolsey this great privilege granted to learning, which, as Mr. Boase says, "virtually placed the greater part of the city at their (*i.e.* the chancellor's and scholars') mercy." All persons on whom the university chose to confer the privilege were exempted from having to apply to the city for permission to carry on business, and, practically, no appeal against the sentence of the chancellor or his commissary was allowed. The mayor of the city was obliged at his election to take an oath, in St. Mary's Church, to maintain the privileges and customs of the university. One mayor refused, and was promptly excommunicated. The proctors exercised—unjustly, said the citizens—the power of "discommonsing" any tradesman whom they suspected of unjust dealing; and even laid tolls upon "every horse-load of *fresh salmon*" coming into the city. Frequent appeals to the Privy Council

and Parliament on the part of the city produced little effect, and the Charter of Elizabeth, which is still in force, virtually reaffirmed the Charter of Wolsey.

The Relative Prosperity of the Great Towns.

It may perhaps be interesting, while we are considering the relative position of English towns, to quote from Professor Rogers the figures of the assessment of 1503, although, as was stated in a former section (Vol. II., p. 409), such figures must always be received with the greater caution, because temporary accidents (such as fires) continually altered the relative paying-capacity of the towns. In the fourth year of the sixteenth century, then, London (i.) appears assessed only at $3\frac{3}{4}$ times the rate of Bristol (ii.), but, adds Rogers, there had been a great conflagration in London during that year; York (iii.) is next, and is assessed at $\frac{1}{4}$ the amount of London. Lincoln (iv.) it is difficult to understand: it was only in the reign of Edward IV. that Lincoln repeatedly had to be excused from discharging its share of what we should now call Imperial taxation. Gloucester (v.) and Norwich (vi.) occupy relative positions still more difficult to explain. Shrewsbury (vii.), Oxford (viii.), Salisbury (ix.), Coventry (x.), Hull (xi.), Canterbury (xii.), Southampton (xiii.), and Nottingham (xiv.) vary from $\frac{1}{7}$ to $\frac{1}{17}$ the assessment of the Metropolis. Then comes a great drop, and Worcester (xv.), Southwark (xvi.) are each put at $\frac{1}{34}$; and Bath (xvii.), the lowest, is at $\frac{1}{47}$ of that rate. One might hazard almost any amount of guesses on such figures as these, and build dogmatic statements upon those guesses, as it was the habit of the author above quoted to do; and it must be acknowledged that, dangerous as this method of treating history is, his guesses were almost always extremely shrewd and clever. But it is better to be content with putting the figures before the reader, and avoiding explanation where such can only be made by a leap in the dark. Let us be content with realising the new position of Bristol, to which attention has already been called. The probability is that in the period of transition before us exceptional circumstances supervening to raise or depress a town or an industry suddenly were, if one may be allowed to use such a paradox, the rule. That these circumstances included to any serious extent sieges or destructions committed by the rival factions of the Roses there is no great evidence. A town

Bristol.

like Tewkesbury or Coventry, or even York, might be occupied by a sudden dash of one or other of the armies; and it is well known that it was the fear of the march of Margaret's wild Northerners towards London in 1461 that wrecked her cause, and turned many a good Lancastrian, like Abbot Whethamstede, of St. Albans, into a Yorkist. But that any real traces of the wars remained after a few years of the strong government of the early Tudors is not likely. Bloody and cruel as the kings and nobles were, it was against each other that their rage was chiefly turned. The walls of the cities were usually manned by the citizens themselves, in whose hands the ordinary police and the watchmen were also placed; and although there was in a great many towns a castle, usually (as in the case of Oxford) just outside the wall of the city, and connected therewith by a drawbridge over a moat, it was too much the obvious policy of the Crown to content the powerful middle class for it to be probable that the captains or colonels or knights-at-arms, who might be in temporary possession of Ludlow or Dover, Windsor or Colchester Castle, would allow any wanton injury to be inflicted on the houses of the citizens which lay under command of the castle guns. One or two towns only in England, such as Pomfret and Wallingford, seriously owed their importance to their strategical value. When a noble held a castle as part of his estate, he held it directly from the Crown; and a "licence to crenellate" (*i.e.* fortify) a country-house would rarely be given, needed constant renewing, and might be taken away in a moment. Henry II. (Vol. I., p. 259) had done in England in the twelfth century that which it taxed all the energies of Richelieu and Mazarin to do in France in the seventeenth.

The Towns and the Civil Wars.

It would be wrong, before quite taking leave of the mediæval town, to omit some slight notice of the accommodation which it could afford to strangers. England seems in all ages to have been famous for its inns. All readers of Sterne, and still more of Arthur Young, will remember what a contrast they draw between the comparative comfort and cleanliness of an English inn, and the misery of the dogholes provided for travellers in eighteenth-century France; still more will readers of George Borrow recall his expressions of disgust at the unmitigated horrors of a

The Inns.

Spanish posada in our own days. We may take the inn of the English roadways in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries to have been, as regards arrangement, a cross between Borrow's Spanish posada and a Turkish Khan; while, as regards cleanliness, it was probably superior to both. The chief enemy to be met with was the flea; and, occasionally, a "great peck of rats and mice." But when travellers slept ten or twelve in a bed, the fleas are perhaps not to be wondered at; and that they did so to a much later period than this the "Great Bed of Ware" still remains as proof positive. Worse than this, however, was the habit—which Erasmus notices as peculiar to England and of peculiar nastiness—of strewing the floors with rushes, which were cleaned out but once or twice a year. A certain bishop's journey in the fifteenth century, from London to Falmouth, occupied fourteen days' easy riding—that is, at somewhat under twenty miles a day: now, a bishop would probably be put up in a monastery or a squire's house at most places on the road, as would also a very poor man, or anyone who could pass himself off as one of those innumerable religious beggars and impostors whom M. Jusserand so well describes; but your solid middle-class franklin or tradesman would go to his inn. And it seems that the Heads of Colleges and their attendants, when they went "on progress" to pay a visit to the college estates, usually put up at an inn. When Warden Hoveden, of All Souls, rode to London to withstand Queen Elizabeth in her pride, he put up for a night at Stokenchurch or at Wycombe. Such travellers in the fifteenth century either bought or brought with them their solid provisions, and all they expected from the inn was bed and ale or wine. But in the sixteenth century a change undoubtedly came; and Warden Hoveden's bills always include "dinner so much—horse meat so much—lodging so much." The change probably came with the increased luxury of living which followed the revival of prosperity in the early days of Elizabeth.

Social Changes.

That change must have made itself felt in every stratum of society. But before our present period ends, the revolutionary action of the government was already pressing hardly upon the poorer classes in town and country alike. That the displacement of trades above referred to was productive of much misery among the artisans is quite obvious. The statutes of the early Tudors

bear witness to it in two directions; *first*, in the commencement of an organisation for the relief of the poor (p. 247)—that we meet such statutes long before the dissolution of the monasteries is a sufficient rebutment of the ordinary view that the Poor-Laws were a necessary consequence of that dissolution, the fact being that the monasteries themselves were already in many cases bankrupt, being unable to keep up with the new principle of competition, which was creeping into every department of life; and, *secondly*, in the much greater frequency of statutes against "sturdy beggars, rogues and vagabonds," for whom the whip and the stocks were about the mildest regimen prescribed (p. 250). Such statutes, often repeated, chronicle their own failure. It was not till the revived prosperity of the latter half of the sixteenth century had absorbed these "dangerous classes" and found work for them to do, either in the new industries of the Western or Northern woollen manufactures, or in "cutting Spanish throats on the golden Spanish main," that these laws really began to do their work upon the few "savage" elements of society that were left—the offscourings and rinsings of the bitter and cruel society of the later middle ages.

But for the present things were very bad, and it may be a relief to turn from the contemplation of the squalid misery of the unskilled artisan, for whom the new trades could find no employment, from the small gildsman crushed out of existence and undersold by his shrewder neighbour (whom in cruel mockery he still called "brother" in his craft), against and in contempt for all existing bye-laws of the trade-society, to consider a peculiarly mediæval institution, of which some squalid survivals still disgrace a few of our provincial towns, the Fair. The learned Mr. Cornelius Walford, by dint of unwearied industry, collected and published all that we are ever likely to discover about the greater English fairs. The mediæval fair was a sort of enlargement of the idea of the Market. Even at the present day there is known to the English law an abstract as well as a concrete conception of a market. Goods bought within the city of London between certain hours of the day are bought in "market overt"; and even though they may have been stolen from their lawful owner, a subsequent purchaser, if acting *bonâ fide* and with no knowledge of the theft, cannot

Fairs.

be disquieted for wrongful possession of them, supposing him to have bought them in "market overt." In most towns there exists—in all there doubtless existed—a large open space which is the property of the Corporation, and which is called the market. From those who set up booths in such a place the authorities took a fixed scale of dues, and one of the best-known of those quarrels between the University and City of Oxford, already referred to, was upon the claim of the former to inspect the market, a claim which they ultimately made good. Now, at the period before us the reasons for this control over markets, which was represented in the assizes of bread and beer, in the aulnagers and winetasters, were ceasing to exist, and competition was everywhere taking the place of custom, of which the market system was a bulwark. But the principle still survives in the practice of trade marks; and in one instance of the right of a mediæval fraternity, the Goldsmiths' Company, to affix their "Hall-mark" upon all gold and silver plate. And only very recently the "Merchandise Marks Act" has proved that we were in error in supposing that we were able to walk alone, and look after our own interests. Trade after trade, in fact, seems yearning nowadays for the glorious servitude of the middle ages. Did the middle ages fix the price of labour? restrict the number of hands in a trade? pass statutes against forestallers (*i.e.* those who bought raw material on its way to a market) and regrators (*i.e.* those who tried to create a "corner" in the article in the market itself)? The cry of the day is to have all these restraints back again: to return, with our eyes open, to the gropings of the economically blind.

Now the Fair was simply an extension of the principle of the Market on a grand scale. It had a twofold object; (i.) the advantage of the person, or corporation, to whose hands the dues from it came (and these would often be considerable); (ii.) the supplying to the consumer of articles that were not to be purchased in the town-market at ordinary times or in sufficient quantities. Therefore, when competition had introduced shopkeepers of every sort and kind to almost every town and considerable village in England, the *raison d'être* of fairs was gone. It is worth remarking that all fairs, though doubtless accompanied with the usual amount of revelry, bear-baiting, etc., were in the middle ages strictly

business institutions, and such purely pleasure fairs as May Fair and Greenwich Fair seem to date only from the close of the period we are describing. The origin of each separate fair is often lost in immemorial antiquity, and, as Mr. Walford points out, the grant of licence to hold the fair, as in that of Edward IV. to the Corporation of London to hold the fair of Southwark, oftener marks the decline of the institution and an attempt to regulate or revive it than the origin thereof. "We have granted," says the Yorkist sovereign, "to the said Mayor Commonalty and Citizens and their successors for ever that they shall and may have yearly one Fair in the town aforesaid [Southwark] for three days that is to say the 7th 8th 9th days of September; to be holden together with a Court of Pie-Powder and with all liberties unto such fairs appertaining; and that they may have and hold at their said courts from day to day and from hour to hour all occasions plaints and pleas of a Court of Pie-Powder, together with all summons attachments arrests issues fines redemptions & commodities and other rights whatsoever to the same court of pie-powder in any way pertaining," etc. The court here referred to is of course "Cour des pieds poudrés," or "court of dusty feet," *i.e.* a jurisdiction of a summary nature over all persons trading in the fair, who are supposed to have journeyed a long way and so arrive with their nether limbs in a travel-stained condition. Whether Henry VIII. actually forbade the fair, or merely suspended the jurisdiction of the Corporation of London over it, is not quite clear; but Edward VI. certainly revived it, and it is mentioned in Charles I.'s days as being one of the three great fairs of England.

The great three weeks' fair at Stourbridge, on the outskirts of Cambridge, was by far the most important in England (Vol. II., p. 555). Like most other institutions of its kind, the month of September was fixed for it, the idea probably being that the most convenient time was immediately on the termination of harvest. It was probably the only English fair seriously attended by foreign merchants in person, and the East Anglian ports were not inconveniently situated for their visits to it. Professor Rogers says that every article in use at the time is recorded as having been purchased there. But the main business was probably in wool and salt fish; Eastern goods were, however, undoubtedly

found there, and the whole thing was probably very like the fair of Nijni Novgorod, though upon a smaller scale. The prosperity of Stourbridge fair was undoubtedly closely bound up with the old mediæval trade routes, and with the days when the Netherlands were our chief commercial client; therefore, in the period we are now considering, it was steadily losing its importance. On institutions of this kind the violent rise in prices, owing to the influx of silver from the New World, and Henry VIII.'s infamous treatment of the coinage, must have come with a crash.

The Borough Courts.

Before we quit the subject of the towns, it may be interesting to consider the question, what extent of jurisdiction was exercised by the borough courts at the close of the middle ages? The old idea that law was a personal, not a territorial attribute, that a Hanseatic merchant should be tried by his own law within the "stilliard" of his own Fraternity, even if he had broken the peace of King Henry VII. and the crown of a London 'prentice, traces of which idea extended to our own days in the disabilities of an alien and the difficulties attending his naturalisation, seems to have been already almost at an end as regards Englishmen themselves. By the original charter to London and by many subsequent charters to boroughs and cities, a citizen could only be tried in his own husting, or at least within the jurisdiction of his brother citizens ("Et cives non placitabunt ultra muros pro ullo placito," etc.). Had these remained in force, it would have been impossible that one law should be established for all the subjects of the kings of England. A great part of the work of the Tudor kings was, as we know, the enforcing of law equitably (except where their own interests were concerned) on all Englishmen: but it is probable that even to this late period a great deal of diversity in the powers of the borough courts prevailed. Mr. Worth, in the *Antiquary* for May, 1884, quotes from the ancient records of the borough court of Plymouth some extremely curious suits from the reign of Henry VIII., such as we should certainly expect to find tried by His Majesty's judges of assize, or in his royal courts of Westminster. In one of these a gentleman of the name of John Meyow (?Mayhew) is sued by a lady for £100 damages for breach of promise of marriage, which is surely

an early instance of this form of trial. Another case is for slander and defamation of character; another for the sloking (*i.e.* enticing) away a man's wife, who took with her goods to the value of 6s. 8d.—damages claimed, 40s.; value of wife, therefore, estimated at £1 13s. 4d. Mr. Worth even hazards the suggestion that this borough court claimed and exercised the right of capital punishment: but this must be regarded as doubtful without further proof adduced.

If we ask ourselves what impression town life at the close of the middle ages leaves upon us, the answer can hardly be a favourable one. If new towns, new trades were rising in many places, which were in a few decades as far to surpass in wealth and success their mediæval predecessors as those had themselves surpassed the mud-walled huts and domestic industries of the first Saxon settlers; if the reign of law and the annihilation of privilege were taking the place of the separatist and ultra-municipal spirit of the time which was passing away, there was still much to regret. Brotherhood, if not of trade with trade, yet at least within the separate trades, had been a very real thing. In widening and extending loves and hatreds, mankind also dilutes them. That which still makes us reject all shallow theories of cosmopolitanism and federation of the world in the present day, hugging our contempt for them and calling it patriotism, worked with a ten-fold force on a citizen of York or London before the Reformation.

The Break-up of the Old Order.

Still the thing had got to go, and its going made for liberty. But the process of going was horrible. To many thoughtful minds, like Sir Thomas More's, the appearance of competition, the idea of each man seeking to be richer than his neighbours, was an evil spectre which stalked through the land and must be laid. The burden of the "Utopia"—and it is of course a singular thing that a mind so acute as More's did not see that to reinstate custom on her throne was the most Utopian of all dreams—is that it is contrary to the laws of God and man for each to seek his own profit independently of the profit of the Commonwealth. Latimer's sermons tell the same tale; and it is not, indeed, till the reign of Elizabeth, and then only very partially, that one finds competition accepted as a fact, as the mainspring of trade, which was the mainspring of English town life

C. CREIGHTON. Plague and its Social Effects.

In the time of Henry VIII. plague was a very serious disturber of the public health; from the first to the last year of his reign there were probably not half a dozen summers or autumns for which we lack evidence of plague in London. Some of the years, such as 1513, 1521, 1535, 1543, and 1547, witnessed epidemics of the greater degree in the capital; and during the same period there is evidence of severe mortalities from it at Exeter, Oxford, Canterbury, Bristol, Shrewsbury, Cambridge, York, Doncaster, Newcastle, as well as in the resorts near London and in other country parishes. The records of plague in provincial towns are fuller, indeed, in the Elizabethan and Stuart periods; but it is probable that the reign of Henry VIII. was a fairly representative time of plague in England, and it will be convenient to state briefly here what were the effects of that disease upon public health and population. There is hardly any point upon which testimony is more concurrent and irrefutable than that plague was a mortal disease of the poorer classes—a veritable shears of Fate, which cut off the fringe of poverty as it grew from time to time, each great epidemic leaving the community richer, on the average, than it found it. One reason of the incidence of plague upon the more indigent was that they alone were unable to escape from the tainted air of the capital or other town; another reason was that they lived more sluttishly, fed more grossly, drank too much, made themselves liable to infection by other excesses, and exposed themselves among the sick or the dead in the way of neighbourly good offices, or in mere indifference, to an extent that their betters could hardly understand. The mortalities of the greater epidemics in London are not known with numerical exactness until that of 1563; but, from the experience of that and many subsequent epidemics in which the figures were kept, it may be safely asserted that, on an average, once in a generation, and during a period of three centuries—from the Black Death to the extinction of plague in 1666—

The Mortality by Epidemics.

the capital lost from a fourth to a sixth of its population at one stroke in a single season, suffering also a drain of its poorer

classes from the same cause more or less steadily from year to year. The provincial towns suffered likewise, and sometimes even in a greater ratio of deaths to inhabitants; but for these the authentic figures are nearly all later than our period here. Thus Chester, when its population was mostly housed within its old Roman walls, and could hardly have exceeded 5,000 or 6,000, lost in one epidemic (lasting two years) some 1,300 or 1,500 (the enumerations differ), and on another occasion 2,099; Newcastle, with a population of some 20,000, lost in a single half-year 5,027, besides 515 in Garthside; Colchester, with a smaller population, lost, in an epidemic lasting seventeen months, 4,817 from plague, as well as 528 from other causes; Bristol more than once lost what must have been a fourth or a fifth; Leeds, Manchester, and Lichfield, when the two former were hardly larger than the latter, had mortalities from plague in a single season which ran into four figures; towns like Stamford, Tiverton, and Totnes had their plague-mortalities of 500 or 600; Loughborough had its hundreds, Watford its scores, Eton its tens, and even the hamlet of Stoke Pogis its units.

These figures, as has been said, come from a later time, when numbers were more accurately kept and better preserved; but they suffice to show approximately what the proportion of deaths to population had been in plague-epidemics of the severest degree. Not London only, but most of the provincial towns in their turn, had epidemics of plague which cut off as high a ratio as from a fourth to a sixth of their population, and that fraction the poorest, if not altogether the helpless or the worthless. There is no reason to suppose that the towns were specially unhealthy in any other way; on the other hand, it can be shown that when plague was quiet in London in the Elizabethan period, the christenings exceeded the burials by twenty-five per cent. But any such gain of population was soon swallowed up by the revival of plague; and in a provincial town, such as Chester, which had not the same influx from without as London would always have had, the gaps left by a great plague would have been no more than filled before another plague came. Thus the operation of plague was peculiar; it cut off the fringe of poverty at one ruthless stroke, and

when the fringe had grown again, it was again submitted to the shears. Plague may be said to have tended to keep the population low and the average of well-being high; and that had been its steady effect, in the towns, at least, from the fifteenth century onwards.

Plague, having been thus frequent from the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII., although it mostly killed only the poor, was a constant menace to the rich; accordingly, measures were taken to restrain it, or to keep it within bounds—measures which had both their intention and their effect not so much to save the people, all and sundry, from plague, as to save one class from the contagion of another. It was characteristic of the Tudor period that the original motive of these preventive practices was the safety of the sovereign's person. Quarantine, which had already been practised at Venice, Marseilles, the Firth of Forth, and elsewhere, in the ordinary way upon ships and their cargoes and crews, remained for several generations in England an affair of the Court—a restriction upon the access of foreign ambassadors and others to the king's person until forty days had passed since they were last in contact with the plague. Something of the kind was carried out by Henry VII. in the sweating sickness of 1508; and in the severe London plague of 1513 and following years we find the Venetian ambassador forbidden the Court for forty days whenever one or more cases of plague had occurred in his household. To the same period belong also the measures for marking and shutting up houses which had the plague among their inmates. These measures were devised, in the first instance, for London by Henry VIII. himself, and consisted in marking the infected houses with wisps, of keeping all the inmates within doors, or of letting them out on necessary business only on condition that they bore in their hands a white rod for forty days. This practice remained in force in London, as well as in provincial towns and villages, until the last of the plague in 1666, having meanwhile undergone some developments. The wisp upon the house became a St. Anthony's cross, or crutch, at first blue and afterwards red, painted on a small piece of canvas or board, which was fixed to the post of the street door, with the legend

Quarantine.

under or over the cross, "Lord, have mercy upon us!" The shutting-up became more rigorous; all the windows and doors were kept closed, no one was allowed to leave the house, watchmen were set to guard it, and food was only introduced in such manner as to avoid contact with the inmates; attendants on the sick and bearers of the dead had to take oath to keep from converse with their families or others, and to bear a white or red rod whenever they went abroad. In Edinburgh the "clengers," or disinfectors of houses, and the bearers of the dead, wore a grey gown marked with a white St. Andrew's cross before and behind, and the two public biers of the city had each a bell mounted on it, which gave warning to people in the streets. At Aberdeen three gibbets were set up, whereon to hang any one who brought in the plague or gave lodging to infected or suspected persons —"the man to be hangit, the woman drownit," according to the feudal distinction of "pit and gallows" for the respective sexes. In the same city a father was branded on the hand with a hot iron for concealing a case of plague in one of his children. Queen Elizabeth had a gibbet set up at Windsor with the same object, and Charles I. at the gate of the Court at Woodstock. The shut-up were supported out of the municipal funds or by private collections, an Act of Parliament for their more systematic maintenance having been passed in the first year of James I.

To give effect to these measures of isolation, it was necessary to have early warning of the existence of plague in a house or parish; to that end searchers were appointed —two discreet women in each parish of London—who were sworn, in the church of St. Mary-le-Bow, to make a true report whether the death were one of plague or other cause. The searchers made report to the clerk of the parish, and he to Parish Clerks' Hall, whence was issued a weekly bill of all the deaths from the plague in the several parishes, together with a list of parishes in which there was no plague. The original is extant of one of these bills for the week 6th to 14th August, 1535, showing 105 deaths from plague, and 47 from other causes in sixty-one parishes, with thirty parishes "clear." There is also extant a more primitive-looking bill for a week in November (17th to 23rd), in a year not stated, showing 34 deaths from plague and 32

from other causes in thirty-seven parishes (four of them wholly without the walls, and two at the gates, partly without and partly within), sixty-three parishes of the City and Liberties having no deaths, "as by this bille doth appere." These extant bills of mortality belong to the reign of Henry VIII.; but the citizens in plague-time seem to have known whether the parishes were "clear" or "not clear" as early as the reign of Edward IV., so that there may have been bills drawn up at an earlier period than any still extant date from.

Sanitary Measures.

The earlier Tudor monarchs seem to have put their trust chiefly in quarantine (although Edward III. and Henry V. were vigorous sanitarians); at all events their other preventive measures were far from radical. The blood and offal of the shambles were thought likely to breed or favour infection, and were fulminated against (ineffectually). A great set was made against stray dogs and cats as likely carriers of infection; straw was to be carried from infected houses to the fields to be burned, and the clothes of the infected to be "cured." Three times a week, on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, twelve bucketsful of water were to be drawn from every pump or well and cast into the kennels to cleanse the streets withal, by an order of Lord Protector Somerset in 1547. The Sanitary Ordinances dating from the reign of Elizabeth are more vigorous, and it is possible that some of them may have been in force under her predecessors also.

The Medical Profession.

The medical profession is not yet identified with sanitary science or preventive medicine. Their patients were all among the well-to-do, who rarely suffered from plague after the first epidemics of it in 1349 and in the latter part of the fourteenth century; but in those earlier plague-times the physicians reaped a golden harvest, like Chaucer's physician, who loved gold in special, and was a close-fisted person to boot: "He kept that he won in the pestilence." In later times, when their rich clients fled from a plague-stricken place, the physicians fled also, because it was not then usual to give gratuitous advice to the poor in any circumstances, however pressing. Nor did they aid the people by their pens; not one of the leading physicians of Henry VIII.'s reign—

Linacre, Chambre, Butts, or others—wrote or published a single line upon plague so far as we know. The earliest book on it, containing native experience, is by Dr. Gilbert Skene, of Aberdeen, in 1568, and he has a significant remark about his colleagues: "Medicineirs are mair studious of their awine helthe nor of the common weilthe." It is not until we come to Thomas Lodge, in 1603, that we find a London physician of the first rank remaining at his post, in Warwick Lane, to help the poor, professing that humane view of his art which became usual long after, and deploring the fate of his "poor countrymen left without guide or counsel, how to succour themselves in extremity; for where the infection most rageth there poverty reigneth among the commons, which, having no supplies to satisfy the greedy desires of those that should attend them, are for the most part left desolate to die without relief." Those greedy persons were the empirics, together with some apothecaries and surgeons, who ran the risk for the sake of the gain. The surgeons were mostly occupied with their lancets; their interest in the sanitary aspect of plague was wholly negative, for one of the plague orders ran: "That no chirurgions or barbers, which use to let blood, do cast the same into the streets or rivers"—as if they had been, in regard to State medicine, mere nuisance-makers like the slaughtermen of St. Nicholas parish.

Henry VIII., who was no mean amateur in physic himself, did much to give physicians and surgeons their professional status. He established the faculty of Physic at Oxford and Cambridge, by founding the Regius Professorships; at an earlier date, in 1518, he gave a Charter of Incorporation to Linacre and others as the College of Physicians of London, who were also privileged, by the Act of 1540, to practise surgery. The original members were all graduates of foreign universities; but with their new faculties Oxford and Cambridge began to supply medical graduates to the London College, along with Padua, Montpellier, and afterwards Leyden. It had been already enacted in 1511 that physicians and surgeons, duly examined by the Bishop of London or the Dean of St. Paul's, with four medical assessors in London, or by the Bishop of the diocese, with skilled aid, in the provinces, should enjoy certain exclusive rights and

Physicians and Surgeons.

privileges of practice. The Act related that a great multitude of ignorant persons, as smiths, weavers, and women, attended the sick, administering drugs and other applications, and using sorcery or witchcraft; but whereas it was desirable (as in the preamble of the present Medical Act) that those in need of medical aid should be able to "discern the uncunning from the cunning;" be it, therefore, ordained that only those licensed as above were to exercise the arts of medicine and surgery. However, the surgeons pushed their monopoly too far; and in the preamble of a new Act (1542–43) they were denounced as at once ignorant and exorbitant in their charges, and so jealous of their trade that they had sued, troubled, and vexed even those who gave medical advice "to poor people only for neighbourhood's sake and of pity and charity." It was accordingly ordained that any subject of the king may cure outward sores, incomes, wounds, apostemations, outward swellings, or diseases, and administer remedies for stone, strangury, ague, etc., without suit, vexation, trouble or penalty. The surgeons, however, had a certain status as a chartered company of the city of London, having been admitted to the fellowship of, and made one with, the old Company of the Barber-Surgeons (incorporated in the fourteenth century) by the Act of 1540, which at the same time ordained that no barber was to use surgery, and no surgeon to use barbery—the explicit motive being that those who wanted merely to get shaved need not run the risk of going to a practitioner who may have just been treating infectious diseases, such as the plague or the French pox. While the surgeons were thus enabled to dissociate themselves, as it were, from the barbers (and further to assert their learned status by taking every year the bodies of four felons for anatomies), it was the barbers who had helped them to their incorporation and had for two centuries preserved a respectable tradition. This Guild (afterwards the Company) of Barber-Surgeons in London, and the guilds of York, Exeter, Gloucester, Dublin, and other cities, were moulded by the strict discipline of the fifteenth-century guilds and Companies—the control of apprentices by masters and of masters by the searchers or the Court of Wardens. They were at least respectable burgesses, and sometimes they rose—as in the case of Morested in London—to great civic influence. They served, also, as a check upon the travelling

mountebanks (usually foreigners) who abounded in England; by the statutes of the Guild of Barber-Surgeons of York, a travelling empiric was allowed five days' grace in the city in the way of hospitality to a stranger, but after that he had to get a licence and submit to the same conditions of practice as the resident profession. While the members of the guilds were more respectable than the mountebanks, they were likely to be faster bound to a routine. Perhaps the most recondite part of their education was to learn the twenty points of the superficial veins at which blood should be drawn, and the right vein for each particular disease, together with a highly complex method of casting from tables of numbers, zodiacal diagrams, and the like, the day of the moon, and the hour of the day at which the phlebotomy should be performed.

Surgeons' Fees.

There is every reason to think that practitioners in the higher walks, both of medicine and surgery, were well paid in the first Tudor reigns. In 1535 the Venetian ambassador had an illness which cost him, in all, seven hundred ducats, "and for so many physicians," and reduced him to his last ducat. A youth in 1502, whose expenses were paid from the privy purse of the Queen, Elizabeth of York, cost as much (20 sh.) for a surgeon to cure him of the French pox as he cost for his diet and clothes, shoes and linen for a whole twelvemonth, together with a primer and a psalter. The same queen paid to a London surgeon a fee of thirteen shillings and fourpence (money of the time), for visiting her at Richmond. Latimer, in a sermon of 1552, said: "But now, at our time, physic is a remedy prepared only for rich folks, not for the poor; for the poor is not able to wage the physician." One illustration, although it is a few years beyond the limit of the reign, may be added. When Havre was occupied by the English in 1563, and besieged by the Catholic powers, disease broke out among the five thousand English within the town or in the ships, and turned to plague, which in the month of July was destroying them at the rate of more than a hundred in a day. The Earl of Warwick wrote home, complaining of the lack of surgeons, and was answered by the Privy Council that the cause of the said lack was, that surgeons "required greater entertainment than was allowed," and that the best way to secure their services was to provide

an allowance for them out of the soldiers' pay. The Earl of Warwick then made another appeal; he knew of one Colff, an apothecary in Cornwall, skilled in curing the plague, who was willing to leave his family and come to Havre for a hundred pounds. The Privy Council at length ordered surgeons to be sent, with a physician to replace one who had left in ill-health. This physician was Dr. Jeynes, the same who had startled the College of Physicians in London, only three years before, by asserting that Galen was in error in a certain matter, but, being brought to book, had recanted his heresy, and been received back into favour. If it cannot be said that he had the courage of his opinions, he must have had courage of a sort: for he carried his life in his hand when he crossed over to plague-stricken Havre, and he had not been many days there when he died.

MANNERS AND COSTUME.

From Bosworth Field to the middle of the sixteenth century armour had several changes—notably in the pointed solleret, which entirely disappeared, and was succeeded by broad *sabbatons*, with either square or rounded toes. In the reign of Henry VII. armour was made stronger and plain; whilst skirts, at least, of mail were again used, with tuilles, however, still attached to the taces (*cf.* Vol. II., pp. 124, 430).* But the wars in France, and Henry VIII.'s personal friendship with Maximilian I., and afterwards with Francis I. and Charles V., entirely altered the English armour—bringing in a far more ornate style. The Emperor Maximilian gave Henry VIII. a suit of armour, on his marriage with Katherine of Aragon, which is preserved in the Armoury of the Tower of London. It is highly ornamented with the badges of Henry and Katherine, with their initials united by a true lover's knot, and it is covered with engravings of scenes from the lives of the Saints. Instead of taces and tuilles, this suit of armour has steel skirts, called *lamboys*, which cover the body from the waist to the knee.

Armour.

In the armour *temp.* Henry VIII., the pauldrons were much enlarged, and the heaume was exchanged for the *armet* or

* See the brasses of William, Viscount Beaumont, in Wivenhoe Church, Essex, 1507; and Henry Stanley, Esq., at Hillingdon, Middlesex, 1528.

visored helm, to the gorget of which, occasionally, a sort of camail was fixed. These armets were sometimes splendidly plumed, and may be taken as the helmet proper. But, in this reign, another armoured headgear came into vogue, which was only worn by foot-soldiers—the morion, a variety of which was the Italian and German cabasset. The foot-soldiers carried halberts, partisans, pikes, and bills; and wore a back- and breast-plate, from which hung taces and cuisses, which descended to the knees: some had hand-guns, others cross-bows, and others long-bows—the preservation of the latter national weapon being kept up long after the weapon was obsolete, and its use encouraged by law* and every other possible means. For instance, in 1498, Holinshed writes:—

"In this yeare all the gardens which had been continued time out of mind, without Mooregate in London, were destroied, and of them was made a plaine field for archers to shoot in."

Archery.

Henry excelled in archery, as he did in every other manly sport; and, as this is almost the last reign in which the bow formed a portion of the national armament, a little space may well be given to show the popularity of the long bow:—

"On Maieday then next following in the second yeare of his reigne, his grace being young, and willing not to be idle, rose in the morning verie earlie to fetch maie or greene boughs, himselfe fresh and richlie apparelled: and clothed all his knights, squires, and gentlemen in white sattin, and all his gard and yeomen of the crowne in white sarcenet: and so went everie man with his bow and arrowes shooting to the wood, and so repaired againe to the court, everie man with a greene bough in his cap. Now at his returning, manie hearing of his going on maieing, were desirous to see him shoot, for at that time his grace shot as strong and as great a length as anie of his gard. There came to his grace a certeine man with bow and arrowes, and desired his grace to take the muster of him, and to see him shoot; for at that time his grace was contented. The man put the one foot in his bosome, and so did shoot, and shot a verie good shot, and well towards his marke: whereof, not only his grace, but all other greatly marvelled. So the king gave him a reward for his so doing."

* 6 Henry VIII. c. 2, by which it is enacted that "Buttes be made in every citee, towne, and place, according to the lawe of auncient tyme used. And that the inhabitantes and dwellers in every of them be compelled to make and continue such buttes, and exercise themselves with longe bowes in shotynge at the same and elleswhere on holie dayes and other tymes convenient."

Hall tells the story of another royal "Maiynge" in the seventh year of his reign:—

"The king and the quene accompanyed with many lordes and ladies roade to the high ground of Shoters hil to take the open ayre, and as they passed by the way, they espied a company of tall yeomen, clothed all in grene, with grene whodes, and bowes and arrowes, to the number of ii c. Then one of them, which called himselfe Robynhood, came to the kyng, desyring him to se his men shoote, and the kyng was content. Then he whistled, and all the ii c. archers shot and losed at once, and then he whistled agayne, and they likewyse shot agayne, their arrowes whistled by crafte of the head, so that the noyes was straunge and great, and muche pleased the kynge, the quene, and all the company. All these archers were of the kynge's garde,* and had thus appareled themselves to make solace to the kynge. Then Robynhood desyred the king and quene to come into the grene wood, and to se how the outlawes lyve. The kynge demanded of the quene and her ladyes, if they durst adventure to go into the wood with so many outlawes. Then the quene sayde, that if it pleased him, she was content; then the hornes blewe tyl they came to the wood under Shoters hil, and there was an arber made of boowes with a hal, and a great chamber, and an inner chamber very well made and covered with floures and swete herbes, which the kyng much praysed. Then said Robynhood: Sir, Outlawes' brekefastes is venyson, and therefore you must be content with such fare as we use. Then the kyng and quene sate doune, and were served with venyson and wyne by Robynhood and his men, to their great contentacion. Then the kyng departed and hys company, and Robynhood and hys men them conducted."

Weapons of War.

As a weapon of war the bow would have been obsolete, had it not been that the small-bored artillery, with its weak powder, was not very formidable as yet, and the small arms were cumbrous and required rests. The iron ordnance was of wrought iron; but brass and bronze cannon were cast, and Stow tells us something about the invention of cast-iron guns under date 1543 (p. 77).

Guns.

A falcon weighed 700 lbs., had a bore of 2¼ inches, and carried a shot of 2½ lbs. A minion had a 3-inch bore. A saker—so called after the peregrine falcon—weighed between 1,400 and 1,600 lbs., and had a bore of 3¼ to 4 inches, carrying a shot of 5 to 5½ lbs. Then there was a gun called a culverin, from the culver or woodpigeon; and in the same reign the musket was invented, and was so called after the male sparrowhawk. This weapon, whose name has descended to our days, superseded the

* The Yeomen of the Guard were instituted by Henry VII. in 1486.

harquebus, which was fired by a match-lock, and was carried by foot-soldiers; whilst horsemen were armed with a pistolet or dag, which was fired by means of a wheel-lock. In the great Muster of the City Forces in 1540, all between sixteen and sixty years of age had to appear, and fifteen thousand put in an appearance. This did not include either the Whifflers or Minstrels. According to Hall, it must have been a beautiful sight:—

"Then every man beyng of any substance provided himselfe a coate of whyte sylke, and garnyshed their bassenetes with turves lyke cappes of sylke set with ouches, furnished with chaines of gold and fethers; other gylted their harnesse, their halberdes, and pollaxes. Some, and especyall certayne goldsmythes, had their brest plates, yea and their whole harnesse, of sylver bullyon. The Constables were all in Iornettes of white sylke with chaynes and Batell Axes. The meaner sorte of people were in coates of white cloth, very curiously trymmed with the Armes of the Citie before and behynde."

Tournaments.

In the reign of Henry VIII. the tourney reached its apogee, and was carried out on a scale of magnificence never before attempted. The jousts held at Westminster on the king's coronation may be given as a sample of the many jousts held in this reign; but it may be remarked that the joust had lost all its old ferocity, and was conducted with a gentleness wholly foreign to former days:—

"For the king's grace and the quene, there was framed a faire house, covered with tapestrie, and hanged with rich clothes of arrais, and in the said palace was made a curious founteine, and over it a castell, on the top thereof a great crowne imperiall, all the imbattelling with roses and pomegranats gilded. Under and about the said castell, a curious vine, the leaves and grapes thereof gilded with fine gold, the walls of the same castell coloured white and grene losengis, and in every losing, either a rose or a pomegranat, and a sheafe of arrowes, or else 'H. & K.' gilded with fine gold, with certeine arches and turrrets gilded, to support the same castell. And the targets of the armes of the defendants, appointed for the said daies of the justs and turneis, out of the mouthes of certeine beasts or gargels did run red, white, and claret wine. . . . The trumpets blew to the field, the fresh yoong galants and noblemen gorgeouslie apparelled, with curious devises of cuts and of embroderies, as well in their coats as in trappers for their horses, some in gold, some in silver, some in tinsels, and diverse other in goldsmithe's worke, goodlie to behold.

"These first entered the field, in taking up and turning their horses netlie and freshlie. Then followed a devise (carried by strength of men and other provision) framed like a castell, or a turret, wrought with fine cloth of gold; the top whereof was spred with roses and pomegranats,

hanging downe on everie side of the said device; wherein was a ladie, bearing a shield of christall, named Pallas. After whom the said Lord Howard with his companions followed, armed at all points, their bases and bards, or trappers, were of greene velvet, beaten with roses and pomegranats of gold, brodred with fringes of damaske gold. The said devise or turret being brought before the king, the ladie Pallas presented the said persons, whom she named his scholers, to the king's highnes, beseeching the same to accept them as his scholers, who were desirous to serve him, to the increase of their honours; which said scholers had about them on foot to the number of an hundred persons, freshlie apparelled, in velvets of sundrie colours, with hose and bonets according to the same. And, further, the said ladie desired the king, that it might please his grace, that his said scholars might be defendants to all comers, which request was granted."

Hereupon, the chronicler continues, there entered another band of horsemen and a great number of footmen, arrayed with no less splendour than the preceding company. They were followed by eight knights, professing themselves "servants of Diana," and heralded by

"A gentleman on horsebacke, in a coat of blue velvet embrodered with gold, and his horse trapped in the same sute, with a speare of gold on his thigh, and the same presented to the queene; saieing, that it was informed those knights of his companie, how that Dame Pallas had presented six of his scholers to the king; but, whether they came to learne, or to teach feats of armes, they knew not. He further declared that his knights were come to doo feats of armes, for the love of ladies."

A contest was then arranged between the two bodies of knights, which lasted until nightfall, and ended indecisively.

The next day the two bodies of knights met each other again, in different and even more brilliant apparel; and after the servants of Diana, there followed

"A great number of hornes, blowne by men apparelled in greene cloth, with caps and hosen of like sute, as foresters or keepers; and a pageant made like a parke, paled with pales of white and greene, wherein were certeine fallow deare, and in the saide parke curious trees made by craft, with bushes, fernes, and other things in likewise wrought, goodlie to behold. The which parke or devise, being brought before the queene, had certeine gates thereof opened, the deare ran out thereof into the palace, the greiehounds were let slip and killed the deare; the which deare so killed, were presented to the queene and the ladies, by the foresaid knights."

These knights then, through their herald, proposed to contend afresh with the knights of Pallas; but the king,

fearing that the mimic contest might become too serious, allowed only a brief tourney.

"And so these justs broke up, and the prises [were] given to everie man after his deserts."

Feminine Costume.

With the exception of the head-dress, ladies' dress *temp.* Henry VIII. was very becoming, and did not vary much. It fitted the figure closely, both body and arms; and, at the beginning of the reign, was trimmed with fur at the neck, cuffs, bottom of the dress, and sometimes at the edging of the dress: the girdles were rather broad, and their ends and buckles were of beautifully ornamented metal work; from them generally depended a gypsire or pouch, and sometimes a rosary, or a long metal chain bearing an ornamental pendant, or a pomander, containing aromatics, or else a metal ball for warming the hands. The dresses were worn long, sometimes so long as to render it necessary to loop them up all round. About 1525 the dress was cut somewhat lower at the neck, and, generally, cut square; to cover that portion of the neck thus exposed, a chemisette, or habit-shirt, of fine linen or other material, generally plaited, was used, and was called the *partlet*. The tight sleeves were now richly embroidered, or otherwise ornamented, and over them were worn rather shorter sleeves, with loose and very wide cuffs, which were frequently lined with fur. Towards the end of the reign the gown was thrown more open at the neck, forming a collar, and the sleeves were puffed at the shoulders. The butterfly and steeple head-dresses died out with Henry VII., and a head-covering, called the kennel, pedimental, or diamond-shaped head-dress, took its place. At first it had long lappets in front, and was, in fact, only a modification of the kerchief; but fashion ordained that it should be made into a shape with wire, and become very unsightly—whilst, to make it more unbecoming, no hair was visible, it being all dragged back, and confined in a round cap at the back of the head. However, towards the end of Henry's reign, the diamond-shaped head-dress became old-fashioned, and was superseded by the modish "Paris head," a sort of close linen cap projecting forward on either side of the face, with a lappet depending behind, and very often a jewelled fillet over the forehead. This head-dress had, at all events,

one great advantage; it allowed the hair, which was parted in the middle, to be seen. The dresses, too, got shorter, and displayed the shoes, which were quite plain. Very little jewellery was worn—a brooch to clasp a mantle, or at the neck-collar, and a necklace, was all—neither rings on the fingers nor in the ears, and very rarely bracelets.

Male Costume.

But, if the ladies of that day were moderate in attire, the men erred terribly in the opposite direction; for there never was a time in England when men spent so much money upon their exterior. This craze for external magnificence had begun in the time of Henry VII.; and his son, who, certainly, could never be reproached with having inherited any of his father's avarice, having come into his kingdom when young, lived as gay a life as he could. Extravagance in dress at this time was not confined to England. On the contrary, it is very probable that, had it not been for the wars with France, we in England should not have had the disease so badly. But the Courts both of Francis I. and of the Emperor Maximilian were extremely splendid; and of the latter we can judge somewhat of the extravagance of costume in Burgmair's drawings of "The Triumph of Maximilian." The Germans were our very good friends, and so were the French, after the Field of the Cloth of Gold; but, as so many English of all degrees were so long upon the Continent, they could not fail to rub off some of their insularity, and conform somewhat in dress and habits to the people they were among.

When the Earl of Northumberland took Margaret, daughter of Henry VII., into Scotland, in 1503, to be married to the King of Scotland, Holinshed says of him:—

"The said earle of Northumberland that daie, what for the riches of his coat being goldsmithe's worke, garnished with pearle and stone, and what for the gallant apparell of his henchmen, and brave trappers of his horsse, beside foure hundred tall men well horsed and apparelled in his colours, was esteemed both of the Scots and Englishmen more like a prince than a subject."

And at the marriage of Prince Arthur, eldest son of Henry VII., to Katherine of Aragon, Stow says:—

"Wonderful it was to behold the riches of apparel worne y^{t} day, with the poisant chaines of gold; of which, two were specially noted, to wit,

Sir T. Brandon, Knight, master of the King's horse, which y^e^ day wore a chain valued at 1400 pound: and the other W. de Rivers esquire, master of the King's haukes, whose chain was valued at a thousand pound: many mo were of 200, 300, and so foorth: these were not noted for length, but for the greatnesse of the linkes. Also the Duke of Buckingham ware a gowne wrought of Needle worke, and set upon cloth of tissue, furred w^t^ sables, the which gowne was valued at £1500, and Sir Nicholas Vause, Knight, ware a gown of purple velvet, pight with peeces of gold so thicke & massie, that it was valued in golde, besides the silke and fur, a thousand pounde: which chaines and garments were valued by goldsmithes of best skill, and them that wrought them."

It was but natural that Henry should be sumptuously clad at his coronation: but what a dress he wore! Hall says:—

"His grace ware in his upperst apparell, a robe of Crimosyn Velvet, furred with armyns, his jacket or cote of raised gold, the Placard embrowdered with Diamondes, Rubies, Emeraudes, greate Pearles, and other rich Stones, a great Baudericke about his necke, of greate Balasses. The Trapper of his Horse, Damaske golde, with a deep purfell of Armyns."

And, at another eventful period of his life, when he met Francis I. at the Field of Cloth of Gold, Hall, who was an eye-witness, thus describes his dress:—

"Then the Kyng of Englande shewed himselfe some dele forwarde in beautie and personage, the moste goodliest Prince that ever reigned over the Realme of Englande: his grace was apparelled in a garment of Clothe of Silver, of Damaske, ribbed with Clothe of Golde, so thick as might bee, the garment was large, and plited verie thicke, and canteled of verie good intaile, of suche shape and makyng, that it was marveillous to beholde. The Courser which his grace roade on, was Trapped in a marveillous vesture of a newe devised fashion; the Trapper was of fine Golde in Bullion, curiously wroughte, pounced, and sette with anticke worke of Romayne Figures."

The civil dress of men of this time did not vary much; it consisted of a kind of frock-coat, plaited in folds in the skirt, and cut somewhat low in the neck, to show the shirt. The skirt for younger men was worn short, and the elder and graver sort wore it long and unplaited; and they wore an over-garment, or loose gown, with loose sleeves and trimmed with fur. All wore long hose (although trunk breeches came into fashion in this reign), and broad-toed shoes, which were sometimes slashed, and otherwise ornamented. Beards also came again into fashion, and the cleanly fashion of short hair.

Hats were made of velvet or cloth, and were particularly becoming head-dresses, all except the flat cap, which marked the mercantile class. But paternal government felt it necessary to issue a sumptuary law (6 Henry VIII., c. 1), "An Acte concernyng apparell to be used and worne." It legislates for all classes, from the peer to the husbandman: that portion applying to the middle classes ordaining that they should not wear doublets of "satyn, damaske, or silkyn chamlet."

"And that no man under the degree of a Knight weare any chayne of gold, or gilte, or coler of golde, or any golde about his necke, or bracelettes of gold, upon peine of forfaiture there of. And that no man, under the degree of a gentilman, weare anie silke pointes, or weare any pointes in any apparell of his body, with aglettes of golde, or silver, or silver gilted, or button, or broches of golde, or silver and gilte, or any goldsmith worke, upon paine of forfaiture of the same. And that no man under the degree of a Knight, other than be afore excepte for wearyng of gownes of velvet, weare any garded or pinched shirte, or pinched partlet of linnen clothe, or plaine shirte garnished, or made with silke or golde or silver, upon peine of forfaiture of the same shirte or partlet, and for using the same, for everie time so offending Xs."

Masques.

The king and his court set the example of every kind of extravagance in mumming and masquing. There does not seem to have been much difference between these two entertainments, but there must have been some. Holinshed tells us of "a roiall mummerie" which took place at the close of 1509:—

"In the meane season, the King with fifteene other, apparelled in Almaine jackets of crimsin and purple sattin, with long quartered sleeves, and hosen of the same sute, their bonnets of white velvet, wrapped in flat gold of damaske, with visards and white plumes, came in with a mummerie; and after a certeine time that they had plaied with the queene and the strangers * they departed. Then, suddenlie entred six minstrels richlie apparelled, plaieing on their instruments, and then followed fourteene persons, gentlemen, all apparrelled in yellow sattin, cut like Almaines, bearing torches. After them came six disguised in white sattin and greene, embrodered and set with letters and castels of fine gold in bullion; the garments were of strange fashion, with also strange cuts, everie cut knit with points of fine gold, and tassels of the same, their hosen cut and tied in likewise; their bonnets of cloth of silver woond with gold. The first of these six was the King, the earle of Essex, Charles Brandon, Sir Edward Howard, Sir Thomas Knevet, and Sir Henri Guilford.

"Then part of the gentlemen bearing torches departed, and shortly

* Visitors from the Court of the Emperor Maximilian, and the Spanish ambassadors.

returned, after whom came in six ladies, apparelled in garments of Crimsin sattin embrodered and traversed with cloth of gold, cut in pomegranats and yokes, stringed after the fashion of Spaine. Then the said six men dansed with these six ladies; and, after they had dansed a season, the ladies took off the men's visors, whereby they were knowen; whereof the queene and the strangers much praised the King, and ended the pastime."

This, then, was a "mummerie"; let the same chronicler tell us what a "masque" was:—

"On the daie of the Epiphanie at night (1512) the King with eleven others were disguised, after the maner of Italie, called a maske, a thing not seene before in England: they were apparelled in garments long and broad, wrought all with gold, with visors and caps of gold. And, after the banket done, these maskers came in, with six gentlemen disguised in silke, bearing staffe torches, and desired the ladies to danse: some were content, and some refused. And after they had dansed, and communed togither, as the fashion of the maske is, they toke their leave and departed, and so did the queene and all the ladies."

Pageants.

If the king and court indulged in mummeries and masques, the people had a somewhat similar entertainment provided for them whenever occasion served (and that was frequently) in "pageants," which certainly date back as far as 1432, in which year Fabyan records a magnificent one made on behalf of Henry VI. by the City of London. There were so many in the reign of Henry VIII. that it is impossible to chronicle them within these limits. We can only cite a single typical example from an account of the jousts at Westminster on 13th February, 1510:—

"Now after that the queene, with hir traine of ladies, had taken their places, into the palace was conveied a pageant of a great quantitie, made like a forrest with rockes, hills and dales, with diverse sundrie trees, floures, hathornes, ferne and grasse, with six foresters standing within the same forrest, garnished in cotes and hoods of greene velvet, by whom laie a great number of speares; all the trees, herbes, and floures of the same forrest were made of greene velvet, greene damaske, and silke of diverse colours, as satten and sarcenet. In the middest of this forrest was a castell standing, made of gold, and before the castell gate sat a gentleman freshlie apparelled, making a garland of roses for the prise. This forrest was drawen, as it were, by the strength of two great beasts, a lion and an antelop; the lion florished all over with damaske gold, the antelop was wrought all over with silver of damaske, his beames, or hornes, and tuskes of gold. These beasts were led with certeine men apparelled like wild men, or woodhouses, their bodies, heads, faces, hands and legs

covered with greene silke flosshed ; on either of the said antelop and lion sat a ladie richlie apparelled : the beasts were tied to the pageant with great chaines of gold, as horsses be in the cart. When the pageant rested before the queene, the forenamed foresters blew their horns; then the devise or pageant opened on all sides, and out issued the fore said foure knights armed at all peeces."

These pageants contained dramatic elements, and were of use in preparing the people to receive the drama. The minstrels, no doubt, were the first dramatic performers in England, but the regular actor can hardly be said to have been created before the time of Henry VII., who in 1494 certainly had four *Lusores Regis*, "alias in lingua Anglicana *les pleyars of the kynge's enterluds*," who were named John English, Edward Maye, Richard Gibson, and John Hammond, and who each received five marks, or £3 6s. 8d., per annum. Of these, John English accompanied the Princess Margaret to Scotland when she went to marry James IV., together with other players in her retinue. And soon after the birth of Prince Arthur, in 1486, there was a company of players called the "Prince's Players." According to the household books of Henry VII., which cover from 1492 to 1509, there were several other companies—at London, Mile End, Essex, Kingston, Wycombe, Coventry, and Wimborne Minster.

Interludes.

The coming of Henry VIII. to the throne, from his natural love of gaiety gave an impetus to all kinds of revelry, including the interlude; and we read in a paper found folded in a roll of the items of the revels in the fifth year of Henry VIII., and probably written by Cornish himself, an account of two interludes played the same evening by two different sets of players :—

"The Interlud was callyd the tryumpe of Love and Bewte, and y^t^ was wryten and presentyd by Mayster Cornysh and oothers of the Chappell of our soverayne lorde the Kyng, and the chyldern of the sayd Chapell. In the same, Venus and Bewte dyd tryumpe over al ther enemys, and tamyd a salvadge man and a lyon, that was made very rare and naturall, so as the Kyng was gretly plesyd therwyth, and graceously gaf Mayster Cornysshe a ryche rewarde owt of his owne hand, to be dyvydyd with the rest of his felows. Venus did synge a songe with Beawte, which was lykyd of al that harde yt, every staffe endyng after this sortte :

'Bowe you downe, and doo your dutye
To Venus and the goddes Bewty :
We tryumphe hye over all,
Kyngs attend when we doo call.'

Inglyshe, and the oothers of the Kynges pleyers, after pleyed an Interluyd, whiche was wryten by Mayster Midwell, but y^t was so long y^t was not lykyd: y^t was of the fyndyng of Troth, who was caryed away by ygnoraunce & ypocresy. The foolys part was the best, but the Kyng departyd befor the end to hys chambre."

Henry VIII., in 1514, had another set of players, and there were then "the king's players" and "the king's old players." But dramatic representations of this kind were not long confined to the King and Court; they were naturally destined to be popularised. Hall tells us how, in the 18th year of Henry VIII.,

"This Christmas was a goodly disguisyng plaied at Greis inne, whiche was compiled for the moste part, by master Ihon Roo, serjent at the law xx yere past, and long before the Cardinall had any auctioritie: the effecte of the plaie was, that lord governance was ruled by dissepacion and negligence, by whose misgouvernance and evill order, lady Publike wele was put from governance; which caused Rumor Populi, Inward grudge, and Disdain of wanton sovereigntie, to rise with a greate multitude, to expell negligence and dissipacion, and to restore Publik wele again to her estate, which was so done. This plaie was so set furth with riche and costly apparell, with straunge divises of Maskes and Morrishes, that it was highly praised of all menne, savyng of the Cardinall, whiche imagined that the plaie had been devised of hym, & in a greate furie sent for the said master Roo, and toke from hym his Coyfe, and sent hym to the Flete, & after, he sent for the yong gentlemen that plaied in the plaie, and them highly rebuked and thretened, & sent one of them, named Thomas Moyle of Kent, to the Flete; but, by the meanes of frendes, Master Roo and he wer delivered at last. This plaie sore displeased the Cardinall, and yet it was never meante to hym as you have harde, wherfore many wise men grudged to see hym take it so hartely, and ever the Cardinall saied that the Kyng was despleased with it, and spake nothyng of hymself."

Music.

Music was far more advanced: in fact, Erasmus, in his "Moriæ Encomium," says, "Britanni, præter alia, formam, musicam, et lautas mensas proprie sibi vindicent." The English could lay claim to be the best looking, most musical, and to the best tables of any people.

Henry VIII., who had been designed for the Church, was an accomplished musician, and a composer of no mean order (p. 114). Many of his musical compositions are left us, and one book, which belonged to him, is in the British Museum (Additional MSS. 31, 922). It is a collection of songs, ballads, and instrumental pieces: and eighteen of the songs and ballads,

and fifteen of the instrumental pieces, are by him, and others were probably his handiwork. When he died he left a large collection of musical instruments behind him, and there is a catalogue of "Instrumentes Musical, at Westminster, in the chardge of Philipp van Wilder" (Harl. MSS., 1419). He certainly had plenty of them; there were five pairs of double regals (small organs with two pipes to a note), eight single ditto (with only one pipe), thirteen virginals, two pairs of clavicords, nineteen great viallos, five citterons or Spanish viallos, two citterons with pipes of ivory tipped with silver and gilt, called cornettes, eight cornettes of wood, twenty-three lutes, any number of flutes—nine of them ivory tipped with gold, and six made of glass, seven trombones, a large number of recorders and shalmes, a pipe for a tabor, and two bagpipes, one of them "a Bagge pipe with pipes of Ivorie and y^e^ bagge covered with purple vellat," and besides many other instruments there were "sondrie bookes and skrolles of songes and ballattes." He not only composed glees, or *three man's songs*, but Lord Herbert of Cherbury says he composed two complete services for the Church, which were often sung in the chapel at Windsor.

Musical Instruments.

Playing cards were in general use by all classes in this reign. They were well known in 1463, for, by an Act of Parliament (3 Edward IV., cap. 4), the importation of playing-cards was forbidden; by which we may conclude that they were then manufactured in England. They were popular from the highest to the lowest, and we find that James IV. of Scotland surprised his future bride, Margaret, sister to Henry VIII., when he paid her his first visit, playing at cards."*

Card-playing.

"The Kynge came privily to the said castell (of Newbattle) and entred within the chammer with a small company, where he founde the quene playing at the cardes."

In the Privy Purse expenses of the Princess (afterwards Queen) Mary, there are numerous entries of money given her, wherewith to play at cards; and that the love of cards descended to the very lowest in the social scale, we may

* Leland's "Collectanea," vol. iii., Appendix, p. 284.

see by the following extract from 33 Hen. VIII., cap. 9, sec. xvi. :—

"Be it also enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no manner of artificer or craftsman of any handicraft or occupation, husbandman, apprentice, labourer, servant at husbandry, journeyman, or servant of artificer, mariners, fishermen, watermen, or any serving man, shall from the said feast of the Nativity of *St. John Baptist*, play at the tables, tennis, dice, cards, bowls, clash, coyting, logating, or any unlawful game, out of *Christmas*, under the pain of xxs to be forfeit for every time," etc.

But this was somewhat modified by sec. xxii. which provided:

"In what cases servants may play at dice, cards, tables, bowls, or tennis."

This was not the first interference with popular amusements in this reign, for Holinshed tells us (1526)—

"In the month of Maie was a proclamation made against all unlawfull games, according to the statute made in this behalfe, and commissions awarded to every shire for the execution of the same; so that in all places, tables, dice, cards, and bouls were taken and burnt. Wherfore the people murmured against the cardinall, saieing; that he grudged at everie man's plesure, saving his owne. But this proclamation small time indured. For when yoong men were forbidden bouls and such other games, some fell to drinking, some to feretting of other men's conies, some to stealing of deere in parks and other unthriftinesse."

In the "Interlude of Youth," we find what games of cards were then played. Riot and Pride instigate the young man to all kinds of vice, especially gaming. Riot says—

"Syr, I can teache you to play at the dice,
At the quene's game and at the Iryshe,
The Treygobet, and the hasarde also,
And many other games mo.
Also at the cardes I can teche you to play,
At the triump, and one and thyrtye,
Post, pinion, and also aumsace,
And at another they call dewsace.
Yet I can tel you more, and ye shylle con me thanke,
Pinke and drinke, and also at the blanke,
And many sportes mo."

Miscellaneous.

Of social odds and ends in this reign may be chronicled he institution of the College of Physicians in October, 1518 (p. 150), and its establishment in 1523. In 1522 the damask rose was first brought into England by Dr. Linacre, the king's physician; in 1525 pippins were brought to this country, and first planted, according to

one version, in Lincolnshire: of this year there is an old rhyme, of which one version runs—

> "Turkies, hoppes, reformation and beer,
> Came into England all in one year."

In 1530 the first portable clock, or watch, was made; and in 1533 currants, or Corinthian grapes, brought from the island of Zante, were first planted in England; and the musk rose, and several kinds of plums from Italy, were introduced by Cromwell. In 1540 cherries were first planted in Kent, where an orchard of thirty-two acres produced £1,000. Apricots were introduced by Henry VIII.'s gardener. In September, 1538, it was ordained that a Register book should be provided and kept in every parish church, wherein should be written every wedding, baptism, and burial occurring within the said parish for ever.

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SPECIAL SUBJECTS.

Religion.—Contemporary sources, see above. To the modern histories of the Reformation mentioned, may be added that of Aubrey Moore, and Perry, *History of the Church of England*, vol. ii. On the dissolution of the monasteries, one of the best modern works available is F. A. Gasquet, *Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries*. The original sources on which it is based include the records of the Augmentation Office, the Chapter House Books, the Treasurer's Rolls, Ministers' Accounts, and Suppression Papers. Some of the letters relating to the Dissolution are printed in *Letters Relating to the Suppression of the Monasteries* (Camden Society). Many documents are noted in the various volumes of James Gairdner's *Calendar of State*

Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of Henry VIII., and the Abbotsford Club has printed a volume relating to the spoils of the religious houses; *cf. also* Gilbert Child's *Church and State under the Tudors;* Cutts' *Dictionary of the Church of England.*

Warfare.—There is no book dealing specially with English military affairs in this period, but readers will find some interesting notes in Grose's *Military Antiquities* (1801) and Hewitt's *Arms and Armour.* In the account of Flodden, the interesting monograph of Mr. Bates of Langley Castle has been followed.

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(1811); Jacobs, *History of the Precious Metals;* Williamson, *Foreign Commerce of England under the Tudors.*

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BOROUGH OF LEWISHAM
BROCKLEY
BRANCH

CHAPTER X.

THE NEW FORCES. 1547–1558.

A. L. SMITH. The Reign of Edward VI.

THE last reign had swept away so much of the old constitution, political as well as ecclesiastical, and had undermined so much, that the question naturally arises, What kept things together after it? What prevented the interval between Henry VIII.'s death and Elizabeth's accession from being a time of mere destruction, a fatal breach with the past? There were, even as it was, violent changes in one direction provoking a violent reaction in the opposite direction. But that the continuity of political and in a great degree of religious institutions was not wholly sundered, that the English Reformation was not such a violent dislocation from the country's past as was the French Revolution, is due to assignable causes. The first of these was the balance of parties deliberately set up by the late king's will. Wriothesley and Gardiner, backed by the older nobles, were some check on the burning zeal of the Seymours, the Dudleys, and Cranmer. The second cause was that the characteristic of the Tudor rulers was their careful conservation of legal and political forms, and in no one was this characteristic more marked than in King Henry VIII. He may indeed be said actually to have strengthened the outer shell, as it were, of the constitution, profoundly as he perverted its inner life and working. But the chief weight may be attributed to a third cause—the tenacious hold which this ancient constitution had now acquired, striking its roots deep into national thought and institutions of every kind; and (it must be added) there was to match it a conservatism as strong in the popular spirit, and as instinctive a sense of the historic past.

Forces Making for Order.

The first act of the young king's uncle, head of the new Government, was to get himself made Duke of Somerset and Protector. His next was to attempt, by an invasion of Scotland, to force the Scots to carry out the marriage treaty arranged in 1543 between Edward and Mary the infant Queen of Scots. He won the battle of Pinkie, the immediate effect of which was to revive the French influence in Scotland, to destroy at a blow all the work of Henry's years of firm but patient diplomacy, to lead to Mary's being taken to France, married to the Dauphin, and set up as Catholic rival to Elizabeth. The ulterior effects of this fatal victory were still more far-reaching; the rising of the North in 1569, the Ridolfi and Babington and Throckmorton plots, and the Armada; and further, the divergence of the Scotch and English Reformations, the refusal of the two nations to accept union in 1603, the hatreds which found expression at Dunbar and Worcester. It was a typical instance of Somerset's policy. He seems to have meant it for a continuation of that of Henry VIII. But for constitutional and ritual changes he attempted doctrinal; for an accurate insight into the heart of the people he substituted a weak popularity-hunting; everything was hurried on at a revolutionary pace. Time was on the Reformers' side; yet in the three years between the first and the second Prayer-books of Edward VI. the country was expected to have prepared itself for a far greater measure of religious change than the twenty years since Wolsey had yet effected. Somerset again forgot, as Wolsey himself, as Cromwell, had forgotten, that he was only a minister. His probably sincere Protestantism, his expressed sympathy for the poor, have made modern writers too kind to his memory. At any rate, no terms can be too severe for the crew of harpies who formed his colleagues, who completed the plunder of the chantries and guilds, and further debased the coinage (p. 242); who divided the spoil of three of the new bishopries; who embezzled, plotted, and misgoverned in the name of a purer faith and as a protest against the errors of Rome. No evidence can be more damning against them than the stern language of the best men of their own party, Latimer, Knox, Lever. Northumberland, Somerset's successor, had not even his redeeming measure of sincerity. The military reputation which he had

The Lord Protector's Policy.

won by the suppression of Kett's rebellion in Norfolk (p. 200) was eclipsed by the enforced surrender of Boulogne to the French. His personal character was revealed by his gratuitous persecution of the Princess Mary, by the vindictive haste with which he urged on the most subversive and spoliatory side of Protestantism, above all by the insane egotism of the attempt to set Lady Jane Grey on the throne. She was heiress of the Suffolk line, but excluded expressly by the will of Henry VIII; and Edward VI. had no legal power to devise the crown. Nor was there a moment's chance that the nation would thus lightly reject both Mary and Elizabeth, and with them cast away its only hope of freedom from dynastic strife. However, the mere idea of a crown for his son's wife led him into this suicidal course; he bullied the Council and the London citizens into a hollow acquiescence; but his futile scheme collapsed in eleven days, and Northumberland's recantation on the scaffold deprives him even of the excuse of religious fanaticism.

The King.

Amid this rout of incapables, rogues, zealots, and hypocrites, stands the silent, friendless, pathetic figure of the young king. We cannot but look eagerly to see if there are any signs to tell us what manner of ruler he would have made. "When he should come of age he would hang up a score of these knaves," said an outspoken Warwickshire gentleman, haled before the Council for such words. In his diary, opposite the names of his chief advisers, are entered, significantly enough, without word of comment, certain sums they were charged with having misappropriated. It is clear that he was inclined to further religious changes; also that he took interest in the new foundations of hospitals and schools (p. 263). But we can hardly say more than that he was a studious, well-taught boy, precocious but self-absorbed, and with the Tudor instincts already marked in him.

The Reign of Mary.

The usual view of Mary's brief reign is mistaken in two respects. It exaggerates the amount of reaction from the reign preceding, and it misconceives the nature of the impression made by "Bloody Mary's" persecutions. The feeling in 1553 was in favour, not of reaction properly so called, but of return to a strong middle position. In her proclamation the queen discountenanced

all religious disputings either way. In her first writs she used the title "Head of the Church." Cranmer, Hooper, Latimer, were not molested at first, nor until they almost courted arrest. The Parliament, it is true, annulled the statutes of the late reign, but this was ostensibly because they had been passed in a minority. It repealed all Treason Acts since the 25 Edward III., and all Præmunire Acts since 1529. The whole idea was to return to the state of things left by Henry VIII., with the exception of the hated Six Articles (of 1539). That the nation had by no means lost its head in Catholic reaction is seen by the curious way in which a parliament of Catholics hesitated and haggled over the restoration of the two Catholic champions, the Duke of Norfolk and Bishop Tunstal. The fact was—as the clergy told Pole, and as Pole told the Pope—the central consideration in the English mind was not the Mass or the Bishop of Rome's authority, but the abbey lands. What guarantee was there to be for the sacred claims of vested interests?

The Difficulties of the Government.

Wyatt's rebellion was ominous, for Kent was ever the advance guard of disaffection; and but for Kent's hastiness the rising would have been joined by the Midlands, the South-west, and Wales. It stung Mary into a mood of more open reaction, and it sealed the fate of the Dudleys and Greys, a fate which, but for Philip's politic care, Elizabeth would have shared. There was a bitter national jealousy against the Spanish marriage, despite the great bribe that to a child of the marriage should go the Netherlands. There was a still wider European jealousy against female sovereigns, and Knox's "Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women" was not the only book on the subject. There was at home a rising Parliamentary spirit, one sign of which is the occurrence of several privilege cases; another sign was the Lords' rejection of the Heresy Bill. Thus when the English people were received back by solemn absolution into the bosom of the Catholic Church, Pole had to be very careful to disclaim any idea either of reopening the question of forfeited Church lands or of challenging the distinctly ancient powers of the Crown over the Church. The dispute over "annates" makes it clear that Parliament had no wish at all to restore them to the Pope, and little eagerness to confer them on the

Crown. When the lower clergy petitioned against the Mortmain Laws, they showed that they alone failed to realise the temper of the nation.

The Persecutions.

The persecutions began in 1555 with Hooper, who was unpopular for his attitude on the "vestments" question, and his being the intermediary of the foreign Reformers. The long delay in Cranmer's case—till March, 1556—was probably caused by Gardiner's protecting him. It is not, indeed, Gardiner who must bear the blame of the 277 executions, but in the first and chief degree, Mary herself; next to her, Pole; and next, perhaps, Philip. They differed from the old Lollard persecutions not only in number and scale, but in being worked by royal commissions, not by common law procedure or mere episcopal jurisdiction. They differed from Elizabeth's executions of Catholics at a later date in that Elizabeth was provoked and almost forced into these, and wanted nothing better than to avoid enquiry into consciences and to be content with external conformity. Mary's was a far deeper and more religious nature; she felt she must seek for the tares and root them out: "The zeal of Thine house hath eaten me up," she said. The effect on the nation was not so much due to disgust at such cruel sights; there is a great gulf between Tudor England and the humanitarian nineteenth century in this respect. But men to whom Protestantism had hitherto meant destruction, spoliation, and even ribaldry; men who firmly held that only truth could endure the touchstone of fire; men who had no love themselves for Pope or Spain were profoundly stirred and troubled by the martyrs' constancy and the cloud of witnesses who testified to the new faith by their blood. Mary's difficulties were increased by her conscientious but costly revival of old foundations, by the growing lack of qualified clergy, by the increase in the number and activity of Protestant refugees abroad. When a band of these, under Stafford, seized Scarborough Castle, the Council could no longer resist that French war which Philip, through Mary, was forcing on them. It was the last blow: it forced her to exact great loans and to 'pack" her Parliament; it ruined her with the nation by leading to the loss of Calais. All eyes, she knew, were already turned with longing to her sister. The times required the temporising

The End of the Reaction.

and opportunist policy of Elizabeth, not the passionate, one-sided sincerity of Mary. She had all the Tudor strength of will without the Tudor suppleness. Twenty-four years' persecution had hardened her and soured her. Thus her unmerited sufferings and her very virtues had the largest share in bringing her to the grave, broken-hearted with the consciousness of shame and failure. Such are the ironies of history.

C. RAYMOND BEAZLEY. Religion.

In the reign of Edward VI. the official history of Church and State becomes rather more subordinate than before to the social movements of the revolution, and in itself is neither interesting nor permanent. The story of the Protestant misrule only points the moral of the reaction under Mary, and shows us the extreme point of the religious revolt in England—for the Puritan victory in the 17th century was mainly political—from the mediæval system.

1. Church and State.

Our chronicle of acts and events, however, will guide us, like the first signs of an earthquake on the earth's crust, to the real centre below, in the popular movements to and fro, and in the new influence of the Gospellers over the masses: while the abuse of this influence by the camarilla of adventurers at Court will gain a fresh importance as a main factor in discrediting for a time the real tendency of the nation. Somerset outweighs Hooper.

First, on the death of the old king and the accession of the new, a minor nine years old, the Crown's firm control over religious reform was exchanged at once for a wider liberty, and in the next two years for a definite patronage of foreign doctrines and teachers. In 1547 the Act of Six Articles and the Acts against the Lollards (revived in 1534 from those of Richard II. and Henry V.*) were repealed, with all laws and canons against clerical marriage. A new statute abolished the *Congé d'élire* as a farce, and decreed that bishops should be directly named to vacant sees in the king's letters-missive to the Chapters and thereupon consecrated. Further, since

* But not from the "De Hereticis Comburendis" of Henry IV., which gave power of action to Bishops; the other two statutes "tended to make heresy an offence at common law."

the Crown was the fount both of spiritual and temporal jurisdiction, most of the citations in spiritual cases were now to run in the king's name. It was reaffirmed treason to deny the sovereign's supreme headship of the Church in England. Other Acts were passed for communion in both kinds, and for the confiscation of the chantries * granted in 1545 to Henry VIII.—"the last dish of the last course; for after chantries, as after cheese, nothing else is to be expected."

In the next year the English Order of Communion was approved, and in 1549 the first Book of Common Prayer, embodying the work of Henry's Reformation, with a few more advanced innovations, passed into law, followed by the Ordinal in 1550. The Edwardian or Protestant Service Book in 1552 was the work of the protectorate of Northumberland. A distinction has been often drawn between the two protectorates, as distinct periods of the reign; but as the doctrinal changes, the confiscation of Church property and the same policy in Church and State went on as steadily, though not as quickly, under the Seymours as under the Dudleys, the religious history can be treated as a whole.† The change was only one of Court factions. In the year of that change the new Regent appointed, on the lines of the Act of 1536 and in direct continuance of Somerset's policy, a commission to revise the Church Law, and in 1553 made a fresh seizure of Church plate to the king's use, while the abolition of the *Congé d'élire* in 1547 was completed by the letters patent now granted to bishops during natural life or good behaviour. They were to perform "all that by God's Word was committed to bishops," in the king's name and by his authority. The sanction of Cranmer's Forty-two Articles was the last religious measure of the reign, for the matter of the Protestant succession was a political device to save the heads and fortunes of unsuccessful and detested courtiers by putting a dependent of their own in the place of the two masterful daughters of the Old Lion—Mary and Elizabeth. "Popery" was an added objection to the elder in the minds of the king and the Scripturists, and it was skilfully used by Northumberland, who was

* This yielded £180,000 (Strype), out of which were founded 18 grammar schools, the descendants of 2,374 chapels and chantries (Heylin).

† Lay Government of the Church was of course the central feeling, which unifies all these different regencies and periods from 1529.

ready to profess the Roman creed on the scaffold, and to curse the "false preachers who had led him to err," if only he might be given life—"yea, the life of a dog."

But if the legal and Court history of religion in these six years cannot claim much attention, the social details of the first Protestant victory among the English people are full of interest.

2. The Social Movement and Religion.

First of all, the defeat of the conservative party in the Council was really the result of the progress of Lutheran and Zwinglian doctrine among the people. Change of creed was beginning; roughly speaking, there had been only practical changes under Henry VIII. And so, early in the new reign, the High Churchmen among Bishops and Councillors—Gardiner of Winchester, Bonner of London, Tunstall of Durham (in 1547), Heath of Worcester, and Day of Chichester (in 1550) were successively attacked, imprisoned, and deprived. The Edwardian persecution, like the Marian, fell mainly on noble victims.

Religious Disorganisation.

Gardiner, on his exclusion from the Privy Council by Henry's will, had avowedly taken up the *rôle* of opposition, alike towards the Scotch war,* the Iconoclast visitation of 1547, and the New Injunctions. Put on his trial, after two detentions in the Fleet, by a test sermon on St. Peter's Day, 1549, he failed to satisfy, broke Somerset's injunction "not to handle the doctrine of the mass," and maintained that the king's supremacy was by the king's minority *ipso facto* in abeyance. Accordingly, on June 30th, he was sent to the Tower, plied first with six Articles and then with twenty, and as he would not yield, deprived of his see, February, 1551. Till Mary's accession the old man remained in the Tower, from his sixty-eighth to his seventieth year, without books, ink, or paper. Edmund Bonner, imprisoned, like Gardiner, in the Fleet for his merely conditional promise to obey the Injunctions, was in 1548 examined before Cranmer, Latimer, and Hooper in the chapel at Lambeth, where he enticed the Primate into a "dispute on the Sacrament."† Then he objected to Hooper and Latimer as

* "Let Scots be Scots till the King comes of age."

† "If that be the law," replied Cranmer to one of Bonner's *obiter dicta*, "it is no godly law." "'Tis the King's law used in these realms," said Bonner. "Would ye were less full of that and more knowing in God's law

legally heretics, yet now sitting as his judges, preached, like his leader, a "wilful" test sermon, and was committed to the Marshalsea. Cuthbert Tunstall was lodged in the Tower about the time that the Visitation began to destroy the "abused" images, and to enforce the use of the Injunctions, of the Homilies, and of Erasmus' Paraphrase. Thus, within nine months of the new reign, Cranmer was left the only Churchman on the Council.

Heath and Day in 1550—the one for refusing the revised Ordinal, the other for disobedience to the Council's order for "plucking down of altars and setting up of tables"*—joined their seniors in prison and deprivation September, 1551. Voysey, of Exeter, in the same year, shared the same fate as a "fautor" of the Devonshire rebels of 1549, who had demanded "that the new service be laid aside, since it is like a Christmas game, and the old service again used with the procession in Latin."

On the other hand, Cranmer's party among the bishops and clergy, though all content, except Hooper, to submit absolutely to the powers that be—whether King, Protector, or Council—suffered not only from Conservative opposition, but from Court plunderers and foreign Anabaptists. Some under Bonner's guidance tried, for instance, to adapt the fullest mediæval ritual to the English Prayer Book; the Princess Mary refused to surrender the Latin Mass; Somerset pulled down St. Mary-le-Strand for his town palace and laid hands upon St. Margaret's, Westminster; the seizure even of Cranmer's manors continued; Joan Bocher refused to

and your duty." "Well, seeing your Grace falleth to wishing, I can also wish many things to be in your person." "You do use us," broke out Sir Thomas Smith, "to be seen as common lawyers." "Indeed, I knew the law ere ye could read it." At the next session Bonner read Hooper's works to prove his heresy. Latimer lifted up his hand, as he said to still the crowd, as Bonner believed to rouse it. Cries interrupted his reading, succeeded by a shout of laughter when "burly Edmund" turned round with a mock defiance: "Ah! Woodcocks, Woodcocks." Cranmer, fretting under his "taunts and checks, calling us" (as he complained) "fools and daws and such like," committed his suffragan to the Marshalsea.

* George Day "answered plainly that he could not do it, saving his conscience. For the altars seemed to him a thing anciently established by agreement of the Holy Fathers and ancient doctors, with the custom of many years, and, as he thought, according to the Scriptures. . . . He would rather lose all than condemn his own conscience."

"confess Christ as God," and was burnt (May, 1549), as was George Van Paris, in April, 1551, for Arianism. The party in power—if it could be called a party at all—was indeed a Unity in Diversity. Hooper refused to be made Bishop of Gloucester in the vestments of Antichrist, but after six months' argument with Ridley and Cranmer, and six weeks' reflection in the Fleet prison, yielded to the advice of his Swiss teachers and was consecrated. The disorder, poverty, and discontent in the mass of the clergy and people seems by this time to have arrested the attention of all earnest men. The young king wrote "upon reformation of many abuses," and his proclamations forbade not only "quarrelling and shooting in churches," but also "the bringing of horses and mules through the same making God's house like a stable or common inn." Priests are not to be mobbed or hustled; church plate and furniture, in spite of the Protector Somerset's example, is not to be embezzled or stolen outright, as men might think. As early as February, 1548, all persons are strictly forbidden "to omit, change, or innovate any order, rite, or ceremony of the Church commonly used and not forbid in the reign of our late sovereign lord." Along with this, however, came an order for the absolute removal of all images.

Three points of social change may be specially illustrated —the new poverty of the clergy, the decay of learning and morals, the reformation in public worship and education.

1. Latimer, who preferred to preach before the Court rather than to return to his old see of Worcester, on his release from the Tower, denounced

> "The scraping and getting together for bodily houses while the soul's house is neglected. . . . We of the clergy had too much, but now we have too little. Schools are not maintained, scholars have not exhibition, the preaching-office decayeth. The gentry invade the profits of the Church, leaving but the title . . . benefices are let out in fee-farms, given to servants for keeping of hounds, hawks, and horses. The clergy, kept to sorry pittances, are forced to put themselves into gentlemen's houses and serve as clerks of kitchens, surveyors, or receivers."

In milder language Cranmer protested; in the stronger form of riot the Londoners compelled Somerset to leave Westminster alone; the Council was informed that private men's halls were hung "with altar-cloths, their tables and beds covered with copes, that some at dinner drank from chalices."

Sometimes, it was said, the wives of the new-married priests were dressed in the altered robes of the old service.

2. Worse things were said before the Court by Bernard Gilpin, the Apostle of the North, then rector of Houghton-le-Spring—

"Dispensations for pluralities and non-residence are transported hither from Rome and farming of benefices still prevails. Patrons see that none do their duty; they think it as good to put in asses as men. Bishops were never so liberal in making of lewd [unlearned] priests, and patrons are as liberal in making of lewd vicars. Baptism is despised and the Holy Communion thought nothing of. Learning decays; men will not send their children to the schools. Look upon the wells of the realm—Oxford and Cambridge—they are almost dried up. Ministers do not think themselves obliged to do any pastoral work the first year after presentation because they get no pay, the king taking the first-fruits."

Still more violently did Becon inveigh against the

"Gross Gospellers, who crack very stoutly for remission of sins, but are puffed up with pride, swell with envy, wallow in pleasures—whose religion is disputation; of Christian acts nothing at all."

The decline in the clerical standard, Lord Warwick told Cecil, was "in that priests be so sotted of wives and children that they forget their poor neighbours and all other matters of their calling."

3. But however this may have been, however true the general decline in learning, morals, and decency, owing mainly to the example of the courtiers, there is a brighter side in the honest attempts at a real reformation in public worship, and in primary education, as well as in English trade and industry. As we are here only dealing with religion, it will be enough to instance the First and Second Prayer Books, the Forty-two Articles, Cranmer's Catechism, and the twenty new grammar schools of the reign as proofs of a higher movement than mere Church plunder and fanaticism.

The Prayer Book.

The Prayer Book of 1549 was defended by Cranmer against the Devonshire complaints as being nothing but the old services in English, purged, condensed, and simplified,* and for this there was

* For the ritual changes up to 1547, *cf.* Bishop Blandford's Diary referring to Worcester.

"In January, 1539, the monks of this church put on secular habits.
1547. Candlemas Day.—No candles hallowed or borne. Ash Wednesday.—No ashes.
1548. March 25. Palm Sunday.—No Palms or Cross borne in procession. Easter Eve.—

evidence in the retention of the ancient vestments, lights, and chief ceremonies, with even the title, of the "Mass." Matins and Evensong represented the Hours, and place was found especially in the visitation-office of the sick for auricular confession and priestly absolution. The Traditio Instrumentorum, or giving of the sacred vessels, was also to be found in the Ordinal. Only the doctrine of the Eucharistic sacrifice could fairly be thought obscure in this summary (as it really was) of Henry's reforming work. In its system of Lessons from the Old and New Testaments, in its compactness and popular character, the English Prayer Book was certainly the best liturgy in Christendom.

But in the second book of 1552 the aims of purifying and rationalising the Catholic services, and explaining everything by Scripture references, overpowered every other. Even kneeling at Communion was defended as "no adoration to any Real Presence of Christ's natural flesh and blood." The name, the vestments, the symbolic rites of the Mass disappeared; the manual acts of consecration were no longer directed; the posture of the priest was changed from "afore the midst of the altar" to the North Side of the Table; long exhortations were added in the style of the foreign reformers; yet the revolution was more in rubrics than in text, and the Protestant meaning left implicit in the book was only partially made clear in the new appendix of Cranmer's Forty-two Articles of Religion.

For in the last three years (1549—1552) the Primate had passed from his Lutheran to his final and mainly Calvinistic phase of belief. He differed from the extreme Swiss Sacramentaries in his doctrine of a special, though entirely spiritual, presence in the Eucharist; but under the influence of Bucer, Martyr, Ridley, and John à Lasco, in 1550 he had already left the Lutheran standpoint of his Catechism, translated from Justus Jonas in 1548. The foreign refugees—welcomed in England, endowed with Divinity Professorships at

No fire, but the Paschal Taper and the Font. Easter Day.—The Pix, with the Sacrament, taken out of the Sepulchre, they singing 'Christ is Risen' without procession. Good Friday.—No creeping to the Cross. October 20.—The Cup with the Body of Christ was taken away from the Altars.

1549. Good Friday.—No Sepulchre, or Service of Sepulchre. Easter Eve.—No Paschal Taper, or Fire, or Incense, or Font. On April 23.—Mass, Matins, Evensong, and all other service in English.

All Mass Books, Graduals, Pies, Portasses, and Legends, brought to the Bishop and burnt."

the two Universities, or allowed to settle and form congregations in London and the South-Eastern Counties—combined with Ridley's influence to produce the Archbishop's final confession of faith, which was gradually accepted as the text-book of English orthodox opinion. The "Defence of the True and Catholic Doctrine of the Sacrament" is based upon the doctrine of Ratramm in the ninth century, and embodies the view which was consciously impressed upon the Second Prayer Book (1552), and which dominated the Anglican divinity of the sixteenth century.

So, whether or no Bertram the Priest of Corbey, in 880, is only another name for John Scotus Erigena, the proverb of Edward's time will need another step—"Latimer leaneth to Cranmer, Cranmer leaneth to Ridley, Ridley leaneth to his own singular wit"—and that wit leant to the first Sacramental Controversy of Latin Christendom. The sixteenth century, on the Eucharist and on Predestination, took up the watch-words of the ninth.

Lastly, in such matters as education, the young king, though surrounded by adventurers, had firm and generous views of his own. Ultra-Protestant though he was, he wished to make some use of the Church plunder that kept pouring into Court for works of learning and charity. From the £180,000 realised by the sale of chantries, chapels, and their landed property, he endowed or re-endowed twenty grammar schools; and for three classes of poor he especially provided by three foundations. For "impotent" poor, or rather for their children, he began Christ's Hospital; for "casual" poor he dissolved the Palace of the Savoy and gave the funds to the Hospitals of St. Thomas and St. Bartholomew; for "extravagant" poor he aimed at turning the King's Palace of Bridewell into a "Spital for ramblers, dissolute and sturdy beggars" (p. 263). These are part of religious history, not only because Church funds provided the means, and many of the new schools were simple refoundations of the old with part of the old endowments, but also because Edward's personal action is directly traced to the sermons and advice of Bishop Ridley.

Edward VI.'s Foundations.

Yet, on the whole, the verdict upon the religious history of Edward's reign, as upon the Lancastrians, must be "Lack of governance." It was this feeling, "Sauve qui peut," which

caused the claims of the clergy in 1547 to be represented in Parliament, to continue the revision of Canon Law and of the Service Books by themselves, and to have provision made for poor incumbents in the "year of first fruits"—of which appeal the "Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum" of 1551 was the only result. Whatever else thrived, clerical interests did not. The lay domination of Henry's reign had become a lay tyranny over the Church. Abuses seemed to be amended "in the devil's way—by breaking in pieces." The real reformers were hopelessly outnumbered by the self-seekers, and it was against these that all honest men rebelled. Not a man cried "God save you" to Northumberland as he rode through London from the Court to secure the person of Mary and the succession of his own House, in 1553. "With tears streaming down his cheeks," the Protestant leader proclaimed the Catholic Princess as Queen, and in this proclaimed also the practical failure of the Protestant Movement in England.

The Catholic Reaction.

The reign of Mary, as the religious reaction, naturally divides into a time of Old Catholic and of Papal restoration. The Spanish Marriage (on July 25, 1554) marks the change from Gardiner's more English and tolerant ascendency to the persecuting régime of Philip and Philip's wife. The Queen and her husband maintain the reign of terror in the teeth of growing popular opposition, of Pole's reluctance, of Bonner's weariness.

The Reign of Mary.

From her accession, Mary, as a convinced Ultramontane, is set upon formal reunion with Rome; but that reunion is not accomplished till Pole, on November 30, 1554, as Papal Legate, restores the kneeling Parliament, representing the Nation, "to the communion of Holy Church."

In the Queen's private chapel and at her coronation (October 1, 1553) the Latin Mass is at once restored: in her Proclamation of August 18 in the same year, the "devilish terms of Papist, Heretic, and such like" are forbidden, along with "private interpretation of God's Word after men's own brains"; but the official restoration of the older Religious Statutes is only to the last year of Henry VIII.—to 1546–7. But in the next year, Mary and Pole go back behind the

Reformation Parliament, and proclaim orthodoxy according to the standard of 1529. The two dates are signs of the twofold spirit and leadership of the Catholic Reaction.

During the earlier Ministry of "Wily Winchester," the Royal style of Supreme Head of the English Church is retained; there is no organised persecution; and the Pope is officially ignored. In the Royal Injunctions of March, 1554, the Queen retains the same claims as her father to Spiritual Headship, and, quite after his manner, re-enforces the letter and spirit of the Six Articles of 1539.

We may thus distinguish a more Roman Sovereign, a less Roman Minister and Parliament, a non-Roman aristocracy and middle class—agreed in supporting the Queen's title and the Old Religion, understood in a somewhat elastic sense.*

Naturally the question of Mary's personal position called for the first attention; and in the second session of the Queen's First Parliament, Cranmer's sentence against the Queen's mother was annulled, but without reference to the Pope. The Tudor Succession was re-established by disregarding all the changes, the storms, and the disinheritings of Henry's fitful reign. Then quickly followed the repeal of various Religious Acts of Edward VI.—for receiving Communion in both kinds, for the abolition of *Congé d'élire*, for abolishing images, for abrogating certain Holy Days, for legalising clerical marriage, for Uniformity of worship, and for the use of the English Ordinal. The same Parliament passed two acts against Disturbers of Preachers and Unlawful Assemblies, and finally attainted of treason Cranmer, the Dudleys, and five others, of whom three had been already executed.

Thus far, Mary's First Parliament had legally restored the Settlement of Henry VIII.: the Queen's Injunctions enforced the same with penalties, and provided (in No. 15) that bishops might "supply the thing wanted in them before" to those ordained by the Edwardian Ordinal of 1550, and "admit them to minister." † Convocation, meantime, thinned out by the

* At the end of the reign, Convocation was reviewing the "Institution of a Christian Man," preparing for a new translation of the New Testament, establishing schools at cathedrals, petitioning for the Homilies, Catechism, and Primer in English. (Convocation of January, 1558, under Pole.)

† *I.e.*, those consecrated by the old form were to re-ordain, as far as necessary, those ordained only by the English rite.

deprivation of the married clergy and the flight of the Ultra-Protestants, was entirely reactionary. Henry VIII. had governed the Clerical Parliament by terror: Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth got their way in eliminating adversaries. Now it instantly anathematised Poynet's Catechism, which in its last session it had formally approved, and reasserted the Doctrine of the Real Presence.

When Mary's Second Parliament met on April 2, 1554, the marriage with Philip of Spain was announced from the throne as impending, and was at once met with the precaution of the Act for Securing the Royal Power. Philip was to have the title of King but no hand in the government, and, in case of Mary's death, could not succeed her. But popular feeling was not satisfied with Gardiner's fencings; a semi-nationalist, semi-Protestant revolt broke out in Kent, the Midlands, and Devonshire under Sir Thomas Wyatt, the Duke of Suffolk, and Sir Peter Carew.* Again the reaction overleaped itself—like the Pilgrimage of Grace, a really national movement failed to disturb the deeper feeling of love of order and strong government, which had made Henry King and kept him King against all odds. The rebellion provoked the instant deaths of Lady Jane Grey and her husband on February 12, 1554, of her father and Wyatt ten days later, and led to the beginnings of the Religious Persecution.

But Mary's political and religious resentments were stimulated by three other events of the same year (1554). On July 25 she was married at Winchester to Philip, "the son of Charles the Emperor," the leader-designate of Catholic Sovereigns; on November 24 Pole entered London as Papal Legate; and on November 30 the Legate absolved the nation, and restored it to the Roman Catholic world.

Between December 26 and January 4 the Lords and Commons repealed "all Acts and Provisions made against the See Apostolic since the 20th year of King Henry VIII."; but

* *Cf.* account in Froude, V., 321, 2. n., of a Protestant outrage committed by the Gibbses, the friends of the Carews. A cross of latten and an altar cloth were stolen out of a church, and the cross set up on a gate or hedge, where the image of Christ was "dressed with a paste or such-like tyre, and the pictures of our Lady and St. John tied by threads to the arms of the cross like thieves."

they added a saving clause—"For the Establishment of all Ecclesiastical Possessions and Hereditaments conveyed to the laity," which showed that the central problems of power and property were still foreclosed. The Popes could not win back the Church lands and revenues, and Pole, summoned to perform his commission in this matter, but unable to move further, was suspended a few weeks before his death, and denounced by the Jesuits whom he had refused to admit into his Province.

The Marian reaction had still four years to run—and in that time it contrived to ruin itself and the Roman cause by burning heretics. The only wholesale religious persecution in English history lies between the Spanish marriage and the death of the Queen: between the arrival of Pole and the last executions of November 10, 1558, we have well-nigh the whole of this most un-English age of English history. Under King Henry's Whip with Six Strings twenty-eight had suffered; under Mary and Pole, at least 277.* Yet it was not the half-Italian Cardinal, nor the Spanish husband, nor even the chaplains and apparitors whom each brought with him, that really inspired the judicial murders: the Queen herself was the efficient cause of all. She settled and confirmed the death-punishments of nearly 300 men and women for speculative error: her purpose was honest, desperately earnest, but it was none the less "bloody." It was her "rattling letters" that roused the lagging prelates to do their work. "In public and open space were put into the fire really to be burned, to the great horror of their Offence and manifest example of other Christians," five bishops, twenty-one clergy, eight gentlemen, eighty-four artisans, one hundred husbandmen and labourers, fifty-five women and four children.

The Marian Persecution.

In this persecution there is to be noted:—

First, the number of eminent men, as well as of poor and ignorant folk, who suffered; second, the foreign or partly foreign blood or connexions of many of the sufferers, and the bearing of Zwinglian views upon uncompromising heresy—such as that of Joan Bocher, Anne Askew, or George Paris in earlier time; third, the local distribution of the burnings—which were mainly in the eastern and south-eastern counties;

* Burnet counts 284, besides 68 who died in prison.

and fourth, the comparative inaction of Gardiner, Bonner, and Pole, and the evident lead taken by the State, rather than by bishops or clergy, as before in defying Rome and defining doctrine, so now in death-punishments for religious heterodoxy.

The third of these points, closely connected as it is with the second, deserves more attention from its hidden meaning. "All the towns conspicuous for persecution were on the old roads between London and the seaports, at which Continental refugees would naturally arrive. The old idea of the exceptional cruelty of the bishops in the capital and the home counties is yielding" to the more natural and better supported theory that the extreme Sacramentaries, especially the half-socialist Anabaptists, were most numerous in London, Kent, Essex, and East Anglia.

In the diocese of London perished one hundred and twenty-eight; in that of Canterbury, fifty-five; in that of Norwich, to which the Queen had given her first promises of tolerance, forty-six: in no other did the numbers exceed seven—not even in Oxford, where the three chiefs were burnt and the great controversies held. In Lincoln, Durham, Carlisle, Wells, Hereford and Worcester there were no "martyrisings."

Again, Gardiner—who was opposed both to the Spanish match and to the Heresy Act of 1554, who fell into the background after the landing of Philip in July and of Pole in November of that year, and who died on November 12, 1555—was too thorough an Englishman, as Pole was too gentle a Christian, to be forward in the judicial massacres, of which he only saw the beginning. During his ascendency, no heretic was burned in England;* till his death no heretic was burned in Winchester diocese; and he never sat on a Heresy Commission save once as Chancellor in the cases of Rogers and Hooper. Pole's Reformation leanings, like Contarini's, were no secret, and John Foxe himself admits that he was not of the "cruel and bloody sort of Papists." Even Bonner, the fierce, revengeful, contemptuous judge—glad to have his old enemies, who had deprived and harassed him, at his mercy—was something of the English gentleman, not wholly lost in the priestly zealot. He tried to save William Hunter of Brentwood; he was reprimanded for his lenity in other cases

* Up to July, 1554.

by the Privy Council. He defends himself by letter in a tone of discontented indifference to the whole business.

Mary's Religious Sympathies.

In fact, the general result is that the Bishops followed and did not prompt the will of their hard-ruled Queen, whose half-Spanish blood explains and suggests much. She felt towards Protestants as her mother had felt; and months after every one of her English Court had sickened of the butchery, she pressed on—as she had threatened in 1553—to the end. Had she borne a son to Philip as she hoped, we might have seen a curious forecast of the Revolution of 1688. As it was, men waited for her approaching death, sure of a better successor, as they would have waited for Mary II. to succeed James II., if his unlucky son had not been born to frighten Englishmen with a possible eternity of Jesuit rule.

But though neither Gardiner nor Pole was a born persecutor, they represented different policies, different religious conditions. The one aimed simply at undoing the recent Protestantising movement; the other presided over the definite return to the Roman obedience. Pole wished to see the full mediæval system back again, and in that wish he did not stick, as his nature would have led him, at the revival (January, 1555) of the Heresy Laws of Richard II., Henry IV., and Henry V. At this moment the Loyalist and Catholic parties in the majority seemed alike set on severities.

Cranmer, as the head of the Protestant opposition, had been, of course, attainted on the Queen's accession; the new injunctions had fallen upon the married and other Edwardian bishops, who held their sees by letters patent during good behaviour. Tunstall, Gardiner, Bonner, Heath and Day—deprived in the late reign—were restored to Durham, Winchester, London, York, and Chichester. Twelve anti-Roman prelates were displaced. At the beginning of the reign all foreign refugees had been ordered to leave the realm within four-and-twenty days on pain of imprisonment and loss of goods; and some 800 emigrants, with 200 of their English disciples, are said to have fled. Safely on the Continent, like Pole under Henry VIII., these men helped by their furious writings to bring down the vengeance they had escaped upon their friends still within reach. "That outrageous pamphlet of Knox's" ("The Admonition to Christians" and "Monstrous

Regiment of Women"), says Whitehead in his Frankfort letters, "gave the signal for persecution." Perhaps there was something besides power and opportunity which changed Mary's temper from the tone of her first proclamation to that of her last years. On her accession, "though not hiding the religion which God and the world knoweth she hath ever professed from her infancy . . . . she minded not to compel any her subjects thereunto, until such time as further order by common assent should be taken thereunto." The Protestant threats of murder and rebellion from Zurich and Geneva:* Knox's war-cry, that no idolater and no woman may rule God's people, for "in the midst of thy brethren shalt thou choose thy king, and not from among thy sisters"; the insults offered at the restoration of the Latin mass in the larger towns and the more excited country districts, bore their fruit in the musters of Smithfield. Where Latimer had sent images, the Queen now sent men, to be burned.

The gloomy record of these latter years (1555-58), from the Spanish marriage and reconciliation with Rome to the death of Pole and his queen, is lighted up by the heroism of the Marian Martyrs. Whatever of controversial virulence and unscrupulous misrule had disgraced the Protestant ascendency, was forgotten in the good end made by the nobler spirits of the party, and not least by many of the humbler sufferers. It will be enough to take a few instances—a bishop, a preacher, a scholar, a labourer, and a woman—to show what a stand was made by English society, even by the English poor, against the return to Rome. Hugh Latimer, Rowland Taylor, Rose Allen, William Hunter, and Sir John Cheke—such men and women tell us how deep the social gulf was fixed between a free nation and the Roman-Spanish ideal, as Philip and his chaplains, Da Castro, De Soto, and Villa Garcia understood it. Latimer was the first and greatest of the eminent victims. The one leader of the extreme Protestants at the Court of Henry who had kept a manly freedom, who had "discharged his conscience and framed his doctrine according to his audience," and whose teaching had championed the better side of the Edwardian Reformation, now

Notable Victims.

Latimer

* One Ross, or Rose, was said also, in England, to have prayed publicly for the Queen's death.

refused to flee. Though a "sore bruised man, above threescore and seven years of age, yet still at his work, winter and summer, about 2 of the clock every morning," he was "as willing to go to London at this present as ever to any place, doubting not that God, who had made him worthy to preach before two Princes, would enable him to witness to the third, either to comfort or discomfort eternally." And so, getting rid of faithful John Careless, the weaver of Coventry, who, like a true friend, would have died for him if so he could have saved him, Latimer went up before the Council, passing that Smithfield which, he grimly said, had long groaned for him. Committed once again to the Tower, where he had spent the last seven years of Henry's reign, he joked with the Lieutenant. "If he did not guard him better, he would escape . . . He thought he would burn, but he was like to starve for cold." Again brought before the Council, he twitted the Bishop of Gloucester with garbling Scripture and "clipping of God's coin." He refused all compromise upon the Sacrifice or Presence in the Mass—it was only spiritual—the sacrifice of the Cross was "perfect, and required never again to be done, and God the Father was pacified with that only omnisufficient and most painful sacrifice of that sweet slain Lamb, Christ our Lord." Systematic theology he refused to discuss. "You look for learning at my hands, which have gone so long to the school of oblivion—the bare walls my library—and now you let me loose to come and answer to Articles." He was sent to burn at Oxford, where he cheered the feebler spirit of Ridley—"Be of good cheer and play the man; we shall this day light such a candle, as shall never be put out"—"and so ended." "Three things," says his chaplain, "he did specially pray. First, for grace to stand till death. Second, that God would restore the Gospel to England once again; and these words, 'once again, once again,' he did so inculcate and beat into the ears of the Lord God, as though he had seen God before him and spake face to face. Third, he prayed for the life of the Lady Elizabeth, whom with tears he desired for a comfort to this comfortless England."

Latimer was a yeoman's son, and his death was a challenge to his class, the backbone of English life. In him, "a courtier, yet honest," Mary struck not at heresy, men thought, so much as at manhood: his matchless popular eloquence was most felt

in his death. While Ridley had grasped at the See of Durham on the eve of his fall, the ex-Bishop of Worcester, the confidant of Edward, would not be drawn from his preaching; and at the last he "received the flame as if embracing it, and stroking his face with his hands, bathed them in the fire, crying out vehemently in his own English tone, 'Father in Heaven, receive my soul.'"

Rowland Taylor.

All that is noblest in the Protestant martyrs comes out in "downright Father Hugh"; but Rowland Taylor's death showed the quieter virtues of a man like Chaucer's "Parson of a town" who had never mixed in politics, and had no interest but "Christe's lore." Burnt to death in his own parish, he stood still without either crying or moving, with his hands folded, till "one named Soyce" struck him on the head with a halbert, and he fell down dead in the fire. "D. Taylor, in defending that was good, at this plas left his blode," was carved soon after on a rough black stone that marked the site.

Sir John Cheke.

In Sir John Cheke, the tutor of Edward VI., the model of young Milton, who conformed and so was "restored to liberty, but never to contentment," we have the best type of scholarly Protestant, marked by the royal policy for death or insult. As he recanted, he was only compelled to sit on the bench with Bonner and judge the Essex heretics. The disgrace sickened him of life: in 1557, at the age of 43, he was dead. No one case marks more clearly the special point of the Marian persecution—its systematic attack on men of light and leading. It was not the number, but the quality of its victims, that so stirred Englishmen. Cranmer, Latimer, Hooper, Ridley, Cheke, Philpotts, Ferrar, Bradford, Bland, and Taylor—it was the degrading and burning of such men that recalled, in a more odious shape, the terror of Thomas Cromwell.

But the stories of Rose Allen, or Alice Bendon, or William Hunter, are evidence of the deep, if not wide hold of Protestant belief among the common people. Their obstinacy was invincible, the magistrates reported. In fact, no persecution which, like this, merely dealt with the leaders or typical groups of a great resistance, could be successful. Extermination was the only hope of Mary's policy. Year by year the Protestant minority increased, while the hearts of

even "rank Papists" grew cold. One feeling—of utter disgust and hatred of the Government, its burnings and its blunderings, its loss of Calais and of Guines, its failure to fight either with enemies or with heretics—swept over the people. The mob shouted Amen to the prayers of the last Smithfield victims. The Queen, barren, deserted by her husband, conscious of the intense loathing of her people, whom she believed herself to be saving from national perdition, without support in Council or among the bishops, still pressed on. Pole, distrusted and suspended by the Pope, left alone with the Queen his cousin, gloomily threw himself into the massacre to prove his orthodoxy. Thus Bonner, who would have saved young Hunter, was forced to send him back to die at Brentwood. He was only nineteen, and he feared that he might flinch: "Good people, pray for me, and despatch me quickly." "Pray for thee," cried some around, "I will no more pray for thee than a dog!" As the faggots were lighted, he threw the psalter which he had kept by him into his brother's hands. "Think on the holy sufferings of Christ," cried the brother, "and be not afraid." "I am not afraid," answered the dying boy.

Rose Allen.

Like him, Rose Allen, of Colchester, thought "the more it burned the less it felt." At the time of her arrest her judge had held her hand in a candle-flame till the sinews cracked. She had a pitcher in the other hand, and "might have laid him on the face with it," but did not; only, when released for a time, took up in her burnt hand a cup of drink to her mother bedridden above stairs. Next day she suffered.

Wholesale Executions.

At the last, men and women were driven in batches to the stake; thirteen were burnt together at Stratford-le-Bow. Smithfield seemed like a human shambles: it was more than could be borne. Only the death of the Queen prevented a rising of all England; and her persecution, her "bloody" memory, was at the root of the English feeling which has lasted to our own century and caused so much harshness in England, and still more in Ireland, to loyal fellow-citizens—Rather Turk than Pope.*

* It is perhaps worth noting that through a quartan fever in the last month of the year 1558, thirteen bishops and many clergy died, clearing away some of the strongest reactionaries.

THOUGH we have evidence that there was a desire for the Scriptures in English at an early date, we cannot show any version of importance before that issued by John Wycliffe in the fourteenth century, and revised by John Purvey about the year 1388. This version was, we can see, widely read, for we have still in existence numerous manuscripts more or less finely illuminated. Printing was introduced into England in 1477, but religious troubles prevented any attempt being made to print a Bible: to have done so would have involved the printer in serious difficulties with the ecclesiastical authorities, if not with the temporal; and our printers were too cautious to run any risks. It is from abroad, therefore, that the earliest version of the English Scriptures comes.

E. GORDON DUFF. The English Bible.

In 1525 Tindale's New Testament appeared, the first portion of the Scriptures printed in English. Tindale (or Tyndale)* was born in Gloucestershire about 1484, and educated at Oxford, though he afterwards moved to Cambridge. After some years' work in England as a tutor and a chaplain, he migrated to the Continent, with an annuity of £10 per annum from his patron Humphrey Monmouth, for the purpose of completing the translation of the New Testament. This work having been finished at Hamburg, Tindale passed on to Cologne and consigned it to Quentell to print. When the work had proceeded as far as the middle of St. Luke's Gospel, a raid seems to have been made on the printing office, and Tindale, taking such sheets as were printed, fled with his assistant Joye to Worms. Here the work was entrusted to Peter Schoeffer, grandson of the celebrated printer of Mainz, who printed an edition in small octavo, which was finished in 1525.

Tindale's Testament.

This first translation met with little favour amongst the English bishops, and Tunstall, Bishop of London, preached against it at St. Paul's Cross. So numerous were its errors, that it was considered wise to buy up and destroy all the copies that could be found. This injudicious proceeding encouraged Tindale to continue printing, and the opposition of the ecclesiastical authorities only increased the demand. From Antwerp numerous editions were sent over, badly

* He himself, and the best early authorities, wrote "Tindale."

printed and carelessly corrected, one at least being edited by Tindale's old companion, George Joye. In 1535 Tindale had become so troublesome, that pressure was brought to bear upon the Court of Brussels, and an order was issued for his imprisonment. On Friday, October 6th, 1536, he was put to death, and his body burnt, no effort having been made in England to save his life.

The First English Bible.

In 1533, owing probably to the advocacy of Cromwell and Sir Thomas More, Convocation passed a decree that the Scriptures should be translated into the vulgar tongue; and at the end of 1534 "begged that his Majesty would vouchsafe to decree that the Scriptures should be translated into the vulgar tongue by some honest and learned men, to be nominated by the king." As the outcome of this movement, the first complete edition of the English Bible was issued in October, 1535. It was translated from the German and Latin versions by Miles Coverdale, and the expenses connected with it were paid by Cromwell. It does not seem, however, to have given entire satisfaction, for we again find Convocation petitioning the King that the Bible might be "by learned men faithfully and purely translated into the English tongue." In 1537 another version, known now as Matthew's Bible, was published "with the king's most gracious license." It was made up partly of Tindale's and partly of Coverdale's translations, with some revisions by John Rogers, and is chiefly remarkable for the quaintness of the side-notes.

Coverdale had, in the meanwhile, been engaged on a new translation, assisted by several eminent scholars, and this was finished in 1538. In order that it might be printed in the best possible style, permission was obtained from Francis I. to have it printed in France, and it was entrusted to the hands of Regnault, an eminent Parisian printer. It soon became apparent that vigorous efforts were being made to persuade Francis to withdraw the license he had given: and it was, therefore, considered the wisest course that each portion as it issued from the press should be conveyed to a place of safety. This was accomplished by the help of Bonner, afterwards Bishop of London, who was then engaged on a political mission to France, and could therefore pass his baggage without examination. In December, 1538, Francis

issued an order to stop the further printing of the Bible, and ordering that such portions as had already been finished should be destroyed. As it was now impossible that the printing could be continued in France, Cromwell obtained from Paris such materials as were necessary, and the work was finished at home, the complete book, known as the "Great Bible," being issued in April.

The Great Bible.

At the end of the same year Henry VIII. issued an injunction preventing anyone for the five years next ensuing from printing any Bibles in the English tongue except by permission of the Lord Cromwell, Keeper of the Privy Seal. A revised edition of the Great Bible, with a prefatory letter by Cranmer, was issued the following year, and numerous editions followed. The curates and parishioners of every parish were commanded to obtain a copy and place it in the church for the common use of the people, the price being fixed, by the king's command, at ten shillings unbound, and not exceeding twelve shillings bound and clasped. From this translation of the Bible comes the version of the Psalms which is still used in the Prayer-book.

The Breeches Bible.

The next important translation of the Bible is the Geneva version, the first edition of which was issued in 1560 at Geneva. This version is most commonly known as the "Breeches" Bible, from the quaint translation in Genesis iii. 7. It seems to be a popular belief that copies of the "Breeches Bible" are rare, whereas in reality no Bible is so common, for in the fifty years after its first publication over a hundred editions were issued. The notes and translation of this version have, as is natural, a strong Calvinistic tendency, for the work was done by Nonconformists residing in Geneva. Thus it never became an authorised version, being, as James I. said, "the worst translated of all English Bibles," but its handy size and division into verses made it popular with the ordinary people.

The Bishops' Bible.

During the reign of Elizabeth a new translation of the Bible was undertaken, in order to supply a version free from the party spirit of the Geneva Bible, and containing the latest work in Biblical scholarship. The work was superintended by Archbishop Parker, who gave out various portions to different bishops to translate, he himself revising the whole as well as translating certain

portions. This version is known, on account of the translators, as the "Bishops' Bible," and the first edition was issued in 1568. It was soon afterwards authorised to be read in churches, and Convocation issued an order to compel bishops to purchase copies both for their own houses and for their cathedrals, and in the same way many parish churches were forced to acquire it. The various editions all show considerable alterations, especially in the New Testament, and their effect is to be traced in our present version.

The Authorised Version.

In 1607 forty-seven translators set to work on another translation of the Bible under the direction of Bancroft, and ended their undertaking in 1610. They followed as far as possible the "ordinary Bible read in churches, commonly called the Bishops' Bible," though it is not possible to determine which edition of it; and their version, which is still our authorised version, was issued in 1611. Though founded on the Bishops' Bible, many excellent renderings were accepted from the Rheims and Douay versions. The Greek editions used for the New Testament were Beza's of 1582 and Stephens' of 1550, which in their turn were largely taken from the Greek Testament of Erasmus.

C. OMAN. The Art of War.

The eleven troublous years occupied by the reigns of Edward VI. and Mary are full of wars and rumours of wars. They witnessed more fighting within the four seas than had been seen since the end of the Wars of the Roses, and no such time of turmoil was to come again till the outbreak of the Great Rebellion in 1642. The time was specially notable for the desperate fighting between Englishmen, in the three great rebellions —that of the men of Devon and Cornwall in favour of Romanism in 1549, that of Kett's east-country men directed against social abuses in the same year, and, lastly, Wyatt's rising in the winter of 1553-54, aimed against Queen Mary's Spanish match. In addition, two important episodes of foreign war took place — Somerset's invasion of Scotland, ending in the battle of Pinkie Cleugh in 1547, and Mary's disastrous strife with France in 1557-58.

Very considerable forces were put into the field on several of these occasions—Somerset took 18,000 men into Scotland

in 1547, and there must have been as large a number in arms in various parts of England in 1549, when the Devon and Norfolk rebellions were both needing suppression. Luckily, we have very full authorities for the details of most of the fighting, information being as full for the 16th century as it is scanty for the 15th.

The Influence of Continental Methods.

The new characteristics which we begin to note in the English armies of the middle years of the century are changes drawn from the experience of Continental wars. The first and most obvious is the growing numbers of the cavalry as opposed to the foot-soldiery, and the abandonment of the old English custom of making the horseman dismount on the battlefield and using him only to strengthen the line of infantry. Since the heavy cavalry of Francis I., aided by the judicious employment of artillery, had broken at Marignano (1515) the hitherto unconquerable pikemen of Switzerland, the reputation of the mailed horseman had been much rehabilitated on the Continent, and it was once more expected that he should be able, under favourable circumstances, to ride down infantry. But the infantry must be caught unprepared or else shaken by the use of firearms before the charge was delivered upon them. Hence came the practice of furnishing cavalry with harquebuses or pistols, to enable them to open gaps in the enemy.

In the army which Somerset commanded at Pinkie there were six thousand horse to ten thousand foot, the largest proportion of the former that had ever yet been seen in an English army. Naturally, therefore, in the battle itself there was much more use of the cavalry arm than had been seen in any fight on British ground since Edward I.'s victory at Falkirk. It is worth noting that to raise this large body of horse Somerset had, contrary to English custom, enlisted several bands of foreign mercenaries. Among the men-at-arms were a body of Italians under a captain named Malatesta. Many of the hackbut men or harquebusiers also were Spaniards or Italians, commanded by Pedro Gamboa, a Spanish soldier of fortune. Apparently, two hundred out of the six hundred of these primitive dragoons were foreigners. To eke out the horse the "Bulleners" had also been brought across the water. These were a corps of five hundred light cavalry, enlisted for

service as the garrison of Boulogne; they were the nearest approach to a permanent regiment of regular troops that had yet been seen in England. Peace existing with France, it was possible to bring them over for the Scottish war.

The Use of Firearms.

The infantry were still "bows and bills" of the old fashion, but they were supplemented by a certain amount of troops furnished with firearms, though we do not hear of more than six hundred of these "hackbutters afoot," as Hollingshead calls them. The artillery was far more numerous and also more moveable than it had been in the armies of the last generation, and there was a considerable body of pioneers with the expedition.

The Scots came out, as of old, with their great masses of pikemen in solid squares. To some thirty thousand foot they had but eight hundred or a thousand horse, and this force, divided into two small bodies, did them no service in the day, save threatening for one moment to attack the English artillery in flank, an enterprise from which they promptly swerved when they saw succour approaching.

The Lessons of Pinkie.

The fight of Pinkie was not one of the battles of the old type, in which the Scots waited in position—as at Falkirk, Bannockburn, or Flodden—to receive the English attack. Both parties rapidly advancing to seize the same point of vantage, they came into line against each other on the side of the hill, the Scots on the lower, the English on the higher slope. Somerset's cavalry had outmarched his infantry and guns, in their haste to occupy the crest of the ridge, and hence they got into action long before the rest of the army was up. The main body of the English horse, some 3,200 lances in two divisions, charged downhill on to the Scottish van, the most advanced of the three "battles" in which the enemy was advancing. The solid mass of pikemen flung the cavalry back with great loss, but could not pursue them up the hill, along whose crest the rest of the English army was now getting into line. They remained halted where they were, in a position half-way up the slope, which meant ruin whether they advanced or retreated. Somerset ordered forward his guns to the edge of the ridge, sent forward archers and hackbutters to gall the Scottish columns, and charged them again

with the whole of his cavalry, when they began to falter. This time the horsemen broke into the gaps in the line of spears, rolled the shattered masses downhill, and wrought dreadful slaughter on them as they fled. Thus Pinkie, like Falkirk, was a demonstration of the powerlessness of the pike against horsemen combined with missile weapons. If it had not been for the cannon and archery the columns might no doubt have held their own against the cavalry. The crash with which Lord Grey's first charge was thrown back is described as being fearful. The Scots "stood at defence, shoulders nigh together, the fore ranks stooping low before, well nigh to kneeling, their fellows behind holding their pikes in both hands, the one end of the pike against the right foot, the other against the enemy's breast, so nigh as place and space would suffer, so thick that a bare finger shall as easily pierce through the bristles of an angry hedgehog as any encounter the front of their pikes." From this formidable mass Grey's cavalry were dashed back with ease; they could not get near the men in the hostile front line, and fell stricken, horse and rider, eight feet in front of it. But when, instead of a cavalry charge, the pikemen had to face salvoes of artillery delivered from a distance of two hundred yards, and a pelting fire of archery, the very denseness of their array was their ruin. They could not stand the fire for long, broke, and then were charged, and fled down the slope, "leaving the hillside like a woodyard," from the countless staves of the pikes that they cast away.

The Use of Foreign Mercenaries.

In the year 1549 we find that Somerset used an unprecedented number of foreign mercenaries against the rebels—not merely a few hundred harquebusiers such as had been seen at Pinkie, but large corps of both horse and foot. It seems a curious instance of the irony of fate that against the devoted Romanists who raised the Devonshire rebellion, Somerset employed a regiment of Italian foot, under one Spinola, all armed with the harquebus it would appear; while at the same moment the riotous Reformers of Norfolk were being put down by a force under Northumberland which included 1,400 Protestant German lanzknechts. Probably this employment of foreigners on a large scale was dictated as much by a fear of the possible misbehaviour of English shire-levies when opposed to

rebels, as by a reliance on the disciplined courage of the Italians or Germans, or a confidence in the superiority of their new firearms to the old English bow. Indeed, the bowmen do not seem to have felt any inferiority to the harquebusiers; it was not the deficiency of their infantry weapons but their almost entire want of cavalry that was the ruin of the rebels. For both in Devon and Norfolk the insurgents could put few or no horsemen into the field, the gentry and richer yeomanry, who alone were wont to serve in the mounted arm, having, almost without exception, remained loyal to the Government. Kett had a few scores of horse in his camp at Mousehold Heath, but they shirked the fighting, and are said to have been "good for booty alone and not for blows."

The English Rebellions.

It was this want of horse which caused the rebels in both parts of England to prefer defending entrenched positions, bridges, or barricaded villages, to facing the king's troops in the open field. Nearly all the fighting took place in or about towns or villages, or in front of fortified camps, and the engagements, though fierce and frequent, did not take the shape of battles. It is to be noted that cannon had grown common in England during the last generation, and that the rebels found it easy to obtain them, partly (it would seem) by taking them from ships, for merchant vessels in those troublous times generally carried a few small guns, and partly by seizing them from the houses and castles of the neighbouring gentry. Both in Devon and Norfolk we hear a good deal of the insurgents' artillery, and Kett's master-gunner, one William Miles, seems to have handled his guns very efficiently and done considerable service with them.

That Somerset and his successor Northumberland were wise, from their own point of view, when they employed foreigners against English insurgents, is sufficiently shown by the events of 1553–54. The native levies had no affection or loyalty whatever for either of the Protectors; their only feeling of respect and obedience was for their sovereign, and for the self-seeking minister they had nothing but distrust. This appeared clear enough when Northumberland raised troops to support the usurpation of his daughter-in-law Lady Jane Grey, and to put down the adherents of Queen Mary, the obvious heir to the throne by all rules of succession. First the host

sent out under the Protector's son, and afterwards that which he himself led out for the invasion of the eastern counties, melted away when bidden to attack the Queen's levies. Not a man could be induced by personal attachment to the Protector to strike a blow against the rightful Queen.

When Wyatt, a few months later, raised Kent in arms to protest against Mary's Spanish match, he was well aware of this fact. He and his confederates may have contemplated the Queen's ultimate deposition, but they kept their plan to themselves, protested their loyalty, and only claimed to be rising against evil councillors and traitorous advisers. The rebels' proclamation impeached the ministers, but said no word against Mary herself. It was this fact that brought about Wyatt's first successes, as well as his ultimate failure. Men joined him because they disliked the Spanish match, and the predominance of the Romanists at court. But they began to melt away from him when the Queen made her ministers' quarrel her own, came forward in person to call for her subjects' loyal service, and showed herself at the head of her forces. It was the conviction that after all they were traitors, levying war aganist their lawful mistress, that made Wyatt's men leave their colours and disperse in the latter days of the rising. When the final attack on London was delivered, less than a thousand rebels remained with their leader, and these were the desperate zealots who could not endure Popery, or the men who had made themselves so prominent that they knew that no tardy submission would bring them pardon.

The London Militia.

It is worth while noting that during Wyatt's rebellion we learn that the organisation of the London militia into "bands" with a fixed uniform had been completed. All had been clothed in white coats, and in the fighting about Charing Cross and Westminster, much confusion was caused by the fact that both the men who had deserted to Wyatt, and those who had adhered to the Queen, wore the same clothing. The rebels were recognised by the fact that they were muddy from a long night march over miry roads, and the loyalists' cry was "Down with the daggle-tails!"

After Wyatt had been put down, there was no serious rebellion in England against Mary, and the only fighting in

which English troops were engaged in her later years was the Campaign of St. Quentin. The force which was sent to aid King Philip was composed of five thousand men. Its muster-rolls are preserved, and we note in them the first use of the familiar word "Regiment" that is found in the English army. The whole expedition is called "a regiment of 1,000 horse and 4,000 foot." Of the horse half were men-at-arms, half light-horse or "demi-lances." Each of these bodies was divided into five "bands" of one hundred men, headed by a captain, lieutenant, and "ancient." The foot were in forty companies of one hundred men, each headed by a captain, but there seems to have been no unit of organisation larger than the company. It is to be presumed that if called upon to form a line of battle, they would still have drawn up in the old "vaward, main-battle, and rearward" formation, with their cavalry on the wings. But, as they only formed part of a large allied army, they were not called upon to do any separate fighting of their own.

W. LAIRD CLOWES, The Navy.

The reign of Edward VI. witnessed a decline in the strength of the Navy bequeathed to him by his father's government. Henry died in 1547, leaving a fleet of seventy ships, of which thirty were large ones, and two galleys. Edward died in 1553, leaving a fleet of only fifty-eight ships. Progress was chiefly stayed by the dissensions between the Lord Protector and his brother, the Lord High-Admiral, and by the petty jealousies and selfish ambitions which too often flourish during a minority. The *personnel* of the Navy did not, however, deteriorate, and whenever the Navy was employed, it conducted itself upon the whole with great credit. Its co-operation in Scotland with the land forces in 1547 is noteworthy as being the first example of its kind in our history; and there can be no doubt that the victory of Musselburgh was due in a great measure to the effect of the flanking fire of the English ships upon the Scots army. The prompt action of the gallant Captain William Winter, in falling upon the very superior French force which was blockading the Channel Islands in 1549, was another enterprise worthy of the growing spirit of the sea-service. But the Navy was ill-

managed and badly looked after in London, and consequently its usefulness abroad was cramped; and the piratical adventurers, who had for a time been cowed by the vigorous policy of Henry VIII., began once more to render the narrow seas very insecure.

During this short reign ordinances were first issued for the conduct of the principal officers of the Navy, and these ordinances form the basis of all later instructions which have since been promulgated for the civil government of the Navy. The officers appointed to manage the affairs of the Navy Office were: the Vice-Admiral of the Fleet, the Master of the Ordnance, the Surveyor of Marine Causes, the Treasurer, the Controller, the General Surveyor of the Victualling, the Clerk of the Ships, and the Clerk of the Stores; and they were directed to meet once a week at the office on Tower Hill, to consult together for the good order of the Navy, and to report their proceedings once a month to the Lord High-Admiral. To each member were also assigned certain specified duties.

The Beginnings of the Board of Admiralty.

The Government was happily less remiss in its attention to commerce than in its attention to the fleet. In 1548, an Act was passed for entirely opening the Newfoundland trade, and for removing various obstacles by which up to that time it had been hampered. In the same year the English merchants in Antwerp complained of certain hardships under which they suffered, and obtained the interposition of Edward's ambassadors. When the regency of the city suggested that it was strange that a king of England should more regard a company of merchants than the friendship of a great Emperor, Smith, the King's agent, made the highly honourable reply: "The King, my master, will support the commerce of his subjects at the hazard of the friendship of any monarch upon earth."

The Mercantile Marine.

The privileges of the English merchants in Antwerp dated from 1466, and were very valuable. At that time, according to a memorial which in Elizabeth's days was addressed to Sir Robert Cecil, there were not in all the town above four hundred merchants, nor were they adventurers by sea; and the town was poor. But after the settlement of the English, rents rose, excise duties and tolls increased, and the

Antwerpers, who had possessed but six vessels, became exceedingly wealthy, and great builders of ships and shippers of merchandise. And so thoroughly did the Emperor Charles V. realise the importance to Antwerp of the English element there, that, although he resisted the protestations of princes against his proposed establishment of the Inquisition in the city, he quickly gave up the project when in 1550 he discovered that, if he pursued his plan, the English merchants would desert the Low Countries.

The Government also did much for the encouragement of trade with France, and for the repression of the shipping of goods in foreign bottoms. In the meantime the Levant trade grew, and the trade with Guinea was securely established, chiefly by the exertions of Thomas Wyndham, who made three voyages to the African coast. The third was undertaken from Portsmouth, under the patronage of Antonio Anes Pintado, a Portuguese, in 1553; but in this adventure Wyndham died. An account of the expedition will be found in Churchill's "Voyages." Hakluyt describes a very interesting voyage which was made at about the same time by John Locke (or Lok) to the Levant, and another made by Roger Bodenham in 1551 in the same direction.

Exploration.

More important maritime adventures were, however, undertaken in this reign. Sebastian Cabot, whose voyages are dealt with elsewhere, after having been long in the service of Spain, returned. (p. 209), and, at the beginning of Edward's reign, was introduced to the Protector Somerset, and by him to the young King. The result was that an office was created for Cabot, and a pension given him of £166 13s. 4d. annually, being a sum equal to the pay which he had enjoyed in Spain. The office was that of "Governor of the Mystery and Company of the Merchant Adventurers for the Discovery of Regions, Dominions, Islands and Places Unknown." "At this time," says Mr. Clements R. Markham, "there was no one in Europe who could be compared with Cabot, either as a practical explorer or as a scientific navigator. With an experience extending over nearly half a century, he had commanded expeditions alike in the far North and in the far South. He had been for years at the head of the hydrographical department of Spain, at a time when Spain was at

the height of her maritime greatness. He was a man of vast knowledge, a very able and judicious councillor, of a very kindly and generous disposition; one who, by uprightness and fair dealing, raised England's name high among the nations."

Cabot made the first move in the direction of free-trade by breaking up the close monopoly of the German merchants of the Steelyard; a monopoly which had partially paralysed commerce for nearly two generations. These merchants, settlers from the Hanse Towns, had little by little been granted enormous privileges, especially in the direction of the export of woollens. Cabot defeated them by showing that whereas by their charters they had been allowed to export goods at one and a quarter per cent. customs duty, they, not content with their own advantages, illegally covered other foreign merchants, to the great prejudice of the native traders. The great seaman and administrator next set himself to work to open up commercial relations with Russia, and to attempt the discovery of a North-east passage. The execution of these projects was entrusted to Sir Hugh Willoughby and Richard Chancellor, with the ships *Bona Esperanza*, *Edward Bonaventure*, and *Bona Confidentia*, carrying 116 persons all told. The rules laid down by Cabot for the conduct of the expedition were most elaborate, wise, and precise (p. 210). Logs were to be kept in each vessel, and in them were to be recorded the course, the altitude of the sun, observations on points of land, tides, and winds, and notes as to the variations of the compass. No such logs had, so far as is known, ever previously been kept. The *Bona Esperanza*, it is worth noting, was sheathed with lead for this voyage to preserve her from the worms, and was the first English vessel so treated, though lead sheathing had been known in Spain for forty years. The capital of the company which built and fitted out the three ships was £6,000, in 240 shares of £25 each.

The *Bona Esperanza* was of 120 tons burthen; and she carried on this voyage the "admiral," or commodore, Sir Hugh Willoughby, six merchants as passengers, a master, a master's mate, a master gunner, a boatswain, a boatswain's mate, four quartermasters, four quartermasters' mates, two surgeons, two carpenters, a purser, a purser's mate (who was also a cooper), a cook, a cook's mate, and ten sailors; or thirty-

eight in all. Chancellor's ship, the *Edward Bonaventure*, of 160 tons, carried a chaplain for the squadron. The name of the captain of the *Bona Confidentia*, of 90 tons, was Cornelius Durfoorth.

The Navy under Mary.

The peaceful accession of Mary to the throne was much facilitated by the action of a squadron of six men-of-war, which had been despatched by the Duke of Northumberland in the interests of Lady Jane Grey, to watch the coast of Suffolk, and to prevent the princess from leaving the country. The ships were driven by stress of weather into Yarmouth, where they were boarded by Sir Henry Jernegan, a bold and tactful partisan, who, in a few hours, persuaded their commanders to desert Lady Jane and to acclaim as Queen the princess upon whose liberty they had been ordered to place restraint. The Navy more honourably distinguished itself in the following year by formally exacting a recognition of England's claim to the dominion of the narrow seas. Philip of Spain, accompanied by a fleet of one hundred and sixty sail, came to celebrate his marriage with Mary at Winchester. William, Lord Howard of Effingham, the father of the great admiral who subsequently commanded against the Armada, was at sea with a small squadron, when he sighted the Spanish fleet coming up the Channel. Philip's admiral carried the Spanish flag at his main, and this Howard would not brook. He refused to salute until the Spaniard should lower his colours and strike his topsails, and, when the visitor showed a disposition to argue the point, Howard fired a shotted gun across his bows and so secured his obedience. This is, says Campbell, in an outburst of patriotism and capital letters, "a circumstance worthy of immortal REMEMBRANCE, and, one would think too, of IMITATION." And Schomberg's comment is: "An action highly meritorious and worthy imitation."

Nevertheless, the Navy declined. Mary found fifty-eight vessels composing it; she left only forty-six. And all belonging to the service was mismanaged. Calais, then an important naval station, was taken by the French, owing to the indifference of the English Government; and a squadron, sent under Vice-Admiral Sir John Clere to annoy the Scots pirates and to protect the home-coming Iceland fleet, met with

serious disaster, owing to its being too weak for the duties required of it, and lost the commander-in-chief, three captains, and a great many men. The fleet, however, was able to do good work in 1558, by co-operating with Count Egmont at the Battle of Gravelines, and so discomfiting the left wing of the French, exactly as a few years before it had confused the Scots at Musselburgh. Calais had for two hundred years been of great strategical value to England in all her wars with France, since its possession enabled us to provision our expeditionary forces by means of the fleet, and gave us security along our main line of communications. What its loss meant to us was otherwise well shown in 1588, when the Spanish Armada anchored before the place. Had it been in English hands, the Spaniards could not have enjoyed even the small respite that the fortress afforded to them.

Trade was not wholly neglected. The decree against the German merchants of the Steelyard was enforced, and the privileges of those adventurers were entirely withdrawn. The English Company of Merchant Adventurers, that has been already mentioned, received a charter; and, in consequence of its operations, a Russian ambassador was, in 1556, for the first time sent to England. And a considerable trade sprang up, not unnaturally, with Spain and with the Spanish Possessions. Nor was exploration idle. Richard Chancellor made two more profitable voyages to Archangel, acquiring meanwhile much new information relative to the Arctic Seas; but was unfortunately wrecked and drowned off the coast of Scotland, while returning (p. 225). The Muscovy trade, or rather the allied attempt to find a North-east passage to China, was also taken up by Stephen Burrough (p. 226), who, giving an account of his departure, says: "On the 27th of April (1556), Sebastian Cabota came on board our pinnace at Gravesend, accompanied with divers gentlemen and gentlewomen, who, after they had viewed our pinnace and tasted of such cheer as we could give them on board, they went on shore, giving to our mariners right liberal rewards; and the good old gentleman, Master Cabota, gave to the poor most liberal alms, wishing them to pray for the good fortune and prosperous success of our vessel, the *Serchethrift*. And then, at the sign of the 'Christopher,' he and his friends

The Mercantile Marine.

banketted, and made me and them that were in the company great cheer; and for very joy that he had to see the towardness of our intended discovery, he entered the dance himself among the rest of the young and lusty company; which being ended, he and his friends departed most gently commending us to the governance of Almighty God." The great Cabot died in 1557, aged eighty-four. Before he died, says Mr. Markham, "a man named Worthington was joined with him in his pension and his office, by order of Queen Mary, on the plea of his great age; but there is reason to suspect that this was Philip's device, and that Worthington was bribed to hand over all the precious maps and documents of the great navigator to the Spaniards. At all events they disappeared on his death, leaving no trace. Some of these inestimable records may yet be discovered in Seville or Simancas, and the fame of Cabota will then stand even higher than it does now." * He may fairly be regarded not only as the father of free-trade, but also as the founder of our merchant navy; yet there is no monument to his memory, the place of his burial is forgotten, and his name is not borne by any town, cape, bay, or strait along the three thousand miles of coast which he was the first European to explore.

Other voyages of this period were those of William Towrson, merchant, of London, who sailed in 1555 with the *Hart* and *Hind* for Guinea, and in 1556 with the *Tiger*, *Hart* and a pinnace for the same destination; and that of Anthony Jenkinson, who, in the *Primrose*, carried home the Russian ambassador, and who subsequently opened up an overland trade through Russia, by way of the Caspian, with Persia (c. xii.). All these expeditions, even when they did not actually lead to an extension of commerce, greatly encouraged in the nation that adventurous spirit which blazed forth with such unparalleled glory in the next reign.

In 1553, the celebrated *Henri Grace à Dieu*, which had in the meantime been re-named the *Edward*, was accidentally burnt at Woolwich; and for many years afterwards there was no ship in the English Navy equal to her in size or magnificence.

* It may be noted, however, that some recent authorities throw considerable doubt on Sebastian Cabot's claims to credit as a discoverer. *Cf.* Harrisse, "Discovery of North America," and C. H. Coote, "Dictionary of National Biography," art. "Cabot."

C. RAYMOND BEAZLEY. Discovery and Exploration, 1512-1558.

After the death of the elder Cabot, his son Sebastian disappears from history till the year 1512 (Vol. II., p. 498). When he reappears, it is as a captain in the Spanish service, which he is said to have entered in disgust at the negligent meanness of his English patronage; but in 1517 we find him in the service of Henry VIII., and employed with Sir Thomas Perte in the Trial of the N.-W. Passage. He now reached latitude 67½, and it was said that he even got within Hudson's Bay and "gave English names to sundry places therein." But the whole of this is doubtful; the very scene of the discoveries in one tradition is shifted from the far north to the far south, and it is only certain that Perte quarrelled with his Italian colleague * and the crews mutinied. It was probably from the effect of these disappointments that Sebastian again left the English service for the Spanish, only to return † to the former when, on the accession of Edward VI., English mercantile ambition had at last bestirred itself to some genuine effort, and the great enterprise of the North-East passage, tried sixty years before by the Portuguese of King John II., was undertaken afresh by the Merchant Adventurers of London. With this, continuous English discovery begins. The first half of the 16th century, though it cannot be included in mediæval enterprise, is still less a part of modern exploration. It is essentially the time of change and preparation, when foreign mariners drilled into the English mind some understanding of that expansion of Europe that men saw going on all around them. By the time of this new trial of the Russian trade and North-East passage, native English feeling was ready to work in its own interest for its own gains, and with this we are fairly entered upon the age of the adventurers and discoverers who founded our colonies and our world-wide commerce.

Cabot and the North-West Passage.

The North-East Passage.

As early as 1549, Sebastian Cabot received a yearly pension

* As in the first English voyage to Guinea and Benin, 1553, the English Captain Windham quarrelled with the "Portugal" Pinteado.

† But *cf.* Hakluyt's "Voyage of two Englishmen to the River of La Plata in South America in the Company of Sebastian Cabota," 1527.

of 250 marks and stepped into the place of Geographer Royal,* if a title may be coined for him—that is, he became the chief adviser of the Government in all matters touching the new movement in trade and exploration, and although this movement did not issue in any great attempt before the Russian voyage of 1553, the short reign of Edward VI. is throughout one of readiness—one in which nautical enterprise was not only talked of but entered on, though the king died before any great success could be achieved.

Cabot's Ordinances.

Hakluyt, in his great collection of English voyages, gives us "the Ordinances, Instructions, and Advertisements of and for the direction of the intended voyage (of Chancellor and Willoughby) to Cathay, compiled, made, and delivered by Sebastian Cabot, Governor of the Mystery and Company of the Merchant Adventurers for the discovery of Regions unknown," under date of May 9th, 1553. And these ordinances, thirty-three in number, make up a sort of Whole Duty of Man, as seaman, as Protestant, and as trader. "There is to be no dissension," says the first, "among the crews." "Loyalty and obedience to king and captains" is the gist of the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th. Ordinances 5 and 6 keep captains in check by a council. "Log and journal to be kept," says the 7th; "All to be done by common consent," adds the 8th; "Weekly accounts to be kept," by ordinance the 9th; "Discipline to be observed," by the 10th; "Unprofitable persons to be put on shore," says the 11th; No blasphemy and bawdy talk to be allowed, by the 12th. The 13th orders daily prayers twice, and the Bible and Paraphrases to be read, but, by the 22nd, there was to be no religious controversy on board and no preaching or proselytising in foreign ports. Temperance, cleanliness, and the use of "liveries and necessary dress," are laid down in the 15th, 16th, and 17th articles of this code, which certainly does not make the mistake of expecting too little. By the 18th and 19th "all are to bear one another's burdens," the sick are to be looked after by the "whole," and the goods of any that may die are to be kept for their widows and orphans. The 20th and 21st forbid all private bargaining—every one is to remember he belongs to a Company and Mystery.

* Grand Pilot of England, Hakluyt calls him, from the Original Pension Grant of Edward VI., with £166 13s. 4d. per annum.

Information, says the 23rd ordinance, is to be got from the natives wherever possible about new countries and their trade, "and if such persons," suggests the 24th, "be made drunk with your wine ye shall know all their secrets." The last nine Articles are on Matters of Discipline:—The crews are never to go far inland; they are never to enrage foreigners by laughing at their outlandish ways; descriptions of all new lands are to be written down; natives must be "allured to the ships by a brave show and noise." If any go to entertainments on shore, it must be armed and in a strong party; but the men are not to be "frighted of barbarians." Watch is always to be kept on board, and the London merchants are to be well advertised of all that is doing. So ends the last act of Sebastian Cabot as Grand Pilot of England, except that the journal of Stephen Burrough mentions him at Gravesend a little later, very eager about the success of the Russian venture (p. 208).

On his deathbed (1557) he told his friend Eden "that he had the knowledge of finding the longitude by Divine revelation, yet so that he might not teach any man," at which Eden reflected "that the good old man was in that extreme age somewhat doted, and had not yet, even in the article of death, utterly shaken off all worldly vain glory."

The actual story of this voyage and its results belongs to the reign of Mary, and the heroic age of continuous English enterprise—the age of Elizabeth. With Cabot's instructions and the sailing of the *Edward Bonaventure* and the *Bona Esperanza* from the Thames in 1553 we enter a new period. Yet before passing on into this it may be well to see if there are any other forerunners of the great seamen of Elizabeth besides foreigners in English service. They did a great work, it is true; they led our national enterprise at a great crisis, when to stay at home meant to fall behind once and for ever.

Other Explorers.

But, besides the voyages of the Cabots, we have other evidence of the growth of English interest in discovery and maritime enterprise under Henry VIII. and Edward VI. Hakluyt's collection, made at the end of the 16th century, of the "Voyages of the English Nation," gives us many pages of the original records of these earlier ventures of our sea-dogs into fields where they were soon to take a foremost place; and they are too important

and interesting a chapter of our history, and far too valuable for the understanding of England's great expansion into an Empire, to be quite passed over.

First, in 1527, the way had been prepared by the "Declaration of the Indies and Lands discovered and subdued unto the Emperor and the King of Portugal and of other lands of the Indies and rich countries still *to be* discovered, which the Worshipful Master Robert Thorne, merchant, of London, who dwelt long in the City of Seville, exhorted King Henry VIII. to take in hand." Besides this, the same Master Robert has left us a book of the same time, and written with the same object, which is "an Information of the Lands Discovered and of the Way to the Moluccas by the North."

Robert Thorne.

And Thorne's Declaration is not merely an account of what Portuguese and Spaniards had already found, and what Englishmen who followed them might find. It has a special point of its own; for it suggests not only what to do, but how to do it—in a way that might secure at least one of the great trade-routes for an English monopoly. As the Men of Prince Henry the Navigator had opened a new waterway round Africa to India by the Cape of Good Hope, so now, says Master Robert, our people may open a new waterway round the North of Europe and Asia to Cathay and the Indies. This is the only side still left open, he repeats again and again; all the rest of the world, all the other possible routes (except the North-West Passage) have been already taken up. So English explorers should try to go by Tartary to Malacca and back by the Cape of Good Hope, or by the North of America across the Pacific, returning by Magellan's Straits—"the Dragon's Tail" or Strait of All Saints; or they might even venture on a third, which sounds a little like the most modern, attempt, that of Dr. Nansen, to reach and pass the Pole by drifting. "After they be past the Pole, they are to go straight toward the Pole Antarctick: and then to decline towards the seas and lands situate between the Tropics and under the Equinoctial, where without doubt they shall find the richest lands and islands of the world—with gold, balms, spices, precious stones, and other things that we here most esteem, which come out of strange countries—and may return the same way.'

In his book, the worshipful merchant alludes to Cabot's Voyage of 1526 in the Spanish service, and compares the products of the Tropics with our own, even to the "Cards by which they sail, tho' much unlike ours." Then, with the help of a map of his own drawing, he tries to prove that "our way (by North-East or North-West Passage) to the said Spiceries should be nearer by almost 2,000 leagues than the way of the Emperor or the King of Portugal"; and that the "land that we found (The New Found Land and Labrador) is *all one with the Indies*." For Master Robert, after assuming the existence of the Pacific, and making his North-West "passagers" return by Magellan's Straits, is too anxious for his proof that England has already a right to, and even a footing in, the Indies to be troubled by such small inconsistencies as this dropping out of an ocean.

"But the coast from the Indies (he proceeds) runneth southward towards a certain Strait Sea called 'of all Saints' (Straits of Magellan), by which Strait Sea the Spaniards go to their Spiceries." From "our New Found Land" to the Strait of all Saints, at the extreme south of the American Continent, he reckons 5,000 leagues, and "our way by the Pole to the Spiceries" at 2,000 leagues, as against 4,000 for either Spaniards by Magellan's Straits or Portuguese by the Cape of Good Hope. In answer to the objection of unbearable cold in this Polar route, he very plausibly uses the recent disproof of the parallel objection of unbearable tropical heat by the earlier ventures of Portuguese and Italian seamen. "For no land is uninhabitable and no sea is unnavigable. Nihil fit vacuum in Rerum Natura."

The North-East and North-West Passages.

It was as a result of such reasoning that the English attempts on the North-East Passage begin with the voyage of Chancellor and Willoughby in 1553, which, however unsuccessful in its main object, was the beginning of continuous English discovery, and had success enough, in its exploration of the White Sea and its opening of the trade with Russia, to keep alive the mercantile interest in the prosecution of a scheme which Baron Nordenskjöld of Sweden, when for the first time he brought a ship round the north coast of the Old World, has lately told us is just practicable, but thoroughly useless. With equally futile energy the North-West Passage,

since Cabot's voyage of 1497, had been tried by John Rut in 1527, who coasted north to 53°, some way beyond the eastern point of Labrador, and returned by way of Newfoundland, Cape Breton, and the coast of Maine.

So much for voyages to North and North-East parts during the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. We have a plan laid down, but little done to put it in practice till England has been fully roused to her work of commerce and colonising discovery.

The Mediterranean Trade.

Of voyages to the South and South-East during this period Hakluyt makes two classes — those within and those without the Straits of Gibraltar. The first of these, relating to the Mediterranean trade of English ports, is not of much interest, except in purely commercial history. The Voyage of the *Holy Cross* and the *Matthew Gunson* to Crete and Chios in 1534, Thomas Chaloner's Voyage to Algiers with Charles V. in 1541, The Voyage of Roger Bodenham to the Levant in 1550, The Voyage of John Lok to Jerusalem in 1553, supply us with plenty of evidence of the progress of English trade, give us an early English survey of the Mediterranean coasts, and tell the story of the Turks' attack on Malta and the Knights of St. John—but they are not in any sense exploration.

Southward Voyages.

There is more of this in the second class of Southern voyages — those outside the Straits. For though the South Atlantic had now been steadily explored during three generations by Portuguese seamen, it was now, in the early years of the 16th century, that Englishmen first made their way on to the new ground, both land and sea, that had been won for Europe and Christendom since the days of Henry the Navigator. On this side there is a Note by another Thorne—a Nicholas, who, like Robert, is a merchant and a patriot—"of the English trade to the Canaries." This note was made not later than 1526, and "by probability much before this," says Hakluyt, for Thorne and others had long "exercised usual and customary trade to the same islands." From an "old ledger book" Nicholas gives extracts about this West African trade. "A barter" was held with West Indian goods in Teneriffe; the products of the Canaries—sugar, dye-wood, kid-

skins—were regularly shipped to England, and there was a record of one English merchant, Tom Tison by name, who lived as a resident in these parts before the time at which Thorne was writing.

A description of the Canaries, "made by Thomas Nicholls, who lived there seven years," is printed by Hakluyt under the year 1547; and this, with the voyage of the *Lion*, of London, to Morocco in 1551, helps to illustrate Thorne's note. For, though commonplace enough in themselves, these entries give us the promise of a great future; and the same thoughts, the same vast ambitions and restless energy come out in the memoranda of these merchants as in the more scientific work of Robert Thorne, or in the achievements of Chancellor or Drake. In the letter, for instance, of James Aldaie to his friends in London about the Morocco trade, "the said Aldaie" not only writes "as the inventor of the said trade," but also "as having been acquainted with the intent to prosecute the old intermitted discovery of Cathay." Again, the first voyage to Barbary in 1551 is followed by a second in 1552, and a third in 1553, the year of Chancellor's start for Muscovy and China, when "T. Windham" brought the first English ship to Guinea and the Bight of Benin—or, in other words, fairly rounded Cape Verde and sailed into the Southern Seas, nearing the line which, a century before, the first Europeans—the men of Prince Henry—were approaching with guilty shudderings and a sure and certain prospect of being turned into Blackamoors.

The Canaries and North-West Africa.

As might be expected, this poaching on the Portuguese preserves was dangerous work. The men were furious who had explored the Atlantic only to shut and keep it against all rivals, and a good deal of diplomatic skill was wanted to prevent an open war. This is plain enough in Hakluyt's account "of the anger of the Portugals," and in the letter he gives from Henry VIII. to John III., under the year 1531, "in the matter of a Portugal ship freighted at Chios with the goods of John Gresham and others, wrongfully unladen in Portugal." As early as 1481 the Court of Lisbon had interfered to guard its monopoly of Africa and the Southern Ocean from English intermeddling, and Edward IV. had promised John II.

Friction with the Portuguese.

to "stay John Tintarn and William Fabyan from preparing for their voyage to Guinea."

The old alliance of the English and Portuguese Crowns, dating from the twelfth century, which had given John I. and Prince Henry an "English aid at the taking of Ceuta in Barbary" in 1415, and which had drawn Englishmen into the Court of the same Prince Henry, the founder and hero of modern discovery, was now in great danger through the irrepressible energy of volunteers. The old Royal embargo on unlicensed voyagers, which punished them with torture and death—breaking on the wheel and "martyrizing" all who could be caught; the old Royal veto, "Let every man stay in his element; I am not partial to travelling seamen," was more and more hard to enforce as the chance of gain became greater and the field larger, as the whole of European society got fired with the love of gain and of adventure, and with the consciousness of power. It was not only the Government, but the people, who carried to success the schemes of Henry of Portugal, and who in England turned the national ambition away from a continental to a colonial empire.

Voyages to America.

Lastly, the same thing—the new popular interest—appears in Hakluyt's third book "Of Voyages to the Western parts of the World," where the Cabots are not the only men who "do service to the Crown of England." In May, 1527, there is the voyage of John Rut's two ships, already noticed, for the prosecution of the North-West Passage, for the extension of the knowledge already gained of North America. In 1536 there is a voyage "of M. Hore and divers others" to Newfoundland and Cape Breton. Some time before 1526 there is a voyage of Tom Tison, the Teneriffe merchant, to the West Indies: in 1530 and 1532 Master William Hawkins, the father of Sir John, makes the first two English voyages to The Brazil, and in 1540 and 1542 "one Reiniger" and "one Pudsey" repeat Hawkins' venture. By the year 1548 America has become important enough to draw the attention of the English Parliament, and an Act (2nd Edward VI.) regulating the fisheries of Newfoundland is not only the first statutory notice of the New World in our own country, but is itself a proof of the way in which governments and courts and councils, whether they liked it or no, were being forced into

exploration, into the colonising movement that was bound to follow discovery, by the universal outbreak of private enterprise. "Might of the people made us to Reign."

Exploration under Mary.

The five years of Mary's reign saw the beginning of the great onward and outward movement of English exploration, adventure, and trade—the first steps in the road to colonisation. And in this beginning the most striking feature is certainly the trial of the North-east Passage—"the New Navigation and Discovery of the Kingdom of Muscovy, enterprised in the year 1553 by Sir Hugh Willoughby, knight, and performed by Richard Chanceler, pilot major of the voyage."

The North-East Passage.

We have seen what instructions—detailed, careful, business-like—were given to the fleet by Sebastian Cabot before it started. All the story of its preparation belongs to the reign of Edward; the story of its achievements belongs as much, as entirely, to his sister's. For the young king was already failing when the start was made, and "not long after the departure of these ships, the lamentable and most sad accident of his death soon followed."

And Hakluyt tells us very distinctly that the enterprise of 1553 was not an accident. "At what time our merchants perceived the commodities and goods of England to be in small request with the countries and people about us and near to us, and that those merchandises which strangers did earnestly desire were now neglected and the price thereof abated, though by us carried to their own ports, and all foreign merchandises in great account, certain grave citizens of London began to think how this mischief might be remedied. Neither was a remedy wanting—for as the wealth of the Spaniards and Portuguese, by the discovery and search of new trades and countries, was marvellously increased; supposing the same to be a means for them to obtain the like, they thereupon resolved upon a new and strange navigation."

A Quest for New Markets.

And as the design was planned the preparation was careful. "I wot not whether I may more admire the care of the merchants or the diligence of the shipwrights—for the merchants, they get very strong and well-seasoned planks for the building; the ship-

The Preparations.

wrights, they caulk them, pitch them, and make most staunch and firm, by an excellent invention. For they had heard that in the ocean a kind of worm is bred which many times pierceth and eateth through the strongest oak that is; therefore that the mariners might be free and safe from this danger, they cover a piece of the keel of the ship with thin sheets of lead; and having thus built the ships, and furnished them with armour and artillery, there followed a care no less troublesome —to wit, the provision of victuals."

Further, as the venture was of the most distant and daring kind, "our men being to pass that huge and cold part of the world," they victualled the ships for eighteen months, and took pains to "search out, before starting, what might be known concerning the easterly part of the world." "For which cause two Tartarians (Tartars), which were then of the king's stable, were sent for, and by an interpreter demanded touching their country and the manners of it. But they were able to answer nothing to the purpose, being, indeed, more acquainted—as one there merrily and openly said—*to toss pots* than to learn the states and dispositions of people."

The Departure of Willoughby's Expedition.

On the 20th May it was settled that they should "depart from Ratcliffe [near our London Docks] upon the ebb if it so pleased God." And "they having saluted—one his wife, another his children, another his kinsfolk, another his friends dearer than his kinsfolk—were ready at the day appointed, and having weighed anchor, they departed with the turning of the water, and sailing easily came first to Greenwich. The greater ships were towed down with boats and oars, and the mariners being all apparelled in watchet or sky-coloured cloth, rowed amain and made way with diligence. And being come near to Greenwich, where the Court then lay, presently upon the news thereof the courtiers came running out and the common people flocked together, standing very thick upon the shore; the Privy Council, they looked out at the windows of the Court, and the rest ran by to the tops of the towers; the ships hereupon discharge their ordnance and shoot off their pieces after the manner of war and of the sea, insomuch that the tops of the hills sounded therewith, the valleys and the waters gave an echo; and the mariners, they shouted in such sort that the sky rang again with the noise

thereof. One stands in the poop of the ship and by his gesture bids farewell to his friends in the best manner he could. Another walks upon the hatches, another climbs the shrouds, another stands upon the mainyard, and another in the top of the ship. It was a very triumph to the beholders."

So the three ships,* going down with the tide, passed Woolwich and Harwich, "and at the last, with a good wind, they hoisted up sail and committed themselves to the sea, giving their last adieu to their native country. Many of them looked ofttimes back and could not refrain from tears."

After many days' sailing, they "kenned" land far off—and so came first to Rose Island and then to a group they called the Cross of Islands, not far from the Fiords of Norway. "But the very same day in the afternoon, about 4 of the clock, so great a tempest arose and the seas were so outrageous," that the ships could not keep their intended course. And now "Master Hugh Willoughby, in his loudest voice, cried out to Richard Chanceler and begged him not to go far off; but he (Chanceler) neither would nor could keep company with him if he sailed still so fast—for the flagship was of better sail than his. But the said flagship, bearing all his sails, was carried away with so great force and swiftness, that not long after he was quite out of sight and the third ship also"—never to be seen again till the crews were found, frozen to death, by the Russians of Perm.†

The Fate of Sir Hugh Willoughby.

* The flagship *Bona Esperanza*, "Good Hope," under Willoughby, Chancellor's *Edward Bonaventure*, the largest ship of the fleet, of 160 tons, with 50 souls (against Willoughby's 35); and the *Bona Confidentia*, with 22 men; all victualled for 18 months, with 18 merchants on board.

† The fate of Sir Hugh Willoughby, one of our first martyrs of discovery, has an interest, if not in the history of successful, yet of gallantly unfortunate adventure and exploration. After he was separated from Chancellor, he drove about in the Arctic Seas from July 30th to September 18th, 1553, trying to make Wardhuus harbour, but trying in vain.

On September 18th he entered the mouth of the River Arzina, near Kola, in Lapland, and Willoughby's journal, preserved by Hakluyt, tells us he "remained there the space of a seven-night. Seeing the year far spent, and also very evil weather, as frost, snow, and hail, we thought it best to winter there.

"Wherefore, we sent out three men S.S.W. to search if they could find people, who went three days journey, but could find none. After that we

Chancellor's Voyage.

"Now Richard Chanceler, thus left alone, very pensive, heavy, and sorrowful by this dispersion of the fleet, shapeth his course for Wardhouse in Norway, there to abide the arrival of the rest. And, looking in vain for their coming, he determined at length to proceed alone, and, as he was preparing himself for that part, he fell in company and speech with certain Scottish men, who, wishing well to his actions, began earnestly to dissuade him from the further prosecution of the Discovery by amplifying the dangers which he was to fall into.

"But he, holding nothing so reproachful as inconstancy and levity of mind, was nothing at all changed with the speeches and words of the Scots—determining to bring that to pass which was intended or else to die the death."

Chancellor's crew were "of such content and agreement of mind with him, that they were prepared to make proofs and trial of all adventures"; and their captain, "swallowed up with like goodwill towards them, only feared lest, through any error of his, the safety of the company should be in danger."

So, "when they saw the hope of the arrival of the rest every day more and more frustrated, they provided to sea again, and Master Chanceler held on his course toward that unknown part of the world, and sailed so far that he came at last to the place where he found no night at all, but a continual light and brightness of the sun, shining clearly upon the huge and mighty sea. And having the benefit of this perpetual light for certain days, at length it pleased God to bring them into a certain great bay, which was of 100 miles or thereabouts over. Whereinto they entered, and somewhat far within it cast

The Rediscovery of Russia.

sent other three Westward four days journey, which also returned without seeing any people.

"Then sent we three men S.E. three days journey, who in like sort returned without finding of people or any similitude of habitation."

Some of the party were alive as late as January, 1554, in this Harbour of Death—for Gabriel Willoughby drew up and signed his will in that month.

In 1557 Stephen Burrough went in search of them, and heard certain news of the loss of the *Bona Confidentia*, but of Willoughby's flagship, the *Bona Speranza*, nothing more was known, till Anthony Jenkinson, early in 1558, claimed to have got equally certain news of Sir Hugh having perished with all his company. But, long before this, according to Purchas, the *Bona Speranza* was found in the spring of 1554, by some Russians, "but of the crew, no one alive

anchor, and, looking every way about them, espied a certain fisher boat." Chancellor hailed the crew and made up to them; "but they, being amazed at the strange greatness of his ship—for they had never seen the like before—began presently to avoid and flee." The English captain overtaking them, "they threw themselves before him, in great fear as men half dead, offering to kiss his feet; but he, according to his great and singular courtesy, looked pleasantly upon them, comforting them by signs and gestures, refusing those duties and reverencies of theirs and taking them up in all loving sort from the ground. And they spread, by-and-by, a report of the coming of a strange nation of a singular gentleness and courtesy, whereupon the people came together, offering victuals freely to those new-come guests and not refusing to traffic with them"—only awaiting their King's permission.

"Now, by this time our men had learned that this country was called Russia or Muscovy"—under a King John IV., better known as the Czar Ivan the Terrible. They were lying, of course, in the White Sea, off the province of Perm, near the site of the Archangel that was to be; and news was soon carried to Moscow of the Englishmen "sent into those coasts from the Most Excellent King Edward VI."

Ivan at once welcomed them to his Court, offered post-horses for the long overland journey, "and if by reason of its tediousness they thought it not best so to do, he granted liberty to bargain and to traffic" where they lay. But this gracious answer took some time in coming; the "Governors of the place" would not commit themselves without formal leave, and Chancellor, "held in this suspense with long and vain expectation, and thinking that of intention to delude him they posted the matter off so often," determined to follow up his daring voyage with as daring a ride across the Continent. Threatening the Muscovites to depart and go on his way, he "brought them to furnish him with all things necessary, and to conduct him by land to the presence of their King."

Journey to Moscow.

And so "Master Chanceler set out, with the use of certain sledges which in that country are very common—the people almost not knowing any other manner of carriage—because of the exceeding hardness of the ground.

"And having passed the greater part of their journey, they

met the sledgeman" coming from the Czar, "who by some mishap had lost his way and gone to the seaside near the country of the Tartars, thinking there to have found our ship." He gave Chancellor the Emperor's letter, "written in all courtesy and in the most loving manner that could be, wherein express commandment was given that post-horses should be gotten for him and the rest of his company without any money. Which thing was of all the Russians in the rest of the journey so willingly done, that they began to quarrel, yea and to fight also, in striving and contending which of them should put their post-horses to the sled"—so that after nearly 1,500 miles of this new kind of travelling, "Master Chanceler came at last to Moscow, the chief city."

So ends the story of the rediscovery of Russia—in a sense, the most important of all English voyages. For if Drake, Frobisher, Davis, Hudson, and Cook have made discoveries more famous than this of Richard Chancellor's, the first step in a movement must always have a place of its own; and in this venture we have the start of Greater England—not by a lucky chance, but by a deliberate plan of restoring some vigour to English commerce, and by a daring in action which deserved more than its first, its obvious success, as the results were far wider than a mere opening of trade with the then half-barbarous Russians. On reaching Moscow, Chancellor set to work to observe and describe. In his long journey "thro' Russia the White," he had noted its "many and great rivers, of which the chief is that they call in their own tongue Volga, and after this the Don and the Dnieper," "with the great lakes and pools of Muscovy, and the marsh ground in many places."

"Touching the Riphaean Mountains," however, "where the snow lieth continually, and the rest of the wonders which the Grecians feigned and invented of old, our men neither saw them, nor brought home any perfect relation of them." On the contrary, "the whole country is plain and champaign, and few hills in it: and towards the north very large and spacious woods, with great store of fir-trees." It was summer—June to September—when Chancellor spent his three months in Muscovy; so it was only from report he could tell of the "North parts of the country, so cold that the very water that distilleth out of the moist wood they lay upon the fire is presently congealed and frozen, so that in one and the self-

same firebrand a man shall see both fire and ice." Yet even in these summer months, "the mariners we left in the ship, in their going up only from their cabins to the hatches, had their breath oft-times so suddenly taken away that they eftsoons fell down as men very near dead."

The "large discourse that remaineth" in the Original Journals, of Moscow, of the Prince and his Court, and the manners of the people, is too "large" for the purpose of this summary.

But some instances of increased knowledge and enlarged interest in the outer world, thus thrown open, cannot be quite left out. "Our men say that Moscow in bigness is as great as the City of London." There are, it is admitted rather grudgingly, "many and great buildings in it; but for beauty and fairness, nothing like ours." In the same way, the "many towns and villages" of Russia are "built all out of order and with no handsomeness."

The Kremlin.

The first English description of the Kremlin is interesting in the history of Rediscovery. "There is, hard by the city of Moscow, a very fair castle, strong and furnished with artillery, whereunto the city is joined directly towards the north with a brick wall. The walls of the castle are eighteen feet thick it hath on one side a dry ditch, on the other the River Volga, and in it are nine chapels, not altogether unhandsome, used and kept by certain religious men, over whom is, after a sort, a patriarch, or governor, and other reverend fathers. The king's court is not of the neatest, for it is of low building, much surpassed and excelled by the houses of the kings of England. The windows, very narrowly built, some of them by glass, some other by lattices admit the light; whereas the palaces of our princes are decked with hangings of cloth of gold, there is none such there." Also the Russians "build and join benches to all their walls"—a great eye-sore to the Englishmen.

Reception by the Czar.

However, the Czar received Chancellor splendidly enough, the latter being not at all "dashed out of countenance"—and the rest of Hakluyt's account is mostly taken up with the ceremonies, manners, and religion of Ivan's court and kingdom. It was nearly one hundred years since Ivan III., in 1462, had freed a part of Russia from the Tartar slavery and

begun the new Eastern Empire, nine years after the old Byzantine tradition, by the storm of Constantinople in 1453, had fallen into the hands of the Turks. Of that older Roman or Greek Empire the new Muscovite dominion claimed to be the successor, and by 1500, after a desperate fight of forty years, its founder could make that claim with some show of power. Now, in 1553, when his grandson was "in his 20th year of reign and his 23rd of life," Russia was civilised enough to feel the meaning, or something of the meaning, of the Christianity and the society that Western Europe represented—that West whose pioneers had just found their way to Moscow. Ivan, who was deep in reforming the law of Church and State, in spreading Christian manners and morals among the people with the help of the priest Sylvester, welcomed the new opening of Western trade and influence to his merchants and his people. It was the all-important time for Russia, as it was for England. For the future of both countries very much depended on the use they would make of their meeting and its results—not merely the direct results of any traffic that might spring up between Moscow and London, but still more the indirect, wider, deeper results of the first quickening of national enterprise on both sides—the first movement of national expansion.

Ivan, as much as the English merchants, thought the "search of new trades and countries was a course and means to obtain greatness."

Russian Welcome to English Trade.

So now Chancellor returned to England with letters from the Czar to Edward VI., offering entertainment to Willoughby "when he shall arrive," and declaring that Russia was "willing that you send unto us ships and vessels. And if you send one of your Majesty's Council to treat with us, whereby your merchants may with all kinds of wares, and where they will, make their market, they shall have their free mart with all liberties through my whole dominions, to come and go at their pleasure."

The Opposition of the Hanse Merchants.

And this was all in the teeth of fierce opposition from the Hanse merchants, especially in Novgorod, "the chiefest mart in all Muscovy," where they had had a "house of merchandise," but had lost their privileges "by reason that they used the like ill-dealing there that they did with us." They

had slandered their English rivals vigorously enough, accusing them as pirates and rovers, and calling on the Czar to detain and imprison them. "But the Emperor, believing rather the king's letters that our men brought than the lying suggestions of the Flemings, used no ill treaty towards them."

Ivan's letters came, of course, to Queen Mary on Chancellor's return in '54, and to her the account was given "concerning the state of Muscovy," of its trade in hides and tallow, corn,* and wax, hemp and honey, sables and walrus ivory; of its trade-routes through Moscow, Novgorod, Vologda, and other marts; of the divisions of the kingdom, as far out on the north and east as the "Muscovites that are idolaters, dwelling near to Tartaria;" and, at greatest length of all, of their religion. For "they hold opinion that we are but half Christians, and themselves only to be the true and perfect Church; these are the childish dotages of such ignorant barbarians."

The Czar's letter of invitation and the success of Chancellor's venture kept up the English interest in the new trade of this new world. Thus, in 1554, John Hasse wrote a tract "of the coins, weights, and measures used in Russia," and in the next year all was ready for a second voyage to the White Sea; for, as the Flemings had just bought back their trading rights at Novgorod, the western entrance to Muscovy (by the Baltic) was more than ever closed to English seamen.

Chancellor's Second Voyage.

The *Edward Bonaventure* sailed again, under its old Grand Pilot, Richard Chancellor, on May 1, 1555, and on the 4th of October the trading party was in Moscow once more. While they stayed treating about the opening of a mart, a third expedition was preparing in the Thames, and in the year 1556 the first Ambassador from Russia was "honourably received into England," after a most stormy voyage. For the *Edward Bonaventure*, leaving the White Sea on July 20, 1556, and "traversing the seas four months," on November 10 "arrived within the Scottish coast in a bay called Pettisligo (Pitsligo) where, by outrageous tempest and extreme storms, the ship, beaten from her ground tackles," was driven upon the rocks on shore, where she broke and split in pieces: "in such sort that

* "Such store of corn that in conveying it towards Moscow, sometimes in forenoon a man shall see 700 to 800 sleds laden with it." People came 1,000 miles to Moscow to buy the corn.

the grand pilot (Chancellor), using all care for the Ambassador and his train, and taking the ship's boat to attain the shore and so to save and preserve the company—the same boat by rigorous waves of the seas was by dark night overwhelmed and drowned." Chancellor perished with the rest—seven Russians and the mariners of the ship—only the Ambassador was saved.

His Shipwreck.

With great difficulty he was got out of the hands of the Scotch wreckers and brought up to London, where the Queen received him on the last day of February, 1557. "He being accompanied by the merchants adventuring for Russia—140 persons—and conducted to London, where, by the way, he had the hunting of the fox and such like sport shown him, with knights, esquires, gentlemen, and yeomen up to 300 horses, was led to the north parts of the city, where, by four notable merchants, was presented to him a right fair and large gelding, richly trapped, with a foot cloth of Orient crimson velvet, enriched with gold laces, all furnished in most glorious fashion."

So the Muscovite Embassy was brought in by Smithfield Bars, received at Court in Westminster, and sent back to Russia with "four goodly and well-trimmed ships" on May 12, 1557.

Other Voyages to Russia.

Other voyages in the same direction had been in progress in 1556—such as the "Navigation and discovery towards the River of Obi, made by Stephen Burrough, Master of the pinnace called the *Serchethrift*," who passed the North Cape (which he claims to have named), Lapland, Nova Zembla, and the land of the "Samoids, very trustful and shrewd people," and only turned back within 15 leagues of the river Petchora*—and another voyage of the same Stephen Burrough, from Colmogro in Russia to Wardhuus in Norway (1557), to seek the ship that had been lost on the first venture of Chancellor and Willoughby (p. 220).

Besides these, we have Instructions to the Masters and Mariners on board the fleet, "passing this year (1557) towards the Bay of St. Nicholas in Russia," a letter of the Company of Merchant Adventurers unto their agent (1557), "sent in the ship *John Evangelist*," and three other letters from the

* The extreme N.E. river of Europe, just west of the Urals.

Company in London to their agents in Russia, or from one agent to another.

The northern travels of Anthony Jenkinson, like the results of the return of the Russ Ambassador to Moscow, fall mainly within the reign of Queen Elizabeth, though the starting-point of each is made before the death of Mary.

For Jenkinson journeyed to Muscovy from Gravesend in the same fleet with Ivan's envoy—May 12–July 12, 1557—and on April 23, 1558, he was ready to set out from Moscow for the City of Bokhara or Boghar in Bactria. Two days before Christmas he reached it—when Queen Mary had been dead a month.

But in the very beginning of the reign—in 1553—the same Anthony Jenkinson had been exploring the Turkish Empire, revisiting the Bible lands that had been fading from the knowledge of our countrymen since the Crusades, and going farther afield, on this side, than any Englishman had gone before. On November 4 he had witnessed "the manner of the entering of Soliman the great Turk, with his army, into Aleppo in Syria, marching into Persia against the Grand Sophie;" at the same time, he got his passport from the Padishah for all the ports, towns, and cities in his dominions.

Voyages to the Levant.

As to other parts of the globe, we have seen, in the reign of Edward VI., how English merchants and explorers began to visit the African coasts about 1550; their visits continued to be pretty frequent in the five years of the Catholic Reign (1553–8).

Voyages to Africa.

On August 12, 1553, sailed the "first fleet to Guinea and Benin;" on October 11, 1554, started a second expedition in the track of the first; in 1555–6, the famous Master William Towrson made his first two voyages to the Castle of La Mina, the great Portuguese fort on the Guinea coast—though the interest of all this is in trade rather than in any advance upon the unknown world.

But of western discovery and voyages to America under Queen Mary—even voyages in search of a north-west passage—there is an almost total cessation. While on the north and east every possible effort was being made to open up a new field of enterprise, scarcely anything is recorded to have been done by Englishmen in the track of John Cabot, where not a few Bristol and London

America Neglected.

merchants had tried their fortune, though without any marked success, in the first fifty years of the sixteenth century.

Thus it is only on one side, on the north-east, and by the enterprise of one man—Richard Chancellor—that any notable success is gained by our national discoverers under Mary. All other ventures are either successful as following in his steps, or disastrous as new attempts to get right on, round the north of Asia, to Cathay; or unimportant and uninteresting as futile efforts to break into the *mare clausum* of Spanish Trade in west and south. The story of our exploration in these five years is the story of the voyage of one Grand Pilot.

J. BASS MULLINGER. The Educational Reaction.

It is not very easy to trace out the course of events whereby it came to pass that the bright promise foreshadowed by Erasmus (*cf.* p. 88) altogether disappeared soon after the accession of Edward. But it is clear that the work of spoliation which the strong will of Henry had held in check, was openly sanctioned by the personal example of Somerset. His own palace in the Strand rose on the site of former Church property; St. Stephen's Chapel became the Parliament House, and the College of St. Martin-le-Grand was converted into a tavern. Ecclesiastical preferments, by an abuse which recalls the unscrupulousness of mediæval despots, were frequently bestowed on illiterate laymen; while the bishops themselves, in order to retain some portion of their endowments, were fain to surrender a large proportion of them to the despoiler. In cases where the monastic endowments partly consisted, as was frequently the case, of church livings, the new lay patrons often allowed the cure to go unbestowed, or appointed some altogether inefficient priest at a miserable stipend. "To consider," cried Latimer, "what hath been plucked from abbeys, colleges, and chantries, it is marvel no more to be bestowed on this holy office of salvation!"

In justice to the young king it must, however, be observed that, so far as his personal influence extended, he did his best to restrain this wholesale diversion of religious endowments to secular purposes, although with very imperfect success. Thomas Lever, the master of St. John's College, when preaching in 1580 at St. Paul's Cross, openly reproached the courtiers

for the way in which they systematically frustrated the royal designs. "The king," he said, "is so disappointed that both the poor be spoiled, all maintenance of learning decayed, and you only enriched. For before that you did beginne to be the disposers of the king's liberality towards learning and poverty, there was in houses belonging unto the university of Cambridge two hundred students of divinity, many very well learned; which be now all clene gone, house and manne, young toward scholars, and old fatherly doctors, not one of them left." It was but a very imperfect compensation for this wholesale spoliation that both the universities were at this time exempted from the payment of tithes and first-fruits.

King Edward VI.'s Grammar Schools.

In another direction the royal designs were more successful, partly, it would seem, owing to the co-operation afforded by the now fast-growing middle classes. Upwards of thirty grammar schools founded at this time have permanently associated the reign of Edward VI. with the cause of popular education. Some of these schools owed their origin to the royal initiative, but not a few to the petition of the burgesses of some town, or that of the residents in the neighbourhood of some suppressed monastery, who thought, not unreasonably, that the funds thus placed at the royal disposal might more appropriately be applied to the endowment of a school than to increase the wealth of some landed magnate. In the preamble to the letters patent for the foundation of the free grammar school in Louth, given in 1552, the royal sympathy with the movement is expressed in glowing terms. Edward declares that he has "always coveted, with a most exceeding vehement and ardent desire, that good literature and discipline might be diffused and propagated through all parts of the kingdom, as *wherein the best government and administration of affairs consists.*" "The liberal instruction of youth" is described as "being, as it were, the foundation and growth of our Commonwealth." Among existing foundations, there were now established the Free Grammar Schools at St. Alban's, Bath, Bedford, Birmingham, Bradford, Buckingham, Chelmsford, Chipping Norton, Christ's Hospital in London, Crediton, St. Edmund's, Giggleswick, Grantham, Kingston-upon-Thames, Bromsgrove, Lichfield, Ludlow, Pontefract, Sherborne, Shrewsbury, Southampton, Stourbridge, Tunbridge, and others. They are generally

described as *free*, and designed mainly for the instruction of the scholars in the Latin language. It must, however, be noted that a large proportion were, in the first instance, very slenderly endowed, and could educate but a small number. That at Bath, for example, was limited to "ten poor boys" and "ten poor persons," thus partaking of the character of a "hospital." It would seem that they only very partially supplied the place of the schools which had been swept away along with the monasteries, for in the year 1562 we find Williams, the Speaker of the House of Commons, in an address to the Queen, referring to "the want of schools: that at least a hundred were wanting in England which before that time had been"—an allusion which we may safely assume, with Strype, had reference to the schools of the monasteries.

R. HUGHES. Architecture and Art, 1509-1558.

"UNDER the Tudors," says Mr. Ferguson in an often-quoted passage, "the Gothic style went out in a blaze of glory." But it is not possible to point exactly to the moment either of final splendour or of final extinction, though both, in a sense, coincide with the completion of the Royal Chapels at Windsor and Westminster, and Cambridge. The necessity of preserving something like continuity of story has obliged us already to treat of these buildings (Vol. II., p. 362), and of the vaulting, which is their distinguishing characteristic, as, in fact, the latest members of a series, which commences with the Cloister Vaults of Gloucester, finished as early as 1412, and the slightly later retro-choir in Peterborough. Nevertheless, the greater part of the actual work in the chapels was not carried out till the reign of Henry VIII. Thus Windsor, the earliest in foundation (1475), was not finished till 1521, and the fan vaults of the crossing were added later still. King's College Chapel at Cambridge was begun slightly later than Windsor, but more quickly completed, although the finishing touches were not given to it till 1532. Henry VII.'s Chapel at Westminster equally belongs to the two reigns, having been erected in the fourteen years which ended in 1515. Magdalen Tower at Oxford was, it is true, wholly built in Henry VII.'s reign, but the beautiful steeple of Louth, in Lincoln, and the central

Ecclesiastical Architecture.

tower of Canterbury, were not finished till 1515 and 1517. The Savoy Chapel, too, was begun under Henry VII., though it was largely altered by Queen Elizabeth. Even in the last year of Henry VIII. some real Gothic work was done, and in places where the surroundings made for the survival of a good Gothic tradition, the continuation of the style remained slight down to a still later period.

The End of Gothic.

It has been said that Wolsey was "the last professor of Gothic," and if we take his work at Hampton Court and the noble hall at Christchurch, Oxford (the superb staircase is a century later), we shall see the justification for the title. In his work the form is Gothic, however frequently we may come across Italian details. The *coup de grâce* was dealt, of course, by the Reformation, which put an end, for a time at least, to all need of church building. But for the Reformation, the Renaissance architecture might have had a more fortunate development; but, in truth, the spirit of Protestantism was not instinct with any poetry, and so far the New Religion was not unsuited to the new architecture.

It is difficult to assay, with anything like accuracy, the various ingredients that contribute to the healthy and natural development of a style; but certainly the Renaissance architecture, popular as it became, never seems to have taken any deep root in England. One looks in vain to find any great English ecclesiastical building in the sixteenth century which can properly be said to belong to it, and the style which grew out of it, that singular mixture of Gothic and Italian which goes by the name of Elizabethan, is only occasionally present in additions to churches. It is hardly too much to say that no church, with the slightest pretension to original artistic design, was erected between the Reformation and 1631.

Secular Architecture.

It is far otherwise as regards lay buildings, though, of necessity, lay architecture was chiefly occupied with utilitarian progress. Spacious rooms, well-lighted galleries, comfortable chambers—in a word, good accommodation was what was sought after, and in this good progress was made, if the higher qualities were somewhat neglected. We have seen how in the reign of Henry VII., and indeed earlier, the castle, as such, had practically disappeared. Wide windows were everywhere perforated

through the side walls, the oriel had displaced the loophole, and nothing of the castle was retained except the ornamental features. The king's avarice, however, stood in the way of any great enterprise in lay architecture, and almost the only work of the character, undertaken by him, was the rebuilding of the palace at Sheen, necessitated by its total destruction by fire in 1500. It was in the so-called Burgundian style, borrowed, it is suggested, from the great palace at Dijon, built, or at least commenced, by Philip le Bon, the father of Charles le Téméraire. The connection by marriage between Edward IV. and the last-named prince, and the fame and splendour of his court, where noble strangers were always welcome, had, if not exactly promoted emulation between the magnates of England and Burgundy, at least familiarised Englishmen with a certain kind of palatial splendour. At the same time we may dismiss the idea of there having been much conscious imitation by the English architects.

The second Tudor king was of a temper very different from that of his father. A quaint writer of a little later date describes him as "the onlie Phœnix of his time for fine and curious masonrie." He built the palaces of Bridewell, St. James's, and Beaulieu, and made extensive and decorative additions to Windsor, Whitehall, and Hunsdon. The king's sumptuousness was imitated by the profusion of his courtiers. Wolsey, besides his palace at Hampton and his colleges at Oxford and Ipswich, rebuilt more than one of the episcopal residences. The heads of the ducal houses of Norfolk and Buckingham were not far behind Wolsey in emulating their sovereign's splendour, and were not more fortunate in living to enjoy them. In an earlier part of this volume we have described, from a contemporary record, the actual form and contents of a fortified manor-house of the thirteenth century. In a curious treatise printed in 1547, entitled "A dyetorie or regiment of health," by one Boorde, a physician, we have a contemporary description of a typical sixteenth-century mansion:

Boorde.

"Make the hall of such fashion," he says, "that the parlour be annexed to the head of the hall; and the buttrye and pantrye at the lower ende thereof. The cellar under the pantrye sett somewhat at a base, the kechyn sett somewhat at base from the buttrye and pantrye, coming with an entrie within by the wall of the buttrye; the pastrie house and

the larder annexed to the kechyn. Then divide the loggynges by the circuit of the quadrinal courte, and let the gate house be opposite or against the hall doore, not directly, but the hall doore standing abase of the gate house, in the middle of the front enteringe of the place. Let the prevye chamber be annexed to the great chamber of estate, with other chambers necessary for the buildinge, so that many of the chambers may have a prospecte into the chapell."

It is a little confused, but the picture is sufficient to show how complete was the departure from the ideas of the early builder. The change had in most material respects, as far as internal arrangements went, been more or less complete in the time of the later Plantagenets. But now, so to speak, the mask was thrown off. Almost alone of castellated features the flanking towers at the angles were retained; but they were retained for ornament merely, or for the utilitarian purpose of carrying staircases. These hexagonal towers, with the masses of lofty and richly ornamented chimneys on the roofs, give a highly characteristic and special character to the earlier Tudor domestic architecture.

Cinque-Cento Painted Glass.

In the work of the sixteenth century, the so-called Cinque-cento, the idea of making painted glass a part of the decoration of a Gothic cathedral having a due relation to the scheme of the architect may be said to have passed away. The stained glass window of this period is simply a picture painted on glass, and itself framed or mounted in glass; and except in a few trees of Jesse and like cases, the frame and the mount were kept perfectly distinct. Amongst the works of this period—the first half of the sixteenth century—are no doubt the most elaborate glass pictures that have been produced. Only a small number of those that survive can, however, be attributed safely to English artists, the greater part having, like the famous windows in the Choir of Lichfield, been imported from Flanders. Generally speaking, the colour of the glass work during the reigns of the first four Tudor princes is softer and more agreeable to the eye than that of the earlier period, though never equalling in depth that of the earliest mosaic.

Painting.

It is probable that a few Englishmen picked up some of the Flemings' skill, even in the reign of Henry VII. We know, at least, the name of one—John Crust, who early in Henry VIII.'s reign received

various payments from the exchequer, and to whom a rather famous processional picture is attributed. This is the meeting of Henry and Francis at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, which took place in May, 1520. It was painted soon after that event, and we may take it that it would not have been entrusted to an artist whose reputation was not fully established. From the English or foreign pupils of the Flemings came, no doubt, the portrait of Dean Colet, the founder of St. Paul's School, and quite a number of portraits of the new magnates of the Tudor dynasty. If but little was done under Henry VII., the ground was broken, ready to receive the seed from the first sower. The tradition of an English royal patronage of art was established, and as we find it recorded that in the second year of Henry VIII., one John Browne was appointed sergeant painter, it is probable that the office was not newly created. At the death of Browne, Andrew Wright was appointed sergeant painter. Besides these official personages, a Vincent Volpe received a salary from Henry VIII. of £20 a year as painter to the king. Lucas Horembout, or Hornebaud, of Ghent, seems to have been the first foreign artist who appeared at Henry VIII.'s court. His brother Gerard, and his sister Susanna, also settled in England. We should know comparatively little of these personages and of the other artists here mentioned, but for the jealous system which required foreigners to take out letters of denization to enable them to obtain the benefit of the English law. Most of them availed themselves of the privilege, and many obtained grants of arms; some left wills disposing of considerable property.

"The Field of the Cloth of Gold," by John Crust.

Court Painters under Henry VIII.

It is unfortunate that we cannot more accurately identify the works of the different individuals. This is markedly the case with regard to Lucas Horembout, who yet must have been a person of distinction, for he received an exceedingly high salary, higher indeed than that of any contemporary artist. The same is true of the works of Susanna, said to have been an accomplished miniaturist. As regards Gerard, who worked apparently for more than thirty years in England, he undoubtedly painted many of the inferior portraits to which the great name of Holbein has been attached. The

latest portraits of the king, executed after Holbein's death in 1543, are probably by this painter. They display inferior draughtsmanship, but great character. The Warwick Castle picture of Henry VIII. possesses, indeed, very high qualities, and what Dr. Waagen calls "brutal egotism, obstinacy, harshness, and the suspicious wakefulness of a wild beast," are finely brought out in the features of the old king. Besides these, Henry VIII. subsidised Toto della Nunziata, who was both painter and architect, and Bartolomew Penni, a Florentine. Alice Carmillion and Katharine Maynon, chiefly known as miniaturists, were also favoured by Henry, and the staff was increased under Edward VI. by the addition of Levina Terling of Bruges. Gerbut Flick and Johannes Corvus are names found on a few pictures belonging to the reign. The list of artists who received English patronage under Henry VIII. is so long as to be tedious, but among those not to be omitted is the name of Girolamo da Trevigi, painter, son and pupil of Pier Maria Pennacchi, who is probably represented by the portrait of the founder of Gresham College, and that of Nicola da Modena, sculptor, possibly the author of a statuette of Henry VIII. of great delicacy, and of a medallion at Hampton Court, given without authority to Torregiano.

The Plastic Arts.

That great artist had, as we have mentioned, entered into a contract with Henry VII. for the erection of his tomb in Westminster Abbey. But the work of Master Peter Torrysany, as the English records name him, both as we know it in the royal tomb or the tomb of the Lady Margaret, or the terra-cotta of Dr. Young in the Rolls Chapel, was thoroughly exotic. Probably this was true of the productions of Benedetto Rovezzani and of Bernardi of Amsterdam, who were employed under Henry VIII., though most of their English work has perished, or has ceased to be identifiable. But neither Florentine nor Dutchman seems to have been a vivifying influence in England. Yet all these names, whether of painter or sculptor, are overshadowed by the greater glory of Hans Holbein the younger, an artist whose executive talent has hardly been excelled in any age or country. He was born at Augsburg in 1495, settled in Basle in 1516, and came to

Holbein.

England in 1526. He brought with him a letter of introduction from Erasmus to the Chancellor, Sir Thomas More, who took him into his house at Chelsea, and introduced him to the king and the court. This was in fulfilment of a promise made to Erasmus by a letter dated the 18th December in the previous year, in which he thus comments on some sample of the painter's work sent him by Erasmus: "Pictor tuus, Erasme charissime, mirus est artifex, sed vereor ne non sensurus sit Angliam tam fœcundam et fertilem quam sperarat. Quanquam ne reperiat omnino sterilem, quoad per me fieri potest, efficiam." More's diffidence was, however, little justified by the event. Holbein quickly became a favourite, and both before and after his patron's death his pencil was never idle. With the exception of three visits to Basle in the years 1528-9, 1532, and 1538, possibly having some connection with the retention of his pension of fifty florins a year paid to him as painter to the town, the rest of the life of Holbein was spent in London. He had a house and fee in the "Parisshe of Saint Andrewe Undershafte," and there he died of the plague in 1543. Although he did not enter the king's service for some three years after his arrival in England, More's introductions had, before that time, secured him a considerable clientèle among noble and distinguished persons, such as Archbishop Warham, Sir Henry Guildford, Sir Bryan Tuke, and Thomas Linacre. At the same time he painted the chancellor and Margaret Roper, whose likenesses were despatched as a present to Erasmus, possibly by the hand of the painter himself. His industry was indeed astonishing, and as his superiority to all his northern contemporaries became rapidly known, opportunities for its exercise were never wanting. It has been said that no eminent man or woman of the period in England escaped his pencil. But though this is true, Holbein found time to paint an astonishing series of portraits of obscurities, including among these such works as the portrait of "Reskymeer of Cornwall," and that most faultless work, the portrait of Morett, Henry VIII.'s jeweller, now at Dresden. As court painter to Henry he was commissioned to paint the likeness of Anne of Cleves, and, for this once, he seems to have departed from his uncompromising and prosaic truthfulness. At any rate, the king found the original so much worse than

the picture, that he made the marriage scheme (it must be allowed that he had long been spoiling for the quarrel) a pretext for breaking with the able but unpopular minister who had advised it (p. 25). Holbein's portrait of another lady wooed but not won, the Duke of Norfolk's Duchess of Milan, shows a similar disposition to abate some of his rough honesty of statement. The series of Windsor drawings, mostly in red and coloured chalk, belonging to the English Crown, shows Holbein in his most attractive mood as a portrait painter, and gives a higher idea of the talent of the man than his most finished works in oil. He was, however, far from being a portrait-painter only. Not only is the fact contradicted by the existence of the famous Darmstadt masterpiece, the "Meyer" Holy Family, but by the fine group of the Barber-Surgeons' Company, which is not unworthy to rank with the Regent and Doelen pieces of Holland. Holbein is the highest representative of the simple exact imitative school of portraiture, in which the resemblance of feature, not of character, is sought first and last. Great as Holbein was, it is probable that Henry endeavoured to entice to his court still greater men, and was anxious to secure the services of Rafaelle and Titian. There is some evidence that Rafaelle executed at least one work for the English king—the St. George now hung in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg.

Guillim Streter.

What Holbein certainly was to the reign of Henry, Guillim Streter probably was to that of his son. He painted numerous pictures of the young king and of various notables living during his short reign, and in the last years of that of his father. In manner (if identification is possible) he is like a weak Holbein, and without the rough vigour that is to be found in some of the portraits attributed to Gerard and Lucas Horembout. A better artist was Joost van Cleef, but it is not clear when he arrived in England. As a draughtsman he was almost the equal of Holbein, and possessed more breadth of touch. Queen Mary's reign is interesting in the history of art for the arrival on the scene of a painter variously called Antonis Mor, Antonio Moro, and Sir Antonio More. Born in Utrecht, he had studied long in Italy, and was perhaps the most talented of all the Italianising Flemings of the

Antonio Moro.

century. He is supposed, though without much evidence, to have endeavoured to model himself on Holbein. He was the first fashionable painter who early commanded large prices for his work. He probably came to England charged with the task of painting Queen Mary for Philip, and this task he at any rate executed so satisfactorily that his patrons "gave him one hundred pounds, a gold chain, and a pension of four hundred pounds a year as painter to their majesties." His works are dignified, courtly, generally sombre in colour, and rather lacking in animation. A very beautiful example is a portrait of Sir Thomas Gresham in the National Portrait Gallery. This must have been one of the last works he executed in England, for on Queen Mary's death he quitted England, and having given offence at the Court of Madrid, he retired to Flanders, where he found a munificent patron in the Duke of Alva. When and where he was knighted is unknown.

The survivors of the artists who flourished under Henry VIII. of course continued their work under his son and elder daughter, and as they dropped off were replaced by younger men. Various Williams and Hanses and Johns are thus met with, most of them apparently of foreign origin, though Nicholas Sergeant, painter to Queen Mary, may possibly have been an Englishman.

The Coins of Henry VIII.

The second Tudor king added a double sovereign to the gold coinage, a half-sovereign, a George noble, with a St. George on horseback attacking the dragon, and a crown and half-crown. These last derived their names from the crowns with which they were figured, and from the absence of the head which usually wore it. Similar coins in silver were also issued by Henry, which, however, bear his effigy.

Coins of Edward VI. and of Mary.

As the second Tudor prince added a double sovereign to the coinage, so the third added a treble sovereign, and also a sixpence and a threepence. The older coins were also issued, though the noble seems to have been falling into disuse. Under his sister and successor there were no novelties, unless certain two-penny pieces may be so regarded. Queen Mary's most remarkable coins are those issued after her marriage with Philip, with profile busts of the king and queen, face to face which

excited some amusement, and the peculiar appearance of which is hit off in the description of the pair of lovers in Butler's "Hudibras":—

> "Still amorous and fond and billing,
> Like Philip and Mary on a shilling."

Unfortunately, the artistic history of the coinage during the Tudor period is of less importance than that discreditable story of the successive debasements of its value which belongs to another section of the chapter (*cf.* pp. 242, 244). It may be said, however, that slight attempts at reform were made both at the beginning and at the end of the reign of Edward VI.

THE reign of Henry VIII. has been characterised as forming the climax in the development of the movement for converting arable to pasture, which we have been following so long; and probably at no time during the 150 years in which the change was being effected was the mania for sheep quite so great as just after the dissolution of the monasteries and in the years preceding the king's death. It cannot, however, be said that in the reigns of his children the movement at first showed much sign of abating. On the contrary, all through the lives of Edward and Mary, and well on into the reign of Elizabeth, we find the outcry against enclosing as bitter as ever; and in fact it was hardly till the opening of the seventeenth century that the over-production of sheep and wool began to have its natural effect, and once more made their value sink to little, if anything, above that of the wheat which had so long been inferior to them as a commercial investment (p. 534).

W. J. CORBETT. Agriculture.

The continued growth of Sheep-Farming.

In the opening years of Edward's reign, therefore, there was plenty of work for the Government to do in trying to appease the rural discontent; for the unemployed, who were now without any monastic charities to aid them, were daily becoming more wretched and more dependent on begging for a livelihood. Nor did they suffer in silence, for many of them took to rioting and

Rural Discontent.

breaking down parks and fences, while others tramped up to London to see whether any justice was to be obtained. None, of course, was to be had, and so finally revolts were attempted. In the West the pretext was more the religious grievances, but in the East, in Norfolk, the outbreak under Ket was all through ostensibly conducted, not so much against the Government, as against the landlords, and the chief demands that the people put forward were connected with the use the gentlemen made of their estates. Thus, for example, it was proposed that for the future the gentlemen should have no rights at all in the commons, and should be restricted in the amount of the fine they should be entitled to take when renewing their grants to their tenants; for it was only by demanding excessive fines that they had in many instances been enabled to get the land out of the hands of their reluctant tenants. Similarly the rebels demanded that all bondmen should be emancipated, and one of the great features of the rebellion was the capturing of all the gentlemen that could be laid hold of, and their trial and sentence at the so-called Oak of Reformation for the wrongs they had done to their villagers. This was the greatest effort to protest against enclosing that the people ever made, but, like the royal legislation, it came to nothing; for the Government, though sympathising, were bound to put it down, the landowners, when the matter came to blows, having the law entirely on their side. Somerset did what he could by pardoning many of the ringleaders, and at a later time the Government itself passed another Act for enforcing the pulling down of enclosures; but the larger fines it imposed (five shillings an acre per annum for non-compliance) hardly acted as a greater deterrent than its predecessors.

Ket's Rebellion.

The Concessions of the Government.

Outside the history of the enclosing at this time there is very little that calls for attention. The cultivation of hemp and flax, and the development of the hop industry which was just beginning, may be noticed; but in most districts which were untouched by sheep-farming, no changes at all seem to have been introduced, and they remained exactly as they were, with their system of cultivation in large open fields, for almost

The state of Agriculture.

another two centuries, when a new wave of enclosing finally swept the old method entirely away.

In the reigns of Edward VI. and Mary the condition of the English people was wretched in the extreme. The causes of this great misery have been partly indicated in previous sections. The Reformation movement, and the subsequent reaction from it, had produced much disorder, with rioting and rebellion almost amounting to civil war. The dissolution of the monasteries is said to have involved a transfer of one-third of the national wealth. Such a transfer could scarcely fail to be at least temporarily disastrous. It involved extensive changes in the character of the demand for labour, and thus reduced to the ranks of the unskilled those whose skill was no longer in demand; even if it did not compel them to swell the numbers of the unemployed. Many of those unemployed naturally became vagrants; and the transition of a large proportion of these to the criminal class was so natural as to be almost inevitable. The Agrarian Revolution, and the extensive enclosure of the common lands, which were contemporaneous with the religious changes, greatly aggravated these evils. Only a few shepherds were now needed on land which had formerly employed many agriculturists, and the loss of common rights removed what would have been a check on vagrancy, by destroying one of the forces that tended to keep men in their own localities.

J. E. SYMES. Social Misery.

The incompetency and extravagance of the Government aggravated the national misery. The expenses of Henry's Court were four times as great in the last six months of his reign as they had been at the beginning. This was no doubt largely due to the rise in prices; but we shall see that this rise was caused, in no small measure, by the policy of the Government. The Royal Debt was also a heavy burden, the rate of interest charged by the Flemish Jews being seldom less than twelve per cent. The death of Henry only increased the number of those whose extravagance had to be paid for by the nation.

Extravagance of the Government.

The leading members of Edward VI.'s Council, though differing on many points, agreed in regarding their trust as an opportunity for enriching themselves. Their conduct was even more inexcusable than that of Henry himself, for they could see, on every side, the terrible results of the rapacity and extravagance of the late King's Government.

Debasement of the Currency.

The chief cause, however, of the depression of trade and industry during the reigns of Edward VI. and Mary was probably the continued debasement of the currency. Henry VIII. no doubt issued more base money than his successors, but Henry's debasements were mostly in the latter years of his reign, and did not produce their full consequences till it was almost ended. Edward's Council was equally greedy and unscrupulous. Its members talked of reforming the currency, but their acts belied their words. They issued even baser coins than those of the previous reign.

The Debasement in Quantity.

Edward's coins were debased in two ways: namely, in quantity and in quality. Henry had issued silver pennies weighing only ten grains (Troy). Edward's advisers reduced their pennies by two grains more. This debasement was, no doubt, only in accordance with earlier precedents. The pennies of 1346 weighed twenty grains; those of 1351 and 1464 weighed eighteen and twelve grains respectively. But these earlier debasements took place in ages when there was a general downward tendency of prices. They exercised a steadying effect, and were even, in some respects, beneficial, tending to mitigate the hardships produced by falling prices. On the other hand, the Tudor debasements came in a period of rising prices, and they aggravated all the evils of such a period.

The Debasement in Quality.

But the diminished weight of the Tudor coins was a less serious matter than their diminished purity. At the accession of Henry VIII. the alloy amounted to only three-fortieths of the silver. Henry had gradually increased the proportion of alloy till it amounted in some cases to two-thirds of the coin. Under Edward VI. (1551) coins were issued of which three-fourths consisted of alloy.

These successive debasements naturally threw prices and wages into confusion. It was not only that the purchasing-power of the coins was diminished. No one knew how far the rapacious dishonesty of the Council might carry them, or what the intrinsic value of the next coins would be. The better coins were, to a great extent, driven out of circulation. They were melted down, or exported, or hoarded, and there was the widest diversity in the weight and quality of those actually in circulation.

Disorganisation of Prices and Wages.

The evil was further aggravated by the temptations which a debased currency offered to false coiners. A large profit could now be made by issuing coins which, both in weight and purity, came up to the Government standard. There were naturally plenty of persons ready to take advantage of this opportunity. The Controller of the Mint at Bristol set the example, buying up church plate, melting it down, and throwing the metal contained in it upon the country in the shape of bad shillings. Others followed the example; and soon mints were set up in France, Flanders, and other parts of Europe to supply the English market with base coins. These, of course, helped to push prices still higher, and to swell the general misery.

False Coining.

The Government had temporarily gained by issuing debased coins. But, in the long run, its financial difficulties were considerably aggravated by the fact that it now had to pay more highly for everything that it needed. It had rewarded the services of its adherents by allowing them to reap the profits of successive coinages. In this way alone £150,000 worth of base silver money was brought into circulation (1549). It seemed a cheap way of discharging obligations, but the consequent rise and disorganisation of prices struck a heavy blow at the growth of English manufactures, and added greatly to the number of the unemployed. Edward's Government was driven almost to despair by the necessity of paying, in sterling silver, fourteen or fifteen per cent. interest on its debts to foreign creditors, with an additional twelve per cent. on the exchange, and it can scarcely have failed to see the connection between its own currency policy and its financial embarrassments. By constant robbery, especially of the

Effects on the Finances.

property of churches and gilds, it managed to pay its way; but by the close of the reign there was little more to be obtained by such means, even if the next sovereign had been willing to profit by plundering ecclesiastical bodies.

Industry under Mary.

The reign of Mary (1553–1558) contains little of importance in industrial history. It gives us five years of continued national misery, though it is difficult to say whether the misery was increasing. Mary's crimes were in the regions of foreign and ecclesiastical policy. In industrial matters, the worst charge that can be brought against her is that of impotence and inaction in a grave political crisis. She committed no such acts of spoliation and shortsighted greed as her immediate predecessors, and the currency in particular she left almost as she found it. But, on the other hand, Mary made no serious or sustained effort to relieve the ills from which the country was suffering. Like most other sovereigns, she began her reign with good intentions. The expenses of the household were to be reduced. The corruption of officials was to be suppressed. Order, economy, and justice were to be introduced into the Administration. The task, however, was one which would have required the undivided energies of an able statesman, and was altogether beyond the powers of a woman whose chief anxiety was for the supremacy of her own theological and ecclesiastical views. To her passion for orthodoxy Mary soon added a passion for Philip of Spain which involved her in uncongenial lavishness and ultimately in a war with France. The naval and military forces had been allowed in the previous reign to fall into a state of inefficiency, from which Mary had done little to raise them. The war was at once unsuccessful and expensive. The Queen's financial advisers invented a new device for obtaining money, which was destined to have an important influence on our later history. At their instigation, Mary levied, without the consent of Parliament, a duty upon cloths exported beyond the seas (1557), and afterwards an import duty on French wines. Our trade was so depressed that these duties did not add much to the burdens of the nation; but the fact that the Queen's promises of economy ended in the imposing of fresh and hardly constitutional taxes may illustrate her incompetency for the task laid upon her. The circumstances demanded

Peace, Retrenchment, and Reform. In lieu of these she gave England religious persecution, a foreign war, and an industrial inaction. The currency continued unreformed; the treasury remained empty; trade, agriculture, and manufactures languished; and the problems of pauperism, vagrancy, and the unemployed became increasingly urgent. It will, therefore, be convenient at this point to sketch the growth of the Tudor system of dealing with these difficulties.

W. A. S. HEWINS. Pauperism and Poor Laws.

Successive changes in industry and commerce have swept away almost all traces of the economic system of which the old poor law formed a part. That law is still, in many of its features, the basis of the modern system of poor relief. But the forces which shaped it have ceased to operate, and the point of view of the men who framed it is strange to people living in the nineteenth century. In this and a subsequent chapter we shall trace the movement which culminated in the famous poor law of Elizabeth, and the broad outlines of the system then established. We shall see what were the so-called rights of the poor which that law secured, and how it was administered during an important period of English economic history.

At the commencement of the sixteenth century the relief of the poor was not recognised as a civil duty or as the business of government. If the statutes of the realm and the by-laws of municipalities had secured the object with which they were framed, every man able and willing to work would have had his place in society, though that place might not have been one he would have chosen if left to himself, nor the wages equal to his own estimate of his deserts. The "problem of poverty," therefore, was then essentially different from that of modern times. The statesmen of that time had not to deal with a class of poor whose ranks were constantly recruited by those who had fallen or who were too weak to rise in the struggle for existence. Theoretically there was no place for such failures in the social system, and if we may judge from the early statutes relating to vagabonds and the poor, there was not much belief in the existence of able-bodied men and women who were willing to work but forced to beg.

It was generally recognised, however, that there were two large classes who might be the recipients of charity. War, shipwreck, disease, and similar causes produced a large crop of impotent poor, who in no circumstances could be expected to work. There were besides, the sturdy beggars, the vagabonds, the idle rogues of society. For the first class sixteenth-century opinion suggested Christian charity; for the second, repression.

Early Statutes.

The outlines of a system of poor relief had been sketched in the reign of Richard II. in a series of statutes* dealing with vagabonds, the impotent poor, and other subjects. We have there the elements of local responsibility and settlement, some attempt at maintenance, and punishment of able-bodied beggars—elements very conspicuous in the later statutes. At the end of the fifteenth century the severe treatment which the vagabonds received was not found to lead to satisfactory results. Henry VII.'s first Vagrant Act† complained of the "extreme rigour" of the earlier statutes, and the "great charges" of the "long-abiding" of the vagabonds in the gaols, "whereby by likelehede many of theym should lose their lives." So, combining the principles of economy and humanity, the penalty for begging was reduced to three days and three nights in the stocks for the first offence, and six days and six nights for the second. Eight years later‡ still milder provisions were substituted—one day and one night in the stocks for the first offence, and three days and three nights for the second, with a bread-and-water diet during the time of confinement. Clerks of the universities, soldiers, shipmen, and travelling men were to be punished in the same way unless they carried proper certificates. The impotent poor were to go to the place of their birth, or where they had last resided for three years, upon pain of being punished as vagabonds.

The Poor Law of Henry VIII.

Such was the state of the law at the accession of Henry VIII. During the first twenty-two years of his reign the Government contented itself with suppressing mummers and gipsies, and aiming indirectly at the diminution of poverty by regulating

* 12 Richard II., cc. 3, 7, 8, 9; 15 Richard II., c. 6, &c.
† 11 Henry VII., c. 2. ‡ 19 Henry VII., c. 12.

industry, by sumptuary laws and similar means.* But in 1530-1 we have an elaborate Act of Parliament which, with a supplementary Act passed in 1536,† sketched out so complete a system of poor relief that some writers appear to think it unnecessary to describe in detail the later legislation of the sixteenth century. It is important to bear in mind the circumstances in which the Act of 1530-31 was passed, the objects with which it was framed, and the class of people it was meant to reach. The evil which alarmed the Government was the increase, not of impotent poor, but of the class of vagabonds and idle rogues, whose "great and excessyve nombres" came "by the occasyon of ydlenes, mother and rote of all vyces." They were the perpetrators of "contynuall theftes, murders, and other haynous offences, which displeased God, damaged the king's subjects, and disturbed the common weal of the realm." The "goode lawes, streyte statutes and ordenances" of the king and his progenitors, which had been framed for the "most necessary and due reformacion" of this class, had failed in their object. The clauses of the Act directing the local authorities how to deal with the aged and impotent poor were obviously drawn up to facilitate the detection of vagabonds in order that they might receive the severe punishment meted out to them in the statute. If this interpretation of the statute be correct, we can more easily understand the nature of the problem which the Government had to solve. We may, of course, reject the explanation of the evil considered satisfactory at the time—viz., idleness—and, burning with righteous indignation against the landowners of the period, denounce the Government for its cruel treatment of the oppressed poor, driven from their homes by wrongful enclosures. Modern opinion on the effect of the enclosures has, perhaps, been unduly influenced by the account given in More's "Utopia," which was published in 1516. But that work, remarkable as it is as a criticism of society at the period, is of no *statistical* value or importance: and on a subject of

* *E.g.* 1 Henry VIII., c. 14; 3 Henry VIII., c. 9; 4 Henry VIII., c. 5; 6 Henry VIII., c. 3; 7 Henry VIII., cc. 5, 6.

† 22 Henry VIII., c. 12, and 27 Henry VIII., c. 25. The former Act was continued by 25 Henry VIII., c. 6; 31 Henry VIII., c. 7; 33 Henry VIII., c. 17; 37 Henry VIII., c. 23. The latter was continued by 31 Henry VIII., c. 7, etc. For the history of 22 Henry VIII., c. 12, in later reigns, *vide infra*.

this character vague denunciation of enclosures, however eloquent and sympathetic, cannot be accepted as evidence (*cf.* p. 121, *note*). It is, indeed, probable that some of the sufferers by enclosures were, as an Act* of 1533-34 declares, "so discoraged with myserye and povertie that they fall dayly to thefte, robbery, and other inconvenience, or pitifully dye for hunger and colde." But even assuming that enclosures caused widespread distress, it is difficult to understand from the returns to the Inquisition of 1517† how they could have proceeded so far by that year as to justify the sweeping statements in the "Utopia." It may fairly be argued that the enclosures, by stimulating industry, helped to remove the poverty and vagabondage they are said to have caused. It is probable that enclosure was frequently urged at this time, as in the seventeenth century,‡ as an excuse for begging. A contemporary document,§ showing considerable insight, enumerates several causes of dearth in 1528. One cause was the pressure of taxation for the king's foreign wars. The author there points out that there had been a great rot and murrain amongst the cattle, but "in pasture there is very little murrain seen or none." There had been three or four marvellously dry summers, which produced "surfeits" among the cattle and sheep, owing to the scarcity of grass and lack of hay and water. In many parts of England cattle had to be driven five or six miles to water, and owing to this cause there were "little or no fat cattle in the common fields." The lack of fodder had prevented husbandmen from breeding lambs or calves, and "those that were bred were hunger-bitten and worth little, except those bred in pasture." Another cause of dearth was to be found in the conduct of the regraters and forestallers of cattle. In Wales, Cheshire, Lancashire,

* 25 Henry VIII., c. 13.

† Edited by Mr. Leadam for the Royal Historical Society; see *Transactions*, vii.

‡ *Vide* the controversy about the Leicestershire enclosures in 1653–54, etc., between John Moore of Knaptoft and Joseph Lee. Moore published in 1653 *The Crying Sin of England*, which provoked Lee's reply *Concerning Common Fields and Enclosures*, 1653–54. The controversy was continued in Moore's *Reply*, 1653, and Lee's *Vindication of the Considerations*, 1656. *Vide* also Nicholl's *History of Leicestershire*, iv. I., pp. 83–89.

§ *Considerations as to the dearness of all manner of Victuals*, 1528 [Calendar of State Papers (Henry VIII.), vol. iv., pt. 2, 3761.]

and the North "no grazier can buy either lean or fat beasts, except at third or fourth hand." Notwithstanding all this, the author concludes, "thanked be God, all thing is plentiful at this day as ever it was, and like to be if God send seasonable weather, also if the pastures at this day may continue, and then can dearth never long continue," for "the murrain in the common fields hardly attacks the cattle in the pastures at all." The latter, again, relieve the common fields with their breed of cattle, "to the increasing of the husbands and the composing of their land, which is the chief cause of the plenty of corn, which will never be scarce as long as there are plenty of sheep." The evidence on the subject of enclosures is too conflicting to form the basis of a precise estimate of the extent to which they did or did not increase poverty and swell the number of vagabonds. But we may safely say that the popular view, based upon More and other writers, is considerably exaggerated.

Causes of Vagabondism.

It is not difficult to account for the increase of vagabondism in other ways. The statutes themselves bear witness to the shamefully negligent manner in which they were administered. No doubt vast numbers of vagabonds never heard of the laws in force against them, much less suffered from their operation, and pursued their calling unchecked. It must also be remembered that it requires much skill and experience to distinguish genuine from feigned distress, and humane magistrates, even when they were thoroughly in earnest in the execution of the law, would probably give an offending vagabond the benefit of the doubt. It would fill many pages of this work to describe the clever devices resorted to by idle rogues to enable them to live on the charity of the public.* We may condemn the Church for inculcating the duty of indiscriminate charity, but the monks of the sixteenth century were no more anxious than the Charity Organisation Society to expend their shrinking revenues on the idle, the improvident, and the vicious, and their duties were, on the whole, as well and efficiently discharged as could be expected. Of the "halt, the maimed, and the blind," who resorted to

* For a full and interesting account of begging at this period, *vide* Ribton Turner's *History of Vagrants and Vagrancy*.

monastery and hospital, many were doubtless in the enjoyment of perfect health, and as soon as it could safely be done, stripped off the artificial sores, the made-up wounds, and other disguises of the professional beggar, to enjoy in comfort the largess of the monks. It was easy to live in idleness when the principles which should govern the distribution of relief were so ill understood. Mere vagabondism, unredeemed by any feature of genuine distress, was one of the crying evils of the time, and the Government was quite right in trying to put it down. Whether the means adopted are to be commended, is another question. Few persons would now approve of the harshness and severity of Henry's laws.

Provisions of Henry VIII.'s Poor Laws.

The Act of 1530–31 provided for the settlement and registration of those who were compelled to live by alms. These were to be licensed to beg within certain limits. But all unlicensed begging was to be rigorously suppressed. Any able-bodied beggar, whether man or woman, was to be taken to the next market town, and "there to be tyed to the end of a carte naked, and be beten with whyppes throughoute the same market towne tyll his body be bloody by reason of suche whypping." After undergoing this severe punishment, the beggar was to be sent back to the place of his birth, or where he had dwelt for three years, and "there put hym selfe to laboure, lyke as a true man oweth to doo." Fines were imposed on parishes and officers failing to give effect to the law, and penalties were enacted for harbouring or rescuing beggars.* Scholars of the universities, sailors, pardoners, and others, were liable to this statute if begging without a license. For the first offence, they were to be whipped in the same manner as ordinary vagabonds; for the second, to be scourged two days, to be put in the pillory, and to lose one ear; for the third, the scourging and the pillory were to be again administered and the other ear to be cut off. It will be noticed that there was no provision in this statute for the relief of the poor, or for the employment or reformation of the vagabonds when they had reached their native place. Possibly it was thought that voluntary effort would be sufficient

* For examples of presentments under this clause, *vide Records of the Borough of Nottingham*, iii. 374.

for the purpose; and incomplete as it was, the statute remained without amendment or addition for five years. A supplementary Act was then passed, and the two together constituted the system for dealing with paupers and vagabonds for the rest of Henry's reign. The Act of 1535–56 provided that the local authorities should receive the poor "most charitably," and should "succour, kepe, and find them" by means of voluntary and charitable alms, which were to be collected by the churchwardens or other officials on Sundays, holy days, and other festivals. Accounts of the money received were to be rendered. But no common or open dole was to be given, except to the common boxes, on pain of forfeiting ten times the sum given. Sturdy vagabonds and valiant beggars were to be set to continual labour for their own maintenance. But the statute does not state in what manner this difficult task was to be accomplished. The parish authorities were left to settle the matter as well as they could. The statute also authorised the apprenticing of children between five and fourteen years of age in husbandry or handicraft, and on their refusal or deserting service, they were to be openly whipped with rods.

The influence of the dissolution of the monasteries on the condition of the poor has always excited much controversy, and in dealing with so vast and widespread an organisation, in which there was room for men with good, bad, and indifferent powers of administration, it is not difficult to make out a strong case against the methods which were employed for the relief of the poor. Norfolk declared to Cromwell in 1537 that there were two causes of vagabondism in Yorkshire, the alms distributed in religious houses, and the slackness of the justices in doing their duty; and in conformity with this view orders were issued to the latter to put in execution the laws against vagabonds, and to the abbots, priors, and other governors of religious houses, not to give meat, drink, or other relief to sturdy vagabonds.* As we have already pointed out, many persons who found the beggar's profession a lucrative one no doubt obtained alms at the monasteries and hospitals. But the difficulty was to

The Suppression of the Monasteries.

* *Calendar of Domestic State Papers* (Henry VIII.), 1537, 14.

detect them. So far as the monasteries lent themselves to the successful practice of imposition, they tended to perpetuate the evil which the Government was anxious to remove. If we remember that this was precisely the charge which was brought by reformers against the Old Poor Law, *i.e.*, against the system which replaced that of the monasteries and other foundations, we shall be on our guard against sweeping condemnations of the latter. They were probably, like most other institutions, not wholly beneficent in their influence nor the reverse. From their financial condition in the sixteenth century we should not expect to find great carelessness in the distribution of relief. They knew also that the charge of manufacturing paupers by the practice of indiscriminate charity was being urged against them by those who were eager for their downfall, and like other Englishmen of the time they must have been deeply impressed with the gravity of the evil from which the country was suffering. Indeed, their very position enabled them to see far more of the actual condition of the people than was possible even to a justice of the peace. The relation of the monasteries to the question of poor relief no doubt demanded inquiry and reformation, but they cannot be regarded as mere centres of pauperisation. If their suppression deprived many sturdy beggars of the means of living in idleness, it also brought starvation to many aged and impotent poor who looked to them for relief. It must also be remembered that the suppression deprived a large number of persons dependent for their employment on the monasteries of the means of earning a livelihood (pp. 64, 128).* Many of these would be absorbed in other occupations, or would find employment under the new owners. But a residuum would join the ranks of the able-bodied beggars; and, as Eden points out, the new landlords were generally absentees. The monastic system of poor relief was not different from that pursued in the hospitals, many of which survived the Reformation, and were, indeed, regarded as an important element in the organisation of relief. All the statutes of the sixteenth century contain important provisoes safeguarding the funds of these

* Some interesting particulars on this point will be found in Gasquet's *Suppression of the Monasteries.*

foundations and their administration. There are also many private Acts dealing with them, from which it is evident that their existence was not supposed by the Government to increase the number of paupers. New regulations were not infrequently imposed, and the management of some was transferred from the dissolved monastery, or priory, to the municipal authorities. But it is to be feared that this measure, instead of increasing their power for good, only led to the alienation of endowments left to the poor, and that too many of them shared the fate of the Hospital of St. John at Bath, where most of the funds were "frittered away in payments to players, for bearbaiting, and in presents to magnate visitors." *

The first Poor Law of Edward VI.

The reign of Edward VI. began with a remarkable statute† for the punishment of vagabonds and the relief of the poor. The preamble states that former laws had had small effect because of the "foolish pytie and mercy" of those who should have seen them executed. There was therefore a constant increase of "idle and vagabonde persons," "whom, if they should be punished by death, whipping, imprisonment, and with other corporal paine, it were not without their desertes, for the example of others, and to the benefit of the commonwealth. Yet if they could be brought to be made profitable, and doe servyce, it were muche to be wished and desired." So the laws of Henry VIII. were repealed. There is no object to be gained by describing in detail the provisions of this long and savage law which the Government substituted. Branding with a hot iron, slavery, and the death of a felon were the penalties at successive stages of vagabondism. Men and women were to be treated in the same fashion. The master of such a slave might "let, set forthe, sel, bequeathe, or geve" his labour and service, "after such like sorte and maner as he might do of any other his moveable goodes and cattalles." He might also put a ring of iron about the neck,

* *Vide* King and Watts' *Municipal Records of Bath*, Humbert's *Memorials of the Hospital of St. Cross*, the history of Wigston's Hospital in Nicholl's *History of Leicestershire*, i., pp. 471–504, etc.

† 1 Edward VI., c. 8. For this Act and all sdbsequent Acts up to 18 Elizabeth, c. 3, the edition of the Statutes quoted is Richard Tottel's. For the other Acts the large folio edition.

arm, or leg of his slave, "for a more knowlege and suertie of the keping of hym."

It is remarkable that a hundred and fifty years later a famous Scot, Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun, proposed slavery as a remedy for pauperism.* While he did not defend "any of those bad and cruel regulations about slaves," he explained "under what conditions they might be both good and useful, as well as necessary, in a well-regulated government." The master was not to have power over the slave's life, or for mutilation or torture. The slave, his wife and children, were to be provided with clothes, food, and lodging, to be educated at the master's expense, and to have Sunday holidays. Except in matters relating to their duty as servants, they were to be under the protection of the law, and not subject to the will of their masters. They were not to possess property, and they might be sold—that is, Fletcher explained, their services might be alienated without their consent. He proposed to compel every man of a certain estate "to take a proportionate number of vagabonds on these conditions, and to set them to work." Under such a system, he maintained that they would be better off than those who, "having a power to possess all things, are very often in want of everything." Fletcher's proposal may help modern readers to understand that slavery in times past might be advocated as a remedy for pauperism from perfectly humane motives; much more when the object in view was not "to do mercy" but punishment and repression.

There is a sharp contrast between the treatment proposed in 1547 for vagabonds and the principles of poor relief in the same statute. The aged and impotent poor were to be provided with habitations at the charge of the parish. For the provision of relief for those in "unfained misery," the curate of the parish was ordered "to make (according to such talent as God hath geven him) a godlye and briefe exhortation to hys parishioners: moving and exciting them to remembre the poore people and the duetie of Christian charitie in relieving of them which bee their brethren in Christe, born in the same parish, and nedinge theire helpe."

* *Vide* the second of his *Discourses Concerning the Affairs of Scotland* 1698

When two years later * this act was repealed and Henry VIII.'s first act † was revived, the above provisions for the aged and impotent poor were incorporated in the new statute. Another two years elapsed, when an important addition was made to the law.‡ We have already seen that in 1535–36 special provision had been made for the collection of alms, and for rendering account of the sums given. It was now enacted that special "collectors" should be elected on the Sunday after Whit-Sunday; who, after divine service on the Sunday after their election, or on the following Sunday, should "gently aske and demaund of every man or woman what they of their charitie [would] be contented to geve weekly toward the relefe of the poor." These sums were to be entered in a register of the householders, and distributed amongst the poor in proportion to their needs. A penalty of 20s. was imposed for refusal to fill the office of collector; and quarterly accounts were to be rendered. Persons refusing to give alms, or discouraging others from doing so, were to be exhorted by the vicar; and on his failure, by the Bishop of the diocese, who might take order at his discretion for their reformation. Numerous illustrations might be given of the administration of Edward's last two poor laws. For example, at Ipswich two persons in every parish were nominated by the bailiff to inquire into and report on the poor in 1551. In 1556 eight persons were elected to look after the maintenance of the poor and impotent, for providing them with work, for suppressing vagabonds, etc. A subscription of £4 is noted towards the foundation of a house for that purpose.§ But the sums given voluntarily for the poor were quite inadequate for the purposes of the Act. Subscriptions had to be taken on terms dictated by the giver, and they were in consequence irregular and of varying amount.‖ It was also found

Second and Third Poor Laws of Edward VI.

* 3 and 4 Edward VI., c. 16.

† 22 Henry VIII., c. 12. Henry's second Act, 27 Henry VIII., c. 25, was never revived.

‡ 5 and 6 Edward VI., c. 2. Re-enacted by 1 Mary, c. 13, s. ii.; 1 Mary, c. 12, Parl. sec.

§ *Vide* Bacon's *Annalls of Ipswiche*, pp. 235, 239, 247, 249, etc.

‖ *Vide*, for example, the "Register Books of the Benevolence of the Parishioners [of Lambeth] for the relief of the Poor," 1552. (Manning and Bray's *Surrey*, iv., p. 464.)

necessary to keep the magistrates up to the mark by constantly sending them orders to put the law into execution.*

Poor Law of Mary's Reign.

Short as was the reign of Mary, some attention was given to the subject of poor relief. The changes made in the law † are too important to be overlooked. The time for the election of the collectors was altered from Whitsuntide to Christmas; and the penalty for refusing the office was raised to 40s. From this provision, we may surmise that there was considerable reluctance to discharge the duties of "collector." With no compulsory powers, the collection of alms must have presented many difficulties, and it could in no circumstances have been a very agreeable task. Thus the office would be likely to be given to persons the least fitted for it—namely, those who hoped to filch something for themselves out of the sums subscribed for the poor. Accordingly we have another amendment aimed at defaulting collectors. A few words were added to Edward's statute authorising the bishop to exercise on them the compulsion which the episcopal censure carried with it in the sixteenth century. It was also ordered that wealthier parishes should be "persuaded" to assist those surcharged with poor. Thus we have seen that the Government, beginning with attempts to suppress vagabondism, in the interests of order and good government, was gradually forced to grapple with the problem of relieving the poor. Before the accession of Elizabeth, the foundations of the system associated with her reign were laid. By a long series of statutes, all of them tentative, enacted for short periods, re-enacted if found satisfactory, repealed if unsuitable, the leading principles of the "old Poor Law" were firmly established, and the Government was being unwillingly and gradually forced to the adoption of the compulsory rate.

C. CREIGHTON. Public Health.

The reign of Edward VI. was not without the long-standing plague, both in town and country, in 1550 and 1553, but its chief medical interest is that it witnessed the fifth and last epidemic of the sweating sickness in 1551. The fifth

* *Acts of the Privy Council* (1551–52), p. 260, etc.

† 2 and 3 Philip and Mary, c. 5.

epidemic probably differed little from the previous four (two of them in Henry VII.'s reign, and two, in 1517 and 1528, in Henry VIII.'s); but it deserves a fuller notice for the reason that some traces of its ravages remain in bills of mortality and in the parish registers, which had been kept since 1538 by many, although by no means by all, of the clergy. The epidemic began, oddly enough, at Shrewsbury, in the end of March or beginning of April. It is said to have appeared in some towns on the borders of Wales, and in Coventry and Oxford in its progress towards London; but it is clear that it was little felt in any part of England until its usual season, the summer. It was at Loughborough, in Leicestershire, on the 24th of June; in London on the 7th July; at Cambridge on the 16th July; at Ufculme, in Devonshire, on the 1st of August; near Leeds on the 7th August; and at Ulverston, in the north of Lancashire, on the 17th August. It lasted no longer than a fortnight or three weeks at any one place, and the king, in a letter of 22nd August, written during a progress, says that most part of England was then clear of sickness. But it was very severe while it lasted. Thus upwards of nine hundred died of it in and near London, from the 7th to the 30th July, the greatest mortality on one day having been one hundred and twenty on the 10th; at Ulverston thirty-nine died in eight days, eleven of these on the 20th August. At Swithington, near Leeds, thirty-nine were buried between the 17th and 26th of August from "plague," *i.e.* the sweat. At Ufculme twenty-seven died of it in the first eleven days of August, the deaths for the whole year being only thirty-eight. At Loughborough nineteen died of it in six days; at Oxford sixty fell ill in one night, and one hundred more next day in the neighbouring villages; but the physician who records the fact says that very few died of it. Two princes of the blood, who were students at Cambridge, the Duke of Suffolk and his brother, Charles Brandon, died of it within half an hour of each other at a country house in Huntingdonshire, whither they had been removed to escape the infection in the university.

The Sweating Sickness.

Owing to the suddenness of the attack and the swiftness of its execution, it received such familiar names as "Stop, gallant!" "Stop! knave, and know thy master"; it was also

called the "posting sweat" (because it posted from town to town), the "new acquaintance," the "hot sickness," or the like.

The fifth epidemic of the sweat during a few weeks of the summer of 1551 was the last of it in England; it died out, or became an extinct species of disease,* having had a comparatively brief duration of sixty-seven years. It was expected to come back; and wide-spread epidemic disease, with a sweating character, did come back in 1557 and 1558, as well as in the generation following. But these later epidemics were not the true English sweat; that had been a short and sharp attack, all over in death or in recovery within twenty-four hours; you were despatched, as the French ambassador wrote from London in 1528, "without languishing, as in those troublesome fevers." The subsequent epidemics with a sweating type (they had occurred before in 1510 and 1539–40) were the languishing, troublesome fevers, which were known each time they appeared as "the new disease," "the new ague," "the strange fever," "the hot ague," "the new delight," or other such playful names, indicating at once their troublesome nature and their somewhat smaller risk to life. These epidemics are interesting, inasmuch as it is not always easy to distinguish the epidemics that would now be called influenza from the "hot agues" or "strange fevers." One of the greatest periods of these in England (and elsewhere) befell in the summers and autumns of 1557 and 1558, six or seven years after the last sweat; and they had then the sweating type so pronounced that a physician who had an attack near Southampton in 1558 actually calls the disease a sweat, and compares it with the sweat of King Edward's reign, which had cut off "the two noble princes of Suffolk, imps of honour most towardly." At Rodwell, near Leeds, where the burials seldom exceeded twenty in a year, they rose in 1557 to seventy-six, and in 1558 to 124. Those two epidemics, in 1557 and 1558, made a great impression all over the country; the annalists record them as having cut off "many of the wealthiest men all England through," as having been especially severe on the clergy, "so that a great number of parishes were unserved and no curates to be gotten," and as having been so severe on the labourers "that much corn

Ague and Influenza.

* It is referred to in the Rubric to the office for the Visitation of the Sick in the English Prayer Book.

was lost in the fields" for lack of hands to reap and carry it; and as having been so general that "a third part of the people of the land did taste the general sickness." Queen Mary herself, who died in the winter of 1558, appears to have been a victim of the lingering effects of the epidemic fever. The same epidemics of "hot agues" recur at intervals in the history—in 1580, perhaps also in 1596 (giving occasion to Shakespeare's mention of "the sweat," along with war, poverty, and the gallows, as spoiling the custom of the bawd in *Measure for Measure*), on several occasions (even two or more seasons in succession) throughout the seventeenth century, and most recently for several seasons about the year 1780—most recently, that is to say, if we do not discover the same mysterious form of epidemic sickness among the influenzas of 1889-94. They make, on the whole, a distinct species in the general class of influenzas, which have had more often the type of "universal colds" than of universal fevers, or universal agues. On several occasions a season of distinct "universal cold" has been interpolated between two seasons of equally distinct epidemic ague.

The universal agues of the end of Queen Mary's reign suggest one other remark on the public health of England, which holds good for the whole period covered in this survey. So much is said of "agues" in old writings—whether books, domestic letters, or State papers—the business of the ague-curer was affected by so many of the class of empirics down even to the time of George II., that it looks on the surface as if England had been a highly malarious or marshy country, and as if malaria had been at one time a standing danger to the public health, as it is now in so many countries of the sub-tropical and tropical zones. It will be found, however, that the malarious districts of England were as special and as well known as such in early times as they were within recent memory. It is undoubtedly true that the Fens and other marshy tracts have been drained; but the drainage of the Fens began soon after the Norman Conquest, and from the time of James I. it had probably reduced malarial fever among their residents almost to the point at which it stood some fifty years ago. Again, Romney "Marsh" had "many great farms and holdings," which had been converted into grazing land in the time of Henry VIII. The

Malaria.

narrow limitation of the truly malarious parts of England is shown in an absurd admission or boast of a famous ague-curer of Charles II.'s time—the quack Talbor. To qualify for his speciality he had resided for some time in a malarious parish on the Essex shore of the Thames, and, having learned his business in actual contact with the disease, had come to London to practise it upon all and sundry who had "agues" of one kind or another, or thought that they had ague. It is clear from the records that "ague" was often of the nature of "vapours," brought on by surfeits and immoderate drinking of ale. But even when ague was a true fever, with paroxysms and intermissions, or with relapses, it was much more rarely the endemic fever of a malarious region than the ague of one of those strange universal epidemics, which were frequent enough, and sometimes so prolonged over a succession of seasons, as to make the aguish type a common one in practice from year to year—more common, of course, in one year than another, and sometimes absent for years together, as medical chronologies clearly show.

As to London in particular, and the country close to it, we may be sure that malaria had little or no effect on the public health. A celebrated modern writer on the fevers of Britain does indeed say that "the country surrounding London was, in Cromwell's time, as marshy as the Fens in Lincolnshire now are." But he is merely raising a verbal construction upon a misunderstood use of the term "ague." The ague that the Lord Protector contracted at Hampton Court, and died of at Whitehall, was the epidemic "strange fever" of the summer and autumn of 1658, just as Queen Mary's ague was the same mysterious epidemic disease a century before: marshy or malarial conditions were not more directly a cause of these agues than of our recent influenzas all over England. The country round London was much the same then as it is now; the one great moor or fen near the walls had been drained dry in Henry VIII.'s time, and so made the Moorfield—a people's park, crossed by roads and paths. If there were any marked difference in the amount of water about London in former times, it was that the Thames used to flow in a wider channel, and occasionally inundate the low grounds of Lambeth and Pimlico. But the country round London—the northern heights from Homerton to Hampstead,

the southern range of wooded lawns from Stockwell and Camberwell to Greenwich Park—that configuration of hill and vale, was such as it had ever been since the last geological change, deserving all that Fitz Stephen, in the time of Richard I., had said of its healthful air and pleasant meadows (Vol. I., p. 376), and not truly malarious, in the strict sense of the term, at any later period of history.

SOCIAL LIFE.

Apart from the religious effects of the dissolution of the monasteries, we have to consider how it affected the great body of the people. Their opinion may be seen from one instance given by Hall:—

"You have hard before how the Cardinall suppressed many monasteries, of the whiche one was called Beggam in Sussex, the whiche was very commodious to the countreys; but so befell the cause, that a ryotous companie, disguysed and unknowen, with painted faces and visures, came to the same Monasterie, and brought with them the Chanons, and put them in their places again, and promised them that whensover they rang the bell, that they would come with a great power, and defend them. This doyng came to the eare of the Kynges consaile, whiche caused the Chanons to be taken, and they confessed the Capitaines, which were emprisoned and sore punished."

And Henry himself, when writing to the Cardinal, shows how unpopular was the measure:—

"As touching the help of religious houses to the building of your College, I would it were more, so it be lawfully; for my intent is none, but that it should so appear to all the world, and the occasion of all their mumbling might be secluded and put away; for, surely, there is great murmuring at it throughout the realm, both good and bad. They say not, that all that is ill gotten is bestowed on the College, but that the College is the cloke for covering all mischiefs. This grieveth me, I assure you, to hear it spoken of him which I so entirely love. Wherefore methought I could do no less than thus friendly to admonish you."

In the year 1528, according to Wood, the Cardinal made up the number of monasteries dissolved to forty-two or more.

It is sufficient to show how the suppression of the monasteries influenced the poor and sick to mention that by an Act (27 Henry VIII. c. 28) all monasteries were given to the king which had not lands above two hundred pounds by the year; and, as if that were not enough, "his son Prince Edward,

that goodly ympe," had granted to him (1 Ed. VI. c. 14) all the chantries that had been omitted, and all fraternities, brotherhoods, and guilds. The proceeds of the disendowment were often disposed of in a very simple fashion, and one case will serve to illustrate it as well as many.

The R. O. Chantry Certificates, 45, dated 8 Feb., 2 Ed. VI. (1548), give the particulars for the Guild, Obit, and Lamp lands in Suffolk. The sums over and above the payments are stated to be for the poor. On the 21st December previous, two people—Francis Boldero and Robert Parkes—offered to buy all these Guild lands in Suffolk. They proposed to purchase only what was over and above the charges for the poor. In every instance, the Crown official has run his pen through the amount reserved for the poor, and permitted the above Boldero and Parkes to purchase the entire amount, thus intimating that the poor were not to be considered. The whole was bought at some twenty-six years' purchase of the entire amount.

There is a curious little treatise written under the pseudonym of *Roderigo Mors*,* and purporting to be "prynted at Iericho in the Land of Promes, by Thome Trouth," in 1542 entitled, "The Lamentacion of a Christian against the Cittie of London," which shows us the position of the poor in that rich city, soon after the suppression of the monasteries.

"Oh, ye Cytezyns, if ye wold turne but even the profettes of your chauntryes and obbettes to the fyndyng of the poare with a pollytique and godly provysyon, whereas now London beyng one of the flowres of the world as touchyng worldly richesse, hath so many, yee unnumerable of poare people, forced to go from doare to doare, and to syt openly in the streates bedgyng, and many not able to do ere other, but lye in their houses in most grevouse paynes, and dye for lack of ayde of the ryche, to tha greate shame of the, O London. If, saye I, ye wold redresse these thinges, as ye be bounde, and provyde for the pore, so shuld ye be without the clamour of them, which also cryeth unto God agaynst you, and which he well heareth. And then whereas now ye have an hundreth extreme pore people shall not be one, and in so doyng your awne goodes shall not be a wytnes agaynst you at the great daye of the Lord, as it wyll be against your forefathers for non provydyng for the pore. Besyde that what a Joye shall it be to se your brethren well provyded for! Ye abuse your richesse, specyally you that come to the office of the Cytye. For ye spend unmeasurably. Upon whom? Even upon them which have no

* Holinshed says the author of this book was Henry Brinklow, a merchant, of London.

neade, as uppon the Nobles and Jentlemen of the Courte. Uppon the Aldermen and other riche commoners, the pore forgotten, except it be with a fewe skrappes and boanes sent to newe gate for a face."

Before the Suppression, London was not very badly off for hospitals. There was Elsing Spital at the north end of Gay Spur Lane, which led out of Aldermanbury, an old nunnery which was transformed by William Elsing, mercer, in 1329, into a hospital for the maintenance of a hundred blind men. Near Camomile Street, and close by London Wall, was the Papey, kept by a brotherhood of St. Charity and St. John the Evangelist, founded in 1430, for poor impotent priests. The Poor Clares ministered to the sick at their Convent of Holy Trinity, Minories; the Priory of St. Bartholomew was always a refuge for those in bodily affliction. St. Mary of Bethlehem, founded in 1246 by Simon Fitz Mary, was a hospital for those bereft of their senses; and there were the infirmaries attached to the different brotherhoods of White, Black, Grey, and Austin Friars —besides St. Mary Overies on the Southwark side of London Bridge. These suddenly came to nought, and the sick, impotent, and blind had to go somewhere else. Where they went to, and how they dragged out their wretched existence until friendly death put an end to it, we know not. We do know that a spasmodic effort was made in their behalf between 1538 and 1542, and that it did some good, but there it ended; and the little book just quoted shows how bad things were in that year.

Hospitals.

And so they went on until 1551, when the state of things became a grave scandal, and was amended. In that year, as we read in Grafton's "Chronicle," the young king was moved by a sermon on charity preached before him by Ridley, then Bishop of London, to institute immediate measures of relief. At his request the Bishop conferred with the Lord Mayor of London, and the latter appointed a committee of aldermen and "commoners," whose number eventually rose to thirty-four. The substance of its recommendations has been given on an earlier page (p. 182); but we may here quote the account given by the chronicler of the original purpose of Christ's Hospital:

"For the innocent and fatherlesse, which is the Beggers childe, and is indeede the seede and breeder of beggery, they provided the house that was the late Graie Fryers in London, and nowe is called Christes Hospitall,

where the poore children are trayned in the knowlege of God and some vertuous exercise to the overthrow of beggery."

We see by this scheme that Christ's Hospital, in addition to its general educational functions, fulfilled for its own times the purpose of those asylums which now provide for a much lower social stratum. On the 23rd November, 1552,

"The children were taken into the hospitall at the Gray friers called Christ's Hospitall, to the number of almost foure hundred. And also sicke and poore people unto the Hospitall of Saint Thomas, in Southwarke, in which two places, the children and poore people should have meat, drinke, lodging and cloth, of the Almes of the Citie."

And on the 3rd April, 1553,

"Being monday after Easter day, the children of Christes hospitall came from thence through the cittie to the sermon kept at St. Mary Spittle, all clothed in plonket coates and red caps,* and the mayden children in the same liverie, with kerchiefs on their heads; all which, with their matrones and other governors, were there placed on a scaffold of 8 stages, and there sate the same time, which was a goodly shew."

This St. Mary Spittle, or *Domus Dei*, was in Bishopsgate Without the Walls, and was a hospital and priory founded in 1197 by a citizen of London, Walter Brune, and Rosia, his wife, for the relief of the poor. When it was suppressed by Henry VIII. it had 180 beds. Among the other charitable institutions in London that were suppressed was the Hospital of St. Mary, in the parish of Barking Church—for poor priests and others, men and women, in the City of London, that were mad, or had lost their memory, until such time as they should recover. This, however, was turned over to the Hospital of St. Katharine, which, being a peculiar of the Queens of England, still exists in an altered form, though it was transferred in 1825 into the Regent's Park. There was St. Anthony's, near the Church of St. Martin Outwich, which was a hospital for 13 poor men, with a free school for poor men's children, suppressed by Edward VI. St. Giles' in the Fields was a hospital for leprous people, out of the City of London, and shire of Middlesex—founded by Matilda, queen to Henry I.—suppressed by Henry VIII. The

* This costume was soon afterwards changed to that with which Londoners are so familiar.

Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, in Clerkenwell, also went in this reign, as did the Hospital of St. James in the Fields, for leprous virgins of the City of London.

But the suppression of the monasteries was seriously felt in the matter of the education of youth. The monks had always taken care of that; and the sudden failure in this respect was so felt that, in the second year of Edward VI., letters patent, dated 20 June, 1549, were issued, appointing certain commissioners "to take diverse orders for the maintenance and continuance of Scollers, Priests, and Curates," and other matters relating to the poor—which, necessarily, embraced the question of education. We hear, all over the country, of Edward the Sixth Grammar Schools (p. 229)—and many were founded by his Letters Patent, but they mostly received very little, if any, endowment from the forfeited estates, and were, like Christ's Hospital and the other London hospitals, cheap advertisements of their royal patron and his advisers.

Schools.

But Edward's ministers impoverished every educational foundation for their own benefit, and exhibitions and scholarships were taken from the students of the universities. Anthony à Wood, writing of the sixth year of Edward VI.'s reign, says:

"There were none that had any heart to put their Children to any School, any farther than to learn to write, to make them Apprentices or Lawyers. The two wells of learning (saith one *), Oxford and Cambridge, are dried up, Students decayed, of which scarce an hundred left of a thousand: and, if in seven years more they should decay so fast, there would be almost none at all."

In less than seven years, in 1557, the fifth year of Mary's reign, he gives the following account of Oxford:—

"The Magistrates now had a greater care to the enriching and well ordering of the University, as also for the establishment of the Catholick Religion, than for the retrieving of Learning. What shall we say of Divinity, when the School thereof was seldom opened for Lectures? for which reason the salary of the Margaret Lecture was converted for the reparation of the public Schools. What shall we say of Theological Exercises done therein, where there was now such a scarcity of Divines (especially Doctors, not above three in all) that none could, according to the Statutes, oppose any that had intentions to proceed in that faculty?

* Bern. Gilpin, in his Sermon preached at Court (1630, p. 23).

What shall we say of preaching when Sermons were so rare, that scarce one in a month was delivered throughout the whole City; and what also of other Lectures in the Schools, when the Readers themselves were hardly able to perform a Lecture, or at least, through negligence, omitted them? The Greek tongue, also, was so rare, that it was scarce professed in public, or private by any body. That surfeit of Religion which the people took in the late King's reign, did open the eyes of the vulgar so much, that that good esteem for learning which was formerly had by the generality, could scarce now be recovered so much as to be entertained by some. Though the antient Religion was restored, and all things went as formerly, and to the best apprehensions were like to continue so, yet the ill report of learning now current (especially that which was antient and vulgarly received by our Academicians) deterred many from meddling with it. In Divinity, not above 3 proceeded in 6 years; in Civil Law, 11; and in Physick 6. In Arts, also, not above 18 in one year, 19 in another, 25 in a third, and 28 in a fourth. To be short, as the number was small, so Learning was, generally, low."

This may account in part for the paucity of learned men in the reigns of Henry VIII. and his two successors.

Popular Discontent.

We have seen in earlier pages how greatly the social discontent was stimulated by the progress of enclosure. The suppression of the monasteries, too, had not only cast adrift the poor, formerly helped by them, but had turned out numbers of indigent monks (p. 64) who were compelled to share the work and the bread of the labourer. The grievances of the people were again recognised by an Act (3 and 4 Ed. VI. c. 3) regulating enclosures once more.

"This proclamation tending to the benefit and releefe of the poore, appointed that such as had inclosed those commons, should upon a paine, by a daie assigned, laie them open againe."

But it had not the desired effect; for,

"Whereas there were few that obeied the commandement, the unadvised people tooke upon them to redresse the matter; and, assembling themselves in unlawfull wise, chose to them capteins and leaders, brake open the inclosures, cast downe ditches, killed the deare which they found in parkes, spoiled and made havocke, after the maner of an open rebellion First they began to plaie these parts in Summersetshire, Buckinghamshire, Northamptonshire, Kent, Essex, and Lincolnshire."

These risings yielded mostly to calm reasoning, but those in Devonshire and Norfolk (pp. 199, 240) were far more serious. The first began with complaints of encroachment, and ended with a demand for the restoration of the old religion. The

rebels besieged Exeter, which was so put to it for food that its citizens were compelled to eat horseflesh, and it was but just relieved in time to avoid absolute starvation, by Lord Russel, who soon put down the rebellion. But revolts also broke out in Oxfordshire and Yorkshire, which required bloodshed before they were quieted.

Still there does not seem to have been much crime otherwise, and, when a *cause célèbre* occurred, like the murder of Arden of Feversham in 1551, it created as great a sensation as it would now. Nay, it was thrice dramatised—one version being attributed to Shakespeare. The apprentice-riots of "Evil May Day" in 1517 can scarcely be termed criminal, and the king's pardon was highly applauded. Yet, if even the great Cardinal did wrong, public opinion was universally against him. Hall tells us a little story of his injustice in 1527:—

Crimes and Punishments.

"While the Frenche Ambassadours laie thus in London, it happened one evenyng as they wer cummyng from the blacke Friers, from supper to the Tailers hall, two boyes were in a gutter castyng doune rubbishe, which the raine had driven there, and unaware hit a lackay belonging to the viscount of Tourain, and hurt hym nothyng, for scantly touched it his cote; but the Frenche lordes tooke the matter highly, as a thyng done in dispite, and sent worde to the Cardinal, whiche beyng to hastie of credence, sent for Sir Thomas Seimer, knight, lord Maior of the citee, and in all hast commanded hym upon his allegiance, to take the husband, wife, children and servauntes of the house, and theim to emprison, till he knew farther of the kynges pleasure, and the ii boyes, apprentices, should be sent to the Tower, which commaundement was accomplished without any favor: For the man and his wife and servauntes were kept in the Counter till the sixt daie of Maie, which was six wekes ful, and their neighbours, of gentlenes, kepte their house in the meane tyme; and one of the apprentices died in the Tower, and the other was almost lame: of the crueltie of the Cardinall, and of the pride of the Frenchmen, muche people spake, and would have been revenged on the Frenchmen, if wise men in the citee had not appeased it with faire wordes."

On the 5th of April, 1532, one Richard Rose, a cook, was boiled to death in Smithfield for poisoning more than sixteen people, of whom many died—and on the 1st of September, 1537, the Londoners saw a novel sight:

"One Cratwell, Hangman of London, and two other, were hanged at the wrestling-place by Clerkenwell, for robbing a booth in Bartholomew faire.'

Holinshed tells us a story, which Sir Walter Scott has introduced in the "Fortunes of Nigel":—

"On the tenth of June (1541) sir Edmund Knevet, knight, of Norffolke, was arreigned before the kings justices (sitting in the great hall at Greenwich) . . . for striking of one maister Clere of Norffolke, servant with the earle of Surri, within the king's house, in the tenis court. There was first chosen to go upon the said Edmund, a quest of gentlemen, and a quest of yeomen, to inquire of the said strife, by the which inquests he was found giltie, and had judgement to lose his right hand. Whereupon was called to doo the execution, first the sergeant surgeon with his instruments apperteining to his office: the sergeant of the wood yard with the mallet, and a blocke whereupon the hand should lie: the maister cooke for the kinge, with the knife: the sergeant of the larder, to set the knife right on the joint: the sergeant ferrer, with the searing irons to seare the veines: the sergeant of the poultrie, with a cocke, which cocke should have his head smitten off upon the same blocke, and with the same knife: the yeoman of the chandrie, with seare * cloths: the yeomen of the skullerie, with a pan of fire to heate the irons, a chafer of water to coole the ends of the irons, and two formes for all officers to set their stuffe on: the sergeant of the cellar, with wine, ale and beere: the yeoman of the yewrie, in the sergeant's stead, who was absent, with bason, ewre and towels.

"Thus everie man in his office readie to doo the execution, there was called foorth sir William Pickering, knight marshall, to bring in the said Edmund Knevet; and when he was brought to the bar, the chiefe justice declared to him his trespasse, and the said Knevet confessing himselfe to be giltie, humblie submitted him to the king's mercie: for this offense he was not onelie judged to lose his hand, but also his bodie to remaine in prison, and his lands and goods at the king's pleasure. Then the said sir Edmund Knevet desired that the king, of his benigne grace, would pardon him of his right hand, and take the left, for (quoth he) if my right hand be spared, I maie hereafter doo such good service to his grace, as shall please him to appoint."

Touched by this speech, the king granted him a free pardon.

"In this yere (1540) was burned in Smithfield, a child named Richard Mekins: this child passed not the age of xv. yeres, and somewhat as he had heard some other folkes talke, chaunced to speak against the Sacrament of the aultar. This boye was accused to Edmond Boner, Bishop of London, who so diligently folowed the accusacion, that he first found the meanes to Indite hym, and then arreigned hym, and, after, burned him. And at the tyme he was brought to the stake, he was taught to speake muche good of the Bishop of London, and of the greate Charitee that he shewed hym: and that he defied all heresies, and cursed the tyme that

* Cere or waxed cloths.

ever he knew Doctor Barnes, for of hym had he learned that heresie, whiche he died for: the poore boye would, for the safeguarde of his life, have gladly said that the twelve Apostles taught it hym, for he had not cared of whom he had named it, such was his childishe innocencie and feare."

One is glad to learn that this execution evoked general disapprobation. Of the prevalent callousness and indifference to life, however, Grafton, writing of the insurrections of 1549, gives this example:—

"At the same time also, and nere unto the place (Bodmin), there was a Myller who had bene a very busy Verlet in that rebellion, whome Syr Anthonye Kingston sought for: But the Myller had warning, and he having a good tall felow to his servaunt, called him unto him, and sayd, I must go foorth; if their come any to aske for me, say that thou art the owner of the Myll, and that thou hast kept the same this foure yeres, and in nowise name not me. The servaunt promised his Meister so to do. Afterward came syr Anthony Kingston to the Myller's house, and called for the Myller; the servaunt aunsered that he was the Myller. Then said Maister Kingston, how long hast thou kept this Myll; and he aunsered three yeres. Well then, sayde he, come on, thou must go with me; and caused his servauntes to lay handes on hym, and brought him to the next tree, saiyng, you have beeu a rebellious knave, and therefore here shall you hang. Then cryed he, and sayd that he was not the Myller, but the Myller's servaunt; well then, sayd he, you are a false knave to be in two tales; therefore hange him up, sayd he, and so he was hanged. After he was hanged, one beyng by, said to sir Anthony Kingston, surely this was but the Myller's man. What then, sayd he? Could he ever have done his Maister better service than to hang for him?"

Superstition was rife, although not to the extent it was in the next century; still, it was found necessary in 1541 to pass an Act (33 Hen. VIII., *c.* 8) by which—

"It shall be felony to practise, or cause to be practised conjuration, witchcrafte, enchantment, or sorcery, to get money: or to consume any person in his body, members or goods; or to provoke any person to unlawful love; or for the despight of Christ, or lucre of money, to pull down any cross; or to declare where goods stolen be."

We get a very clear insight into the superstition of this time in MS. Lansdowne, 2, Art. 26:—

"An examination taken by Sir Thomas Smith of Wm. Wicherly, conjuror, and his complice, a. 1549."

He deposed that there were within England above five hundred conjurors, as he thought, but he knew not their names: and specially in Norfolk, Hertfordshire, Worcester-

shire, and Gloucestershire, a great number. Some of his confessions are amusing:—

"He saith that about Easter last, one of the gromes of the king's slaughter house wife, whose name he knoweth not, had her purse picked of ten shillinges, and the forsaid clerck brought the said slaughterman's wife to this deponent, to lerne who had picked her purse. At which tyme she delivered to this deponent the names in wryting of suche persons as she had in suspicion. Which names he put severally into the pipe of a kay, and laying the kay upon a verse * of the psalter in the psalter-book, viz. *Si videbas furem*, &c. did say *Si videbas furem, consentiebas cum eo, et cum adulteris portionem tuam ponebas.* And whan this verse was said over one of the names, which was a woman, the book and key tourned rounde, and therapon this deponent said to the above said Clerke, and the slaughterman's wife, that the same woman had the money whose name was on the kay, as farr as this deponent could judge, because the kay and boke did tourne at her name, and at none others. And he sayth that he hath used this practise so often that he cannot expresse how many the tymes; for people are so importune upon hym dayly for this purpose, that he is not able to avoyde them, but kepeth hymself within his doores."

But he also practised the higher branches of his profession:—

"Item he saith that about ten years past he used a circule called *Circulus Salamonis*, at a place called Pembsam in Sussex, to call up *Baro*, whom he taketh an orientalle or septentrionalle spirit. Were was also one Robert Bayly, the scryer † of the crystalle stone, syr John Anderson, the *magister operator*, syr John Hickley, and Thomas Goslyng, in the which their practise they had sworde, ring, and hally water. Where they were frustrated, for *Baro* did not appere, nor other vision of spirit, but there was a terrible wynde and tempest for the tyme of the circulation. And, sithens that tyme, he used no consecrat circule, but hath used the cristalle to invocate the spirit called *Scariot* which he called dyvers tymes into the crystall, to have knowledge of thyngs stolen, which spirit hath geven hym knowledge an C. tymes, and thereby men have been restored to their goods . . . . . Item he saith that within this sevenight one Humfray Locke, about Wyndsore Forest, and one Potter, of St. Clement's parish without Temple barre, came to this deponent for a sworde and a sceptre going upon joynctes, which hath been consecrated, and are now polluted; and a ring with the great name of God written thrise, *Tetragrammaton*, which this deponent delivered them; and they two, with a preest, entend at this, or next lunation, to conjure for treasure hid betwene Newbury and Reading."

There was another kind of divination by a sieve and shears, and, according to Wycherly, many practised it:—

* Psalm l. 18. † Seer.

"Item one Croxton's wife in Golding lane, in Saint Giles parishe, occupyeth the syve and sheeres, and she only speaketh with the fayrayes."

This divination was performed thus: the points of the shears were fixed in the wood of the sieve, which was balanced upright by two persons, on a finger of each; on the real thief being named, the sieve suddenly turned round.

Litigation, however, seems to have been at a very low ebb, according to Stow, who tells us:—

"This yeere (1557) in Michaelmas terme, men might have seene in Westminster hall at the Kinges bench barre, not two men of law before the justices: there was but one, named Fostar, who looked about, and had nothing to doe, the judges looking about them. In the common place [pleas] no moe sergeants but one, which was sergeant Bouloise, who looked about him. There was albowe roome enough, which made the lawyers complaine of their injuries in that terme."

Amusements.

In spite of the religious warfare which waged during the reigns of Edward VI. and Mary, the people amused themselves, though to nothing like the same extent as in the previous reign; and in 1551, in order to amuse the young king,

"It was devised that, the feast of Christ's nativitie, commonlie called Christmasse, then at hand, should be solemnlie kept at Greenwich with open household, and franke resort to court (which is called keeping of the hall) what time of old ordinarie course, there is alwaies one appointed to make sport in the court, called commonlie lord of misrule: whose office is not unknown to such as have beene brought up in noblemen's houses, and among great housekeepers, which use liberal feasting in that season. There was, therefore, by order of the councill, a wise gentleman and learned, named George Ferrers, appointed to that office for this yere; who, being of better credit and estimation than commonlie his predecessors had beene before, received all his commissions and warrants by the name of the maister of the king's pastimes . . . . . On Mondaie, the fourth of Januarie, the said lord of merie disports, came by water to London, and landed at the Tower wharffe, where he was received by Vause, lord of misrule to John Mainard, one of the shiriffes of London, and so conducted through the citie with a great companie of yoong lords and gentlemen to the house of sir George Barne, lord maior, where he, with the cheefe of his companie, dined, and after, had a great banket: and, at his departure, the lord maior gave him a standing cup, with a cover of silver and gilt, of the value of ten pounds, for a reward, and also set a hogshed of wine, and a barrell of beere at his gate, for his traine that followed him. The residue of his gentlemen and servants dined at other aldermens houses, and with the shiriffes, and then departed to the Tower wharffe again, and so to the court by water to the great commendation of the maior and aldermen, and highly accepted of the king and Councill." (Holinshed.)

Pageants were scarce; but the day before her coronation, when Mary rode in state from the Tower to Whitehall, was a gala day indeed. The Genoese merchants had a pageant in Fenchurch Street, and at the corner of Gracechurch Street the Easterlings had one, and the Florentines another. Yet another, at the conduit at Cornhill, which ran wine, and one "at the little conduit in Cheape next to Paules," where the aldermen, etc., stood, and the Chamberlain presented the Queen with a purse of cloth of gold, containing a thousand marks of gold. In Paul's Churchyard Master Heywood sat in a pageant, under a vine, and made an oration in Latin and English.

"Then was there one Peter, a Dutchman, that stood on the weather cocke of Paule's steeple, holding a streamer in his hand of five yards long, and waving thereof, stood sometimes on the one foot, and shooke the other, and then kneeled on his knees, to the great marvell of all people." (Holinshed.)

There was a pageant by the deanery, where the choristers of St. Paul's played on viols and sang. Minstrels played at Ludgate, and there was another pageant at the conduit in Fleet Street.

Food.

There was very little refinement, according to our ideas, in the food of the first half of the sixteenth century. In the Household book of the fifth Earl of Northumberland, commenced in 1512, we find that the ordinary breakfast throughout the year, for him and his lady, was:

"Furst, a Loof of Brede in Trenchors,* ij Manchetts,† j Quart of Bere, a Quart of Wyne, Half a Chyne of Muton or els a Chine of Beif boilid;"

whilst in Lent and on Fish days they were to have—

"Furst a Loof of Brede in Trenchors, ij Manchettes, a Quart of Bere, a Quart of Wyne, ij Pecys of Saltfisch, vj Baconn'd Herryng, iiij White Herryng, or a Dysche of Sproits."

The upper servants had a loaf of bread, a pottell of beer, and a piece of beef boiled; and on fish days the same bread and beer, and a piece of salt fish; whilst the ordinary servants only had a quarter-loaf of bread and a quart of beer.

* Slices. † Rolls.

In looking at the following list of prices, a penny represents about a shilling of our money.

"It was this yere (1533) enacted that Butchers shoulde sell their beefe and mutton by weight; beefe for a halfpenny the pound, and muton for three farthings; which, being devised by the great commodity of the realme, (as it was thought) hath prooved farre otherwise, for at that tyme fat Oxen were solde for sixe and twentie shillings and eight pence the peece, fat wethers for 3 shillings & 4 pence the peece; fat calves of the like price, a fat Lambe for twelve pence. The Butchers of London solde penny pieces of beefe for the reliefe of the poore, everie peece two pound and a half, sometime three pounds for a penny; and 13, sometime 14 of these peeces for twelve pence: mutton 8 pence the quarter, and an hundred weight of beefe for 4 shillings and 8 pence: what price it hath growne to since, it needeth not to be set downe. At this time also, and not before, were foraine butchers permitted to sell their flesh in Leadenhal market of London." (Stow.)

Being dependent upon corn grown in England, the vicissitudes of dearth and plenty were sometimes extreme; for instance, in 1557—

"This yeare before harvest, wheat was sold for foure marks the quarter, malt at foure and fortie shillings the quarter; beans and rie at fortie shillings the quarter, and pease at six and fortie shillings and eight pence: but, after harvest, wheat was sold for five shillings the quarter, malt at six shillings eight pence, rice at three shillings four pence. So that the penie wheat loafe, that weied in London the last yeere but eleven ounces Troye, weied now six and fiftie ounces. In the countrie wheat was sold for foure shillings the quarter, malte at foure shillings eight pence; and, in some places, a bushell of rie for a pound of candles, which were foure pence." (Stow.)

By the 6 & 7 Ed. VI., c. 25, all ale-houses and tippling-houses had to be licensed by two justices of the peace, and pay 12 pence for such licence.

In ladies' dress, the diamond-shaped head-dress had disappeared, and the hair was parted in the middle in the simplest manner, whilst a close-fitting cap of cloth or velvet was worn, enriched with a border of lace, or beads. It took the shape of the head, and was frequently made with a point descending to the centre of the forehead. A long gown with a turn-over collar enveloped the entire figure, open in front the entire length, but secured by bows at regular intervals. The collar was sometimes of fur, the sleeves puffed and slashed at the shoulders, then tight to the wrist,

Dress.

and sometimes long false sleeves were worn. The under-dress was tight-fitting, and from the girdle some useful ornament was generally suspended. Ruffles were at the wrists, and small ruffs round the neck began to appear, whilst many finger-rings were worn.

Men's dress was quieter than during the reign of Henry VIII., but still it varied with the wearer's rank—the upper classes wearing velvet, satin, and silk; the middle and lower, cloth. The ordinary costume was jerkin, doublet and hose, with a flat cap of cloth or velvet; a long gown, trimmed with fur, was used by middle-aged men when they went abroad, and among the gallants small trunk hose were fashionable. Armour similar to that *temp.* Henry VIII. was worn in war on military duty, and on state occasions; but it was not proof against firearms. The age of Chivalry was dead: it died with the Field of the Cloth of Gold, and defensive armour as such was soon to be a thing of the past.

J. COLVILLE. Scotland.

THE story of Celtic Scotland is many times more shadowy and confusing than that of the Saxon Heptarchy. Living interest in the national annals begins with the accession of David I. (1124). Youngest son of Malcolm Canmore and Queen Margaret, and therefore half Saxon, half Celt, he overlaid the native qualities of the two races with the dominating and organising characteristics of the Normans, of whom he was ever an apt pupil, and converted a loose confederacy of pastoral tribes into a feudal state. Till the disastrous death of Alexander III. ended the direct line of Canmore (1286), the country enjoyed a vigorous period of consolidation and reconstruction in church, burgh, and baronage. The War of Independence (1286-1328) was fatal to progress. The Treaty of Northampton (1328), which secured the recognition of Scottish nationality, was dearly bought. The long war had hastened that disintegration which was the bane of feudalism, increased the power of the barons, and paved the way for a period (1329-1424) of weak kings and lawless factions. Still more fatal were the efforts of the later Plantagenets, openly and insidiously, to wreck the work of Bruce. The return of James I. from English captivity

Scotland a Nation.

gave promise of another David I., after the lapse of exactly three centuries, but the progress of this period (1424-1513) was marred by all the evils of a rampant feudalism, fast working out its own ruin.

Racial Elements.

Scotia proper, the ancient Alban, was the Celtic nucleus of the State, and the Wessex of the Scottish crown. The Forth, its southern boundary, was long known as the Scottis Water. From this as a centre King David overran the Lothians, Tweeddale, and Strathclyde, and there planted feudal civilisation, barons in strong castles, and abbots well endowed. Galloway, with its "wild men," and David's duchy of Cumberland, long formed sources of weakness and danger on the skirts of the kingdom. The eastern seaboard, the Scottish "Dane-law" (I., p. 145) was the backbone of progress in its industrial population, either of Angles settled for ages on the frontier of Alban, or recent arrivals from England and the Low Countries. To the west the semi-independent Norsemen and the old Celtic Mormaors had still to be dealt with. But the battles of Largs (1263) and Harlaw (1411) removed all apprehensions of danger on this score. The palatinate of Moravia, formed by Norman colonies on the ruins of the Celtic lordships of Moray, Ross, and Caithness, secured the kingdom on its northern side.

Reforms of David I.

David I. was the Alfred of his people. His guiding principle was to make a peaceful farming population out of a warlike pastoral one. For the Celtic ruling classes such as the mormaor or senior of a confederacy he substituted the Norman earl, with the powers of a Warden of the Marches; for the toshach or tribal chief, the Saxon sheriff, vicecomes, or local deputy of the king; for the brehon or clan judge, the deemster; and for the class of freebooting duine-uasal or gentry, freeholders by military tenure. He induced the baronial class, now chartered possessors of their lands, to convert their native-men, neifs, or serfs, into a crofting peasantry of *rustici fermarii*, each tilling a portion of the common holding of the vill or hamlet. This churl-born class, unfortunately, long remained mere tenants-at-will. Lowest of all were the unenfranchised serfs, the toilers on the abbey grange or barons' demesne, and doubtless the residuum of the Celtic population, but they disappeared by the middle of the 14th century.

Law and Order.

"Commendation," based on the customs of the tribal commune, served as a police system. Every man must have a lord or corporate body to be his *borh* or pledge in any breach of the law. For the old ordeals was substituted the *visnet*, or jury of leal and honest men of the neighbourhood. On the local courts of burgh and barony were conferred the right of punishment by imprisonment or even death. To contend with the great social evils of violence and theft there were the *bloodwite*, or compensation for injuries, and the condition of open sale of goods in free market with a *warranter* as security that they were honestly come by. Finally, the king, as fountain of justice, through his justiciars, held circuit courts twice a year, in early summer and autumn, or "anys wi' the gyrs and anys wi' the corn." The burghs, which owed, if not their creation, at least their constitution, to David I. and William the Lion, greatly aided law and order. They were entirely foreign to Celtic habits. Their ancient laws still survive, and their *anse* or federation existed a century before any other of the kind. A burgess must have at least a rood of land as his buroage, paying an annual rent of fivepence to the king. These rents, serving the purposes of modern taxation, were at first collected by the *ballivus regis*, but before the 14th century the burghs had secured charters by payment of a fixed yearly *reddendo*, so that each burgess became a free-holding crown vassal. Edinburgh's charter, the oldest, is dated 1329. The burghs were represented in the first Parliament of the Three Estates, at Cambuskenneth, 1326. The earliest recorded burgh election is that of Aberdeen (1398).

Burghs.

Burghal Customs.

Perth was the only walled burgh. The houses were of wood, and fires were frequent; but the citizens were merciful to the man whose house began it, "for sorrow & heviness has he ineuch forutyn mar." At the Townhead, generally on a high ground, stood the king's, bishop's, or baron's castle for defence, and from it sloped the high street, with its tolbooth, mercat cross, and cuk-stool (pillory), where offenders endured "the lauch o' the toon." At the Townend was the spital for the leper-folk. Fortnightly the burgesses held their moot, and when the Chamberlain was on his *ayre* they were summoned to answer to their names.

The burghs were close trading corporations. Goods must be exposed in bulk at the mercat cross and at the legal hours of sale. Retailers, such as bakers and butchers, must show their wares at window openly. There must be no forestalling or hoarding to force up prices. "Broustar-wives" must show the ale-wand in window or over the door, as proof that the appraisers had passed their brew. These officials regulated strictly both the quality and price of articles, and there were enactments against adulteration and scamped workmanship. Though anxious about equal and fair dealing all round, these communities were aristocratic. Trade refused to rub shoulders with handicraft, and the merchant gilds secured to themselves privileges. Jealousy of the landed gentry was a marked feature. Any bondsman from the Uplands might get his freedom by securing a buroage and occupying it for a year and a day. The gentry, too, must sell their wool and hides to a gild brother, and buy goods from a free burgess. The burgesses knew nothing of burdensome feudal services, such as the marriage fine, the death duty, and wardships. The training they got in citizenship was admirable, ranging from the duties of provosts and bailies, appraisers, collectors of great and petty customs, to humble watchmen. Pageants preserved the feelings of brotherhood. The crafts marched to the church on their saint's day with offerings of wax candles. A great holiday was the riding of the marches on St. Michael's or on Senzie (Ascension) Day. More boisterous was the mirth when burgess' sons personated the Abbot and Prior of Unreason at Pasch (Easter) and Beltane (May Day).

Trade.

Foreign trade in Celtic times was concentrated on the Tay, near the palace of Scone. With the extension of the kingdom southwards Berwick sprang into importance, its revenues in Alexander III.'s time equalling one-third of the whole customs of England. Its prosperity excited the envy of Edward I., and the siege (1296), so vividly narrated by Barbour, is one of the most horrible incidents of the war. The traders were Flemings, who lived in a castellated factory, the Red Hall, and a stout defence they made under John Crab, a daring sea-captain and merchant prince. When Berwick had to be given up as the one trophy of the war, Perth took its place. Its most noted burgess, John Mercer was one of the richest traders of the time, and

successively custumar (collector or farmer of the customs), provost, royal chamberlain, and financial agent for the king's ransom after Nevil's Cross. Edward I. did all he could to cripple Scotch traders, but by the truce of Calais (1348) they regained their rights. Home trade was carried on at the fairs, held on the saint's day for the town church. This was the one season in the year when the exclusive barriers in burgh were broken down. Then the dusty-feet, or pedlars, were welcomed to erect their booths, local courts were suspended, and privileges granted that made the occasion a merry saturnalia.

General Condition of the Country.

The cartularies of the abbeys throw a flood of fresh contemporary light on the rural economy; and this is further illustrated by the legislation of the early Jameses designed to ameliorate the condition of the country, improve farming, preserve woods and forests, destroy wolves and rapacious birds, and protect the natural sources of food. Impressions, not altogether favourable, of the appearance of the country and the condition of the people, are supplied by the foreign visitors, Froissart (1360) and Æneas Sylvius (1448).

War.

The dreary tale of the pitiless war and outrage which the nation had to endure for independence may be read in the pages of Barbour, Blind Harry, and the chroniclers. The annals of such a sturdy fighting-time have much to tell of peculiar modes of warfare, of the equipment of the different ranks, of struggles with novel and unmanageable artillery, of weapon-schawings, and "hostings."

Economy of the Court.

The most complete picture of higher social life is to be constructed from the Exchequer Rolls and the accounts of the Lord High Treasurer. The Court moved constantly up and down the country, consuming the *kain* rents of the royal demesnes. Alexander III.'s long visits to Forfar Castle, and Bruce's closing years at Cardross, supply minute details of the domestic surroundings of these kings, even to the English fool and the pet lion that the hero kept. The accounts for Tarbert Castle, which he built then, show the cost and construction of a royal mansion in the Middle Ages. James IV.'s personal expenditure tells in the quaintest language of the Court rejoicings at Yule and Uphaliday (Twelfth Night): of

fees to players, ballad-singers, and fools; of largesses to beggars on his numerous journeyings; of humble offerings to him of fruit, game, and birds to train hawks with; of the strange sea creatures that were esteemed as dainties; of dresses for every-day wear, in all their styles, colours, and costs. Important public works he undertook, as the building of Dunbar Castle and Stirling Palace; and they afford a notion of the resources and standard of living of the time. Most interesting of all is the minute account of the building of a great barge at Dumbarton, the artificers, the materials, and how they were procured, and the cost. It is pleasant to know that in the days of Columbus there were sturdy Scottish mariners like Barton and the Woods, and stout barques like the *Christopher*, and the *Flower*, and the *Yellow Caravel*.

Public Works.

In a general retrospect of the four centuries preceding Flodden the nation as a whole shows to advantage. The peasant, still dependent and feeble, Froissart found to be very different from his abject brethren in France. The Crown was, as a rule, honest, merciful, and law-abiding, and the revenues were never arbitrarily increased. The kings sympathised with the poor and oppressed. The burgesses, despite the narrow economics of the time, were not lacking in enterprise. To the Church were owing the schools we find existing in some of the burghs as far back as the twelfth century. In 1496 an Act was passed to compel barons and knights to give a better education to their eldest sons, but it had no practical consequences. Greater success attended the efforts of those cultured churchmen, Wardlaw, Kennedy, Turnbull, and Elphinstone, in founding the universities of St. Andrews, Glasgow, and Aberdeen, the great glories of the fifteenth century. Contemporary with the Chaucerian national literature we have vigorous native artists like Barbour (1375), Blind Harry (1460), and James I. (1424); intelligent chroniclers like Fordun (1387), Wyntoun (1420), Bower (1449), and Pitscottie (1480); and alongside of this an undercurrent of popular minstrelsy to which Barbour and Wyntoun allude. It is the barons that all through give the poorest account of themselves. Chivalry had few such knights as the heroes of Barbour's loving pen (Vol. II., p. 510), the tender-hearted Bruce and the good Earl Douglas, who, like

Culture.

Chaucer's Squire, carved before his guardian, the Bishop of St. Andrews, at the table. Bower revels in recording the accomplishments of James I., a knight worthy to rank with his friend, Shakespeare's Prince Hal. According to the Spanish Ambassador, Ayala, James IV. was even more highly gifted. Such kings, had they lived out their days, might have sweetened the harsh features of feudalism, but these were fated to prevail. "Never," says Ross, "did a nobility prove itself more unworthy of its privileges, or more unfit to guide and civilise a people." The best that can be said of them is the general reflection of Froude: "In the history of Scotland weakness is nowhere; power, energy, and will are everywhere."

Scottish History, 1513-1561.

The reign of James IV. was one of the few oases of peace and prosperity in the distracted history of Scottish nationality. Peace with the ancient enemy had been assured by the king's marriage with Margaret Tudor, and there bade fair to be an end of the "auld times o' ruggin' and ridin'." A national literature was created (Vol. II., p. 507, *seqq.*): and Henryson, Gawin Douglas, Dunbar, and Lyndsay showed that the genius of poetry, which slumbered in England from Chaucer to Spenser, was first to reawaken in their northern clime. They appealed to the popular reader, so that they not only attracted immediate attention, made possible by the introduction of printing in 1508, but now throw a flood of light on the social conditions on the eve of the Reformation. Even the learned Gawin Douglas chooses for his translation of Virgil the language he had learned in boyhood, while Lyndsay boldly directs his rhymes to colliers, carters, cooks, and home-spun peasants, no matter what *cunning* men may think of them. There is no stronger witness to the depth and persistency of the national feeling than this continuity of the Northern tongue.

Golden Age of James IV.

The oldest *braid Scottis*, the vernacular of the Burgh Laws, speaks in the accents of Ramsay and Burns, of Scott and Carlyle in their homely youth. Norman-French never was the Court tongue in the North, though it was used in diplomacy. The poet-king, James I., though inspired by Chaucer, wrote for rustics, while the last of the independent sovereigns, James VI., not only commanded Bellenden to

translate the Latin history of Boece for the vulgar, but clothed his own pithy sayings in *braid Scottis*, and himself essayed a native version of the singing Psalms.

The English invasion, which brought to a romantic close, on Flodden Edge, an active reign of nearly a quarter of a century, was significant of the unfortunate policy which marked the whole shifting course of events terminating with the battle of Langside (1568). For it brought into play the disturbing elements of France and England, operating on a country enfeebled by long minorities and internal feuds. The conduct of Henry VIII. during the minority of James V., and of Somerset during that of Mary, intensified the national antipathy to Union, while the regency of the Queen-mother, the English Margaret, was feeble and injudicious. The clergy, headed by Mary of Guise and the Beatons, during the second minority, supported France and the old Church, and all the old antagonism that kept the Border ever in a ferment. The barons were either nationalists of a bygone type, paid supporters of English policy, or mere selfish opportunists. The people could only suffer in silence. The death of James IV. left the throne nominally to the Queen and her infant son, but really to the Douglases as the sturdiest of the barons. Their intolerable yoke the prince threw off when, one summer night, he rode away secretly from Falkland to Stirling, and proclaimed himself, scarcely sixteen, a feudal king. The "Red Tod" (fox), or the "King of the Commons," as James V. was familiarly called, showed honesty and firmness of purpose, but little political sagacity; while his disguises, amours, and train of jugglers and buffoons bespoke the crowned Bohemian. Well might Lyndsay exclaim, "Woe to the land that has owre young a king!" The boy-king had need of a wise head. Should he elect for union with England and a Reformed Church, or stand by the Romish priesthood, backed by France? The latter course alone seemed compatible with national and ecclesiastical independence. Beaton and the French policy prevailed. The king failed to keep tryst with his uncle at York, and at the head of a gay cavalcade he rode out from the Abbey Port of St. Andrews (1538) to meet his French bride, Mary of Guise. St. Andrews, Guise,

General Course of Events. 1513-61.

Beaton—these were ominous figures on that stream of destiny that was to carry the king to an early grave.

The death of the king in Falkland Palace (1542) brought two factions into strong rivalry—the Douglases, or English party, and the Hamiltons, or French party. The rough wooing of the Princess Mary greatly damaged the English faction and the cause of reform. It was conducted by Hertford with ruthless savagery. Three successive expeditions—1544, 45, 47—tell their tale of woe. The Tudor Government would seem to have regarded their Northern neighbours as outside the pale of humanity. The policy which dictated such barbarism failed. The confused turmoil of intrigue that centres round the names and policies of Arran, Angus, and Beaton strengthened the hands of the Barons and paved the way for the league known as the "Lords of the Congregation." These speedily swept away the old Church, and thus effected the great revolution.

The Crown.

The three minorities of James V. (1513—28), Mary (1542—61), and James VI. (1568—84), following in quick succession, would have sorely tried a much more powerful monarchy than that of Scotland, which, in respect of its Privy Council, Parliament, and revenues, was of the well-known feudal type. Of more importance in its bearing on social life is the administration of justice. The Chancellor, always a Churchman, was the king's legal adviser and chief minister. Two great lords acted as his justiciars, with subordinate local assessors. The Hanse or League of the Burghs played an important part in connection with the Justice Ayres or Circuit Courts, forming as it did a sort of burgher parliament to regulate trade and assist in causes appealed to the chamberlain as Chancellor of the Exchequer. It still exists as the Convention of Royal Burghs. Hereditary sheriffdoms were also established, and these continued till 1748. The abbots, too, followed by the barons, had courts for their burghs of barony, with the right of "pit and gallows" (p. 148), and a baron-bailie to see execution done on the law-breakers according to the rough mediæval code. But no man was to be hanged for less than the price of two sheep. In England one was enough to secure this penalty. All this left its mark for centuries in such popular phrases as "The thief's hole," and "Jeddart justice." The gallowleas, gallowhills, and gallowgates tell

yet of the poor victim trudging to his doom, with arms caught behind by a stick, and finally being flung from the ladder by the deemster or lokman into eternity. Here the rough populace learned the force of the phrases so characteristic of the manners of the time—widdie-fou (hang-dog), thraw (twist) in a widdie (green withe used as a halter), girn (grin) in a widdie, gape in a gallows, rax (stretch) at the raip.

Justice.

James V. erected the Court of Session (1532) as a College of Justice on the model of the Parliament of Paris, acting on the advice of David Beaton, who had been educated in France. Here the clerical was for long the preponderating element. The Court sat thrice yearly, in places where the king determined. Juries were selected, without challenge, by the president. The Consistory Courts dealt with tithes, church dues and fines: and from the nature of the case were extremely unpopular. Henryson, schoolmaster and notary of Dunfermline, gives a vivid picture of the procedure. In a dream Esop appears to him in the attire of a notary—brief in hand, quill behind the ear, inkhorn and pretty gilt *pennar* hanging from the gown, and silk bag at belt. The sheriff buys a forfeit at the king's hand, and with a cursed assize (jury) about him indicts poor John Up-o-land. The crownar or tipstaff, porteous (indictment) in hand, goes before the Ayre, but for a bude (bribe) scrapes out John and writes Will or Wat. "Quakand for cauld," the poor victim "kest up his ee into hevinnis sicht," exclaiming, "Lord God, quhy sleipis thu so lang?" Dunbar's "Tidings from the Session" is a scathing satire put into the mouth of "a muirlandis man, lately lichted aff his mare," after a visit to Edinburgh in quest of justice. Lyndsay is still more outspoken. The interlude of the "Poor Man" in the "Satire of the Three Estaits" (p. 112) is intensely realistic. Living on a poor croft in the Lothians, he had lent his gossip his mare to fetch coals from Tranent, but she was drowned in the old workings. The owner applied to the Consistory, but got only adjournments from day to day for the various stages of *citandum, libellandum*, and so forth. But he "could never ane word yet *understand 'em*. Many placks had to go in fees, and at last the rooks cried for sentence silver. But," he concludes, "I gat never my gude grey mare again."

An unfortunate necessity made the Church political. It was regarded by the Beatons as the best support of the

crown against the barons. Meanwhile two powerful forces were overlooked—wide social discontent, and a strong reforming wave from England. Lutheran books and English Bibles were smuggled over the Border with the connivance of Henry VIII. and his co-adjutor, Arran. In Lyndsay's satire, "Verity" is put into the stocks for having an English Testament. Not till 1525, when the Lutheran movement was virtually over in Germany, do we hear of merchants bringing these heretical books over sea. Shortly afterwards (1528) Patrick Hamilton was burnt at the stake. Reading the Scriptures was made lawful in 1543, but was bitterly opposed by the clergy, many of whom were very ignorant. Some of the country clergy, Buchanan tells, thought the New Testament a work lately written by Luther. A bishop, trying a reforming vicar, thanked God that he had never known either the Old or the New Testament. The author of the "Complaint of Scotland," himself a cleric, introduces in his "Vision" Spirituality "sittand in ane chair, ane beuk in his hand, the claspis fast lokkit with rust." Preaching was the privilege of the friars, and even this duty they discharged only at Easter. The country districts were starved to keep up the monks and prelates, who stuck to their vested interests. Lyndsay says that at Doom, when Christ will say, "Come, ye blessed," the monks will not be able to forget their usual cry, *Nos sumus exempti!* The vicar's pension for parish work was always grudged, or even withheld with the bishop's consent. He was regarded merely as the steward to gather in the tithes, Pasch (Easter) presents, funeral and baptismal dues. Cosmo Innes says: "Of the many disputes between convents and rural vicars there is not one that turns on the cure of souls." Lyndsay contemptuously sums up the service:—

The Church.

> "And meikil Latyne he did mummill,
> I heard naething but hummill bummill."

The Abbot, in Lyndsay's "Satire" (p. 112), sends his sons to Paris and carefully provides for his daughters. No wonder penitents made a joke of the sackcloth gown and the kneeling in church, candle in hand; or of the vicar's cursing for petty theft. "Will he not," think the people, "give us a letter of cursing for a plack, to last a year, and curse all that look over

our dike? That keepeth our cow better than a sleeping boy who will have three shillings a year, a sark, and a pair of shoon."

Husbandry, oldest and most conservative of industries, ever enters most thoroughly into the every-day life of the people. It owed everything to the monks. In favoured spots of the Lothians, or where silvery Tweed sparkles by Melrose and Kelso, they brightened their cloisters with the scent of flowers and fruits, or the murmur of bees. In the deep holms by the river marge the corn ripened for the mill beside the brimming *dam;* the sheep and kine browsed amid the timber and *wattles* of the upland birchen-glades; while, higher still, the peateries and turbaries (coal-pits and quarries of these times) lay hid in the brown desolation of the moors. Their vassals or *natives* lived, in the turf and wattle huts that formed the *grange* or homestead, under the eye of a lay-brother as bailiff. Near by was the *toon* or hamlet of the cottars, next in the social scale; and beyond these were dotted over the vale the *clachans* of the kindly tenants. They farmed on a co-operative system known as the run-rig, general down to the middle of the eighteenth century, and still surviving in the outer isles. Each *husband* kept two oxen, and six of them united to work the common plough. The arable land was allocated afresh, at intervals of three years, in narrow serpentine ridges (rigs) among the joint-tenants, who were bound, under the eye of the baron-bailie, to keep good neighbourhood, which meant fair-dealing in labour and the stocking of the *outfield* or common upland pasture. The lesser barons imitated the monks, and had their *mains*, corresponding to the *granges*, and still a common name for a farm. Beyond these lay the crofting townships of their kindly rentallers. Thus under the great barons there grew up that large class of freeholders by knight-service, who became the bonnet or cock lairds of a later age. In the Highlands they were the tacksmen or chieftains, and usually cadets of the baronial house. They paid three marks yearly for each plowgate as *maill* or money-rent—a word that has entirely given place to the *ferme* (farm) or rent in kind, also known as *kain*, the *cens* of the Ancien Régime in France. These lairds had also their *natives* and husbandmen for labour in feudal services. More rarely the

Rural Economy.

barons granted feus or perpetual ground-rents to foster under the wing of the castle, townships as rivals to the royal burghs.

Feudal Services.

Services or *customs* were exigible from all tenants in the shape of farm labour. For *carages*, or the carrying of *kain* (corn) to the ports, and storing peats, they had to furnish pack-horses. For short distances *slypes* or sleds were used, the wheel-less carts still seen in the Highlands. These services had originated at a time when the peasant was without capital and a mere tenant-at-will. In this way both the landlords and the clergy kept a hold on the *poor commonis*, not only in life, but when death appeared in the family. Thus the vicar claimed the "upmaist claithis," or bit of clothing as corse-present, either for funeral expenses or burial service. At the same time were also uplifted the kirk-cow, by the vicar, and by the laird, the best horse, styled *here-ȝed* or *heriot*, and latterly *caupe* or gift. Originally the heriot was a war-gift (here-geat), in return for arms granted to the vassal for use in war, but it became ultimately a fixed tax exigible on every plow-gang. A statute of 1617 prohibited the exaction, but it was not formally commuted till 1703. Lyndsay pathetically exposes the hardship of these exactions.

Peasant Life.

Henryson, native of a typical Lowland district, and brought up under the shadow of the rich abbey and palace of Dunfermline, has depicted peasant life in a style worthy of the author of that earliest and most delightful of pastorals, Robene and Makyne (Vol. II., p. 576). With fine feeling for rural charms he brings before us the sights and sounds of spring-time. He shows us the peasant sowing, the harrows hopping in the sower's trace, or in early morn his gad-man and he yoking his steers *wi' Benedicite!* While he holds fast by the single upright stilt of the clumsy wooden mass, his mate, as caller or driver, shouts "How, haik, up-on-hicht! Hald dracht, my dowis," in which we hear him calling to the first pair of steady steers by name, guiding his *dowes* now to make the share take less earth or again depress it. Then he goads the lazy with the *gad-wand*, but as most are young the plough oft leaves the furrow (*delirat*, as the Romans said), "so that the Husband waxes wroth, shouts, casts great stones, and even the *patill*"—a stick used to clear the share, the "murderin' pattle" that Burns was loth to throw at his favourite Mouse.

Crops.

The chief grain was oats, sown year after year on the same ground till it yielded but two returns. On the infield near the homestead *bere* (big or barley) was sown. But there was little manure, as the stock roamed everywhere under the herd's charge when corn was growing, from which they were hunted off by the numerous dogs whose very names we know from Henryson. Very little wheat was grown till the present century, nor were beans and pease common. Both sowing and reaping were late. Henryson, walking in June, sees the seeds growing high enough to hide the hares, and hears the quails *craikand*. Only enough corn was sown to supply the hamlet and the ferme-rents. The floods, which Gawin Douglas so graphically describes, made the fertile hollows useless save for coarse hay. Weeds abounded, notably the *gool* (wild chrysanthemum), a great source of annoyance to the baron-bailie. The wasteful Celtic custom of reaping only the ears and leaving the straw was too common. Ayala, the Spanish Ambassador, visiting Scotland in 1510, saw the straw standing so high after harvest as to reach his girdle. Green crops were unknown, yet Henryson surprises us by speaking of "a widderit neip" (withered turnip), a root which played no part in farming till two centuries later. It may have occasionally found a place in the monks' gardens. The sole pot-herb was lang-kale (colewort).

Condition of the Country.

Ayala has described the times of prosperity. His countrymen, in Flanders, report an improving trade. He himself is much struck with the large exports of stockfish, wool, and hides. Corn is said to be very good, but the husbandry bad. Less credible are the vast flocks of sheep, the populous towns and villages, and the stone houses with doors, glass windows, chimneys, and furnishings, such as one sees on the Continent. Native contemporary sources present a gloomier picture, specially the "Complaint of Scotland" (1548). Hertford's raids have left the author deeply despondent. His keen sympathy with the cause of labour is worthy of the best Socialist type. The peasant thinks that death is all that can be added to his persecutions. The laird's men come in hundreds and turn him out of the holding he has improved, to make room for a favourite. Or his rent or services are so heightened that he

cannot get a living. The teinds are higher than the fertility of the soil justifies, and the vicar removes them at harvest, though wife and children should starve. "The worst wolves," says Henryson, "are lords that have lands *as a loan from God* and set them to *maillaris* (middlemen, tax men); then they harass the tenant ere half the term be gone to make him remove or pay the *grassum* (fine on renewal of lease) over again." Lyndsay's "Satire" is equally strong. Its proposals for social reform have all the dignity and force of a Commissioner's Report. Henry Charteris, his editor (1568), laments that they yielded no result. These agrarian abuses, the real motive force of the Reformation, so increased, that by the middle of the century the author of the "Complaint" exclaims, "As to juggis justice that rengis presently in our country, God may send a better when He pleases."

Manner of Living. The Capital.

Edinburgh has always been a city unique in situation as in history. Dunbar graphically depicts the aspect of the one crowded and unsavoury street crowning the central ridge—St. Giles's Kirk darkened by hucksters' booths, the causeway and kennels filled with the litter of fish, flesh, and herb markets. Of the burgess-houses nothing now remains, for Hertford exposed the city to a three-days' burning. The nobles had not yet begun to reside here. The square tower of a gloomy fortalice, room rising above room from dungeon to bartizan, sufficed them. Charles II., after a brief stay in one of these, reported that he had been lodging in a crane's nest. An Act of 1504 recommended the nobles to surround their houses with parks and trees, but the modern residential mansion was not to be for a century yet. Little furniture encumbered the rush-strewn floors. The walls were painted, as Dunbar describes in his "Dream," or hung like those of Lyndsay's Squire Meldrum, who, when he went to repose,

Domestic Life.

> "Fand his chalmer weill arrayit
> With dornik [damask] work on board displayit."

When arras became common, this painting was confined to the ceilings, as in the hall of Falkland Palace. Carpets were rich hangings for gala use. When Queen Margaret visited Aberdeen in 1511, the magistrates ordered the people to "furnys and

graith the stairs (outer) of the forgait (main street) with arras work, as efferis" (is becoming). In daily use was the *buist*, or napery chest, the cupboard or open cabinet for cups and goblets, the *boyne* or *bowie* for liquor, the *bossie* or meat-trencher, the *mawn* or bread-basket. The kitchen had its *dresser* and its long settle or *bink*, and on the wall the *haik* or rack for plates (only pewter or wooden). In a corner stood the *awmrie* for stores. The fire-logs were supported by andirons, and from the *broach* or spit hung the joints. Besides the common hall there were but two domestic rooms, the kitchen and the private chamber. Sheets of *harden* or sacking, and blankets of *plaiden* or tartan stuff, were used by all but the few who could afford what the Flemings imported. Water, light, and heat were dispensed on a limited scale. It is a pleasant surprise to learn that the water-pipes introduced into Linlithgow Palace in 1538 were discovered from recent excavations. Few people could import *long-candles;* most used resinous fir-spills, dug out of the bogs, or the *oil-crusie* or primitive saucer-shaped lamp. Wood and peat formed the fuel, the former in the shape of broom and heather carefully stacked even on the High Street of Edinburgh. The monks of Newbattle in the thirteenth century had begun to work the "sulphurous stone that burns," but it was not much used except in salt-making. Henryson's "Town and Country Mouse" vividly contrasts the meals and manners, and the home life, of a free burgess in *borrowis toon*, and a *carlin* living in "*sillie scheill* with door nocht high nor braid." While the latter's buttery has but water-kale and beans and pease, the former's spence can furnish *amond-bread* (pain d'amand) of fine flour baked with milk and eggs. The dress of the better classes differed but little from that of the English. Ayala considered it better, especially the female head-dress or *curche*, which he thought the best in the world. Dunbar censures "the fardingales on flanks fat as whales, and the long trains that sweep the *causey* clean." Finery was not wanting, such as Dunbar's gold neck-chains strung with *apill renieis*, probably amber or *lammer* beads. The richest ornament was fur. It was a staple export of great variety and much value, and the peasant was a keen trapper. The *mertrik* or marten was the most valuable fur. The fox, the

Dress.

farmer's pest, and the wolf, his dreaded scourge, were trapped and speared as vermin. The general dress was home-made, from the wool and flax of the farm, prepared with the rock and distaff and whorl of amber, and woven on the narrow primitive loom. Leather was largely used as clothing, and the tanner was an important craftsman. The shoemaker shared in the unpopularity of the tailor and the miller. Dunbar says he was too foul even for the fiend, who shouted, "Go, cleanse thee clean!" He used his teeth to soften the leather, "wi' ugly gums gnawin'." His triumph was the huge jack-boots of the knight, stiff and high as milk-pails. The masses went barefoot, or made their own shoes out of the raw hide. These were similar to the *rivlins* of the Shetlanders and the *velschoen* (fell-shoes) of the Cape Boer. Loose hose hung like a skirt down to the knees, and beneath the jacket of leather was the *wily-coat*, which, not being seen, "slyly keeps men warm."

The Poor.

In the Northern winter the poor peasant must have been sore bestead. Without sown grasses and turnips there could have been little milk and flesh would be rare, for salt was scarce and dear. The thrifty might have a cheese on the shelf and meal in the kist, but the mass would have to be content with *drammock* (meal and water) and water-kale. Douglas sketches, in low tones, the effects of winter floods, frosts, and blasts: and Henryson depicts the situation with more concentrated force. Every third year came dearth, and plague close on its heels. Burghs were merciless to *gangrel bodies*, who were driven from hamlet to hamlet, begging with pikestaff and wallet as they wended their way to the fair or the kirk-stile—the legitimate begging places. Wild times were always adding to the bands of broken men and *sorners*. Saddest of all was the lot of the leper. For him was the *spital*, and there he sat at the gate with *caup* (basin) and clapper for the passing alms, while not far off was the gibbet for the inmate who strayed out of bounds. Henryson's Cresseid is condemned to the life of a leper, and he paints the symptoms of the disease—bloodshot eyes, voice unpleasant and hoarse, lusty face overspread with black spots and lumps.

Life was not all poverty and gloom. Such popular poetry as "Peebles to the Play," "Robene and Makyne," "The

Wife of Auchtermuchty," "The Wooing of Jenny and Jock,' show no lack of humour. Beltane, Yule, and the Robin Hood processions of the crafts-childer made singing, dancing, and mimicry popular. For the peasant there was the long picnic of the summer sheilings, such as we have described in the "Complaint of Scotland," with all its wealth of popular tale, song, and dance. The nobles amused themselves with hawking. The king had, at one or two of his castles, an enclosed park with fallow deer, and these were ridden down and secured with dog and bolt. The chase which opens the "Lady of the Lake" is pure romance, though the scene is laid in James V.'s reign. A Highland chief mustered his serfs for an occasional deer-drive, known in Gaelic as the *tinchell*. Cruives or wattled enclosures at the river mouth formed, with spearing in the pools, the only fishing practised. Lyndsay's abbot amused himself with *caiche* (fives), cards, tables (draughts), and dice. James IV. played at *kiles* when at Glenluce. This was nine-pins, still the popular game of Germany, where the *Kegelbahn* is universal. In Henryson's fable the Wolf calls to the Fox, "Lawrence, thou playis *bellie-blind*." This child's game flourished along with the *peerie* (peg-top) and *pallall* (hop-scotch). The *tee-totum* is used by Dunbar to mark his own lack of preferment in comparison with Up-o-land's Michell (*ch* pronounced as a guttural aspirate), who now sells dispensations, "though he frae nolt (cattle) had ta'en new leave. He plays with totum and I with nichell" (nihil).

Popular Sports.

Outdoor Sports.

Indoor Sports.

The "Ledger of Andrew Halyburton" (1492-1503), Conservator of Scotch Customs at Middelburg in Flanders, not only shows us the everyday business transactions of a commission merchant, but throws a flood of light on the social life of the time. His customers are rich prelates and solid burgesses in Leith, Dundee, and Aberdeen, who consign to him for sale wool, hides, fur, and salmon. The same ships come and go, and the shipmasters have such notable names as Barton and Wood. The ships, too, are roomy, for the abbots sometimes bring their horses with them when they are to travel in Flanders. Money in coin neither comes nor goes except when the churchmen send to Rome for benefices and dispensations

Trade and Commerce.

of marriage within the forbidden degrees; or when, on one occasion, Halyburton transmits a sum through England to purchase pearls in Scotland. When any of his correspondents come over he supplies them with money for personal expenses. The Archdeacon of St. Andrews and his train stay with Halyburton, and their reckoning is entered in the "Ledger." The son of another correspondent takes a pleasure-trip to Flanders, bringing with him a pack of cloth to pay expenses, among which we have an item for hair-cutting and a large outlay for fine clothes. Cloth in very small quantities, such as Peebles white, and again a parcel to be returned dyed, along with a little salt, are the only evidence of the export of any Scotch manufacture. Of the wool some fleeces come in a rotten condition, and of the salmon a barrel now and again turns out sour. The goods thus sent are disposed of at the fairs of Bruges, Ghent, and Antwerp, or to itinerant traders, the commission being included in the item for *oncosts*. The proceeds are laid out in a miscellaneous assortment, packed in bales and barrels, known as *pyps* and *rondals*. The entries are full of human interest. Here we have the life within the great cloisters, now lying in shapeless ruin, the rich robes and altar-cloths, the chalices, the images, and even altar-tombs. Abbots get puncheons of claret with sugar and comfits for their mulled possets. Some pay the expenses of their sons in Flanders. The Archdeacon of St. Andrews gets tiles and a mat for his chamber floor. A few parcels of books appear. Soap, candles, dyestuffs, and vinegar and cloth are sent, but no tools. Iron is represented only by andirons to support the great fire-logs. Bishop Elphinstone of Aberdeen has to send his watch to Flanders to be fitted with a new case. Halyburton reverently heads each account with the name *Jhesus*. Occasionally he has an entry for "licoris at the selling." He is on good terms with all his customers except his brother-in-law, on whose conduct he animadverts in severe terms. "As for the rest of the Scots money, he payit me wi' challenges [reproaches] and evill wordis and onsufferabyll. God keip all guid men fra sic callandis [fellows]!"

THE customs and social life of the Irish people, as described by Giraldus Cambrensis, and other writers both native and English, grew up in remote times, and were maintained with no very great change for at least four centuries after the Anglo-Norman invasion.

P. W. JOYCE. Ireland.

We know that Ireland was anciently pre-eminent for her schools and colleges, and that her scholars and missionaries greatly helped to spread learning and religion all over England and the Continent. Through wars and tumults the ancient love of learning survived, and the schools struggled on and maintained their existence to comparatively recent times, though fallen from their ancient greatness. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, flourishing schools, both general and professional—for Law, Medicine, History, Literature, Classics, Poetry—were kept in various parts of the country by the families of O'Clery, O'Coffey, MacEgan, and others. These were all private schools with no state aid.

Customs, Social Life, and Literature.

One of the results of the general spread of learning was the production of books. Good scribes were held in much honour; and to make a copy of a book was justly considered a very meritorious work. The native scribes wrote into their books everything they thought worth preserving; and libraries grew up in monasteries, colleges, and private houses. Though most of these collections were scattered and destroyed in troubled times, great numbers of the old books are still preserved in Dublin and elsewhere, of all ages, from the fifth or sixth century down. Most are in the Irish language; but there is a good deal of Latin. The practice of transcribing continued down to a late period; and several of the largest and most important of the manuscript volumes still in existence were written from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century. These books contain pieces on every conceivable subject—annals, history, biography, romance, law, medicine, science, etc. In some cases, one book, usually small, is devoted to one special subject. But most of the large volumes are miscellaneous collections, such as the "Book of Leinster," a huge folio of about 1,000 pieces on various subjects, containing about six times as much matter as "Rob Roy." Many of the romantic stories

are founded on history, and are in the main true, but embellished with fiction, like the modern historical novel. The Annals are among the most important of the Irish writings for the elucidation of Irish history; for the annalists were most careful about the truth of what they recorded. There are many collections of Irish annals, mostly in the native tongue, with a mixture of Latin.

The Brehon Law.

A native code of law, very extensive and minute in detail, gradually grew up in Ireland, and continued in force till the beginning of the seventeenth century. It was administered by *Brehons* or judges specially trained; and hence it is commonly known as the Brehon law. There were collections of the laws in books, all in the Irish language, many of which have come down to us, and several have been translated and published. In accordance with the Brehon Code, all injuries to person or property, including homicide, were atoned for—as anciently among the Anglo-Saxons, Franks, Germans, and Greeks—by a compensation payment; the amount was determined by the brehon who tried the case. Payment for homicide or personal injury of any kind was called *Eric*. The Brehon law did not prescribe capital punishment. Every Irish king kept a brehon among his household to manage his legal affairs. When the Colonists began to adopt Irish customs (p. 299 *infra*), they adopted also the Brehon law; and many of the Anglo-Irish nobility kept brehons like the Irish kings.

The Structure of Society.

As in all early stages of Aryan society, the clan system prevailed; and it continued to a recent period. The people were formed into groups of various sizes—families, clans or septs, and tribes. The tribe was made up of several clans; the clan of several families. Clans and tribes were supposed to be descended from common parents; but this was in great measure a fiction, as adoption of strangers was common in all the groups. Tribes and clans were governed by chiefs; the chiefs of the clans forming a tribe were subject and tributary to the chief of the tribe. The chief of a very large tribe was a *ri* (*ree*) or king; there were many of these *urrees* or sub-kings. The chiefs or kings of tribes owed allegiance to the kings of their several provinces, of which there were five:—Leinster, Ulster, Connaught, Munster, and Meath. The provincial kings, again, owed allegiance—at least

nominally—to the *Ard-ri* or over-king, *i.e.* the king of all Ireland; but after 1172 there was no over-king. In each clan, tribe, or kingdom, there was a ruling family from which the king or chief should be chosen; but with this limitation the office was elective. The king or chief had a tract of land assigned to him for his support; and besides this source of revenue, each tribesman paid him subsidies of several kings. Spenser has a curious description of the ceremonies of inauguration as he saw them in the time of Elizabeth, agreeing with the native accounts.

The Land System.

The land occupied by the tribe was held in several ways. Each sept of the tribe was confined to a particular portion. A part of the land was owned as private property. The chief, whether of the sept or of the tribe, had a mensal estate for life. All the rest of the arable land, forming by far the greatest part, was "Tribe-land"—that is to say, owned by the tribesmen in common. Every member had a right to a share; but the tribe-land of the sept was liable to redistribution from time to time, under the following custom:—When a tenant who held a part of the tribe-land died, his farm did not go to his children, but all the tribe-land belonging to the sept (excluding mensal land and private property) was re-divided among all the male adult members of the sept, including the dead man's sons. This was called Gavelkind—a custom which was formerly common all over Europe, and which, in a modified form, still exists in Kent. The non-arable land—mountain, bog, forest—called "Commons" land—was not appropriated by individuals; but all had a right to the use of it. Land descended in *three* ways:—First, as private property, in the usual way, from parents to children; second, by Tanistry, *i.e.* the mensal land held by a king or chief went to his successor, not to his heir; third, by Gavelkind, as already explained. The Irish land customs were abolished by James I.

The Rights of the Chief.

Certain free tenants of a low grade were bound, along with the ordinary subsidies, to give *Coinmed* or *Coyney* to the chief—that is, the chief was privileged to go with his followers at certain seasons to the house of the tenant, who had to supply the company with food and drink. Number, time, and food were regulated by law in each case. The Anglo-Irish lords imitated

and abused this custom by what came to be called "Coyne and Livery," which was this:—A military leader sent his soldiers with arms in their hands among the Colonists (seldom among the native Irish) to exact their own pay in money and food. They were under hardly any restraint of law, custom, or discipline, and often committed fearful crimes. The native Irish custom was bad, but this was ten times worse; and the Anglo-Irish lords practised it for centuries, notwithstanding many Acts of Parliament against it.

Domestic Life.

The leading Anglo-Irish chiefs all through the country lived during this period, as well as since the invasion, in strongly fortified stone castles. Each castle was surrounded by a *bawn*, a large space enclosed by a stone wall. Within this lived the servants and immediate retainers of the household in thatched houses ranged round the wall inside; and the bawn was used for other purposes—games and exercises, sheltering cattle at night, etc. The Irish chiefs very generally adopted the same custom, having gradually abandoned their old circular earthen forts and wooden dwellings. But in some cases, even in the time of Elizabeth, we find them using the old *crannoges*—stockaded dwellings on artificial islands in lakes or marshes. During the whole of the reign of Elizabeth, a large proportion of the peasantry, crushed by war, famine, and pestilence, driven from their homes, and having lost all their little property, settled down where they could, on mere sufferance, and became what were subsequently known as tenants at will, paid rack-rents, and lived in a state of great misery. Spenser, Davies, and other early English writers, describe the condition of such tenants as worse than that of bond slaves. But others were more independent and lived comfortably.

In accordance with the custom of *Fosterage*, a man sent his child to be reared and educated in the home and with the family of another member of the tribe. Fosterage, which was the closest tie of friendship between families, was very common, and continued to be practised till recent times. *Gossipred*—a person standing sponsor for a friend's child at baptism—was also very general. The Anglo-Irish adopted both customs, and fostered and gossiped with the natives in spite of severe Acts of Parliament.

Attached to the household of every Irish chief were a

harper, a bard or rhymer, and a *Shanachie* or historian, who were much respected and well paid for their services. The Anglo-Irish nobility almost universally adopted the same custom: in 1534, when young Lord Thomas Fitzgerald—"Silken Thomas"—flung down his state sword and renounced allegiance to Henry VIII., he had in his train an Irish bard who stimulated him in his mad career. Bards, shanachies, and harpers were always present at banquets and on festive occasions of every kind, to instruct and amuse the family and guests. The harper played the exquisite Irish airs, or the bard recited his poetry, or the shanachie commemorated the ancestors of the chief, or recited some romantic tale of old times; and if they acquitted themselves well, the company listened with rapt attention, and rewarded them with valuable presents. In the time of Elizabeth severe laws were passed against bards and shanachies.

The Bards.

The Irish did not much use cavalry. They had two kinds of foot-soldiers. The *Galloglasses*, who are described as large-limbed, tall, and fierce looking, were heavily armed with long sword, mail, iron helmet, and broad battleaxe. The Irish adopted the use of armour chiefly from the English; but they never took well to it, preferring to fight in their saffron tunics, which lost them many a battle. The Galloglasses were celebrated by English writers for the dexterity and skill with which they used the axe in battle. The *Kern* were light-armed footmen, who fought with a *skean*, or sharp-edged dagger, and a javelin. Kern and Galloglasses figure much in the Irish wars of Elizabeth. The best defence of the Irish was the nature of the country—full of bogs and quagmires, and covered with impenetrable forests, which abounded everywhere down to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; and their most effective strategy, which they often used with success, was to hang on the skirts of a hostile army on march, attacking and slaying when opportunity offered, and when pressed, retiring to their fastnesses with the swiftness of stags.

Warfare.

As to dress, the men wore a large frieze mantle or overall, which covered them to the ankles, tight-fitting trousers, and a cone-shaped hat without leaf. The women wore ample flowing tunics of

Dress.

saffron colour; matrons had a kerchief on the head, unmarried girls went bare-headed.

History. In the years 1169 and 1170 a number of Cambro-Norman adventurers, under the chief leadership of Earl Richard de Clare, commonly known as Strongbow, sailing from Wales, landed in Wexford, took Dublin, Waterford, Wexford, and other towns, and formed settlements in the country. King Henry II. came over in 1171; and having taken possession of the conquered towns and territories, he went through the form of receiving the submission of the Irish kings, and of annexing the whole country in 1172. But the submission and annexation were purely fictitious. Colonists continued to arrive, and the settlement extended, the Irish kings, on account of their own dissensions, not yet offering any very serious resistance. King John, visiting in 1210 with a great army, parcelled out that part of the country under English jurisdiction into twelve counties, in which English law was to be administered.

The people of Ireland, heartily sick of anarchy, would at this time have welcomed any strong government able and willing to protect them: and with proper management might have been brought, in a reasonable time, to settle down under the authority of the English kings. But the mistaken policy initiated by Henry II., and carried out by subsequent kings and governments, prevented all this. The force employed was just sufficient to keep the country in perpetual turmoil, but never sufficient for conquest. The Anglo-Irish barons were allowed too much power, and carried on continual wars both against each other and against the natives: and no central government was maintained in the country strong enough to curb them. But the most fatal and disastrous mistake of all was this. The government, instead of treating the natives as subjects, persisted from the beginning in designating and treating them as "Irish enemies" —not to be governed and cared for, but to be kept at arm's length or exterminated. This perverse and wholly unnecessary policy vitiated the relations of England with Ireland then and to all subsequent time, and brought endless disaster and woe to both natives and colonists. For the natives, who might have been made good subjects by moderate and prudent treatment, had to fight for their lives;

and bad as was the state of the country before the arrival of the Anglo-Normans, it was infinitely worse after. As a direct consequence of this wholesale mismanagement, it took more than four centuries, with incalculable loss of blood and treasure, to accomplish the conquest of Ireland. All this was pointed out three centuries ago by a fair-minded and very able Englishman, Sir John Davies.

The English Rule.

The English kings governed the colony through local rulers resident in Dublin, who from time to time were designated by various titles, such as governor, viceroy, lord-justice or justiciary, lieutenant, lord-lieutenant, deputy or lord-deputy—these two last when the person governed for an absent viceroy.

Bruce's Invasion.

Soon after the time of King John, the native Irish, taking advantage of the dissensions of the barons, began to recover the lands that had been taken from them; the settlement grew gradually feebler and the territory smaller; and the colonists, so far from extending their conquests, had to fight for existence. A whole century of turmoil was brought to a climax by the invasion of Edward Bruce, who, in 1315, came over with a Scottish army, at the invitation of the Ulster chiefs, to crush the English and make himself king of Ireland. He traversed the country in different directions for three and a half years, during which Ireland, or a great part of it, was a sort of pandemonium; and after defeating the English in eighteen successive battles without a reverse, he was himself defeated and slain at Faughart, near Dundalk, in 1318. Though his expedition failed, it shook the English power to its foundation—almost destroyed it—and weakened and demoralised the government for centuries.

The Hibernicising of the Immigrants.

The colonists dispersed through the country, and the descendants of colonists, had all along shown a decided tendency to intermarry with the natives and to become incorporated with them. Soon after Bruce's invasion this movement became almost universal, from a two-fold cause. First, there was a general uprising of the Irish; and the colonists, seeing them prevail everywhere (except round Dublin), joined them for mere safety and protection. Secondly, the government turned the colonists into enemies by unwise treatment. A

distinction had all along been made between New English and Old English—English by birth and English by blood; and Englishmen got all the valuable situations and were placed over the heads of the older colonists, whom they despised and insulted. The colonists were, as it were, driven into the arms of the natives by the mischievous policy of the government. They adopted the Irish language, dress, and customs, till at last they became, in the complaining language of an English writer, *Hiberniores Hibernis ipsis*—more Irish than the Irish themselves. These were called "Degenerate English" by the loyalist people, who hated them even more than they did the natives; and their hate was repaid by hate with equal bitterness. To such an extent was this estrangement driven that, later on, some of the Anglo-Irish lords were among the most dangerous rebels against the government.

While the Brehon law prevailed among the native Irish, the colonists lived under English law. But English law did not extend to the Irish people; so that an Englishman might injure or even murder a "mere Irishman" with impunity: there was no redress. In the reign of Edward I., and again in that of Edward III., the Irish petitioned to be relieved from this intolerable hardship by being placed under English law; but the petition—which these two great kings would have granted if left to themselves—was refused in both cases, chiefly through the malign influence of the selfish Anglo-Irish barons, whose interest it was to keep the country embroiled, and to whom the kings weakly yielded.

The miseries of the people, both colonists and natives, increased and multiplied as time went on. During the whole of the fourteenth century there were wars, famines, and malignant plagues, and the colony seemed threatened with extinction. At last King Edward III. sent over his son Lionel, afterwards Duke of Clarence, as lord-lieutenant, to settle matters. This prince had an insane hatred of native Irish as well as of Anglo-Irish. He seems to have believed that all the evils of Ireland arose from the ever-increasing intercourse of the two races; and his great remedy was the Statute of Kilkenny, passed in 1367, the main object of which was to prevent all intercourse between them, and all adoption of Irish customs by the English. It was an attempt to

The Statute of Kilkenny.

separate Irish and English completely and for evermore. But this mischievous Act was found impossible to carry out—for human nature proved stronger than law; and after a time it became a dead letter.

Richard II. visited Ireland twice—in 1394 and 1399—with an army of about 34,000 each time, spending immense sums for nothing, for he effected no permanent good. He was harassed all through by Art MacMurrogh Kavanagh, king of Leinster; and on the second occasion was near losing his whole army among the Wicklow highlands. After this king's time, and especially during the Wars of the Roses, the English power in Ireland grew weaker than ever; but soon after the accession of the Tudors it began to recover.

The Irish colonists had all along a parliament free to make its own laws. But Henry VII., provoked by the favourable reception the Anglo-Irish had given to Simnel and Warbeck, caused the Irish Parliament—under the deputy, Sir Edward Poynings—to pass "Poynings' Law" in 1494, which destroyed Irish legislative independence by making the consent of the English king and council necessary before parliament could be summoned or a bill introduced. Towards the end of the reign of Henry VII. the colonial territory had shrunk to its smallest dimensions, including portions of only four counties round Dublin. The wretched colonists were harassed by coyne and livery and other exactions, by wars and plagues; and they had to pay "black rents" to the neighbouring Irish chiefs to purchase that protection against the fierce raids of the natives which the government were unable or unwilling to afford them. This little territory was called the Pale: soon after this time it became gradually enlarged.

Henry VIII., by his strong will, succeeded in restoring the almost extinct English power in Ireland. The Irish chiefs were induced to acknowledge him as spiritual head of the Church; but he failed to bring the Irish people as a body to do so. On the whole he treated the Irish considerately and kindly; and at the close of his reign the country was submissive and quiet, and the English power in Ireland was stronger than it ever had been before.

Ireland at the Reformation.

But the quiet was of short duration. After Henry's death

two new sources of strife appeared; for the government attempted to force the Reformation on the people of Ireland; and they also began to *plant* various districts with colonies from England and Scotland, for which the native owners were to be expelled. The Plantations succeeded to some extent: the attempt to Protestantise the Irish, though continued resolutely for three centuries, was a failure. These two projects were the cause of nearly all the subsequent dreadful rebellions and wars that desolated the unhappy country.

AUTHORITIES, 1547—1558.

The authorities for the general political history and for most of the special subjects are covered by the list given in c. ix. and by references in the text. The following works may be specially mentioned:—

Religion.—Sttype, *Life of Cranmer* and *Annals of the Reformation.* Publications of the Parker Society, *e.g.*, *Works* of Cranmer, Ridley, and Jewell; *Original Letters*, 1537-1558,; occasional references in Froude's *History of England;* Blunt, *History of the Reformation*, Vol. II.; Perry, *History of the English Church.* On the history of the English Bible, the best books are: Anderson, *Annals of the English Bible* (2 vols., 1845); Lewis, *History of the English Bible;* Lovett, *The Printed English Bible.*

Exploration.—Hakluyt, *Voyages*; Harrisse, *Discovery of North America.*

Architecture and Art, 1509-1603.—Ferguson, *History of Architecture*, Vol. III.; Woltmann and Woermann, *History of Painting;* Waagen, *Handbook;* Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painters*, ed. Wornum; Wornum, *Epochs of Painting.* For 1509-1558, in addition; Woltmann, *De Joh. Holbein Pictoris Celeberrimi Origine Dissertatio;* Nichols, *Contemporaries and Successors of Holbein.*

Coins.—Ruding, *Annals of the Coinage of Great Britain;* Kenyon, *Gold Coins of England;* Hawkins, *Silver Coins of England;* Akerman, *Manual.*

Pauperism and Poor Laws.—Burn's *History of the Poor Laws* was quoted with approval by Adam Smith ("Wealth of Nations," Book I., c. x), but Eden, *State of the Poor*, is still, in many respects, the most valuable work on the subject. See also Nicholls, *History of the English Poor Law.* Of more recent works, Ribton Turner, *History of Vagrants and Vagrancy*, is full of interesting information. Ashley, *Economic History*, Vol. I., Part 2, contains a useful chapter on Poor Relief, with parallels between England and the Continent. Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, contains sections dealing with pauperism at different periods. Much information on special points may be obtained from State Papers, local records, and contemporary pamphlets. Some of these, and other authorities, are referred to in the notes.

Scotland, General History, Contemporary.—The oldest and most valuable contemporary matter is to be found in the publications of the Burgh Records Society, *e.g.*, the *Ancient Laws and Customs of the Scottish Burghs*, 1124-1424; the records of the *Convention of Royal Burghs* and the *Charters* of Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, etc. Equally important are the Scottish Record Publications—the *Exchequer Rolls*, 1264-1454, and *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer*, 1473-98, to the latter of which is prefixed a full and extremely interesting picture of life and manners by Dr. Dickson, of the Register House. The early chroniclers—Wyntoun, Fordun, Bocce, Major—are collected in the volumes of the *Scottish Historians.* Barbour's *Bruce*

has been published by the E.E.T.S., Blind Harry's *Wallace* by the Scottish Text Society. The *Acts of the Scottish Parliament* are also accessible. The *Chronicle of Lanercost* (Maitland Club) is valuable for the period of the War of Independence.

Architecture.—Grose's *Antiquities*; Billings' *Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities*; and especially Macgibbon and Ross, *Domestic and Castellated Architecture of Scotland*.

Social Life.—The cartularies and registers of most of the religious houses—*e.g.*, Kelso, Melrose, Paisley, Cupar—are accessible, and illustrate the rural life. Sidelights are given by, *e.g.*, Barbour's *Bruce*, and popular poetry like *Christ's Kirk on the Green* and *Peblis to the Play*.

Modern Works.—Rogers, *Social Life in Scotland*; Michel, *Les Écossais en France, les Français en Écosse*, and *Scottish Language as Illustrating Civilisation in Scotland*; Mackintosh, *History of Civilisation in Scotland*. The remarks of native and foreign contemporary observers are made accessible by P. Hume Brown, *Scotland before 1700*, and *Early Travellers in Scotland*. Grant, *Burgh Schools*, sketches the rise of education. Far the most valuable modern books are—Robertson, *Scotland under her Early Kings*; Cosmo Innes, *Sketches of Early Scotch History* (1100-1750), and *Scotland in the Middle Ages*, 768-1600, and Tytler, *History of Scotland*, vol. i., c. vii., on *Ancient State and Manners of Scotland*; Cosmo Innes, *Scotch Legal Antiquities*, last chapter, on *Students' Guide Books*, is a valuable *catalogue raisonnée* of the authorities.

Ireland.—O'Curry, *Lectures on the MS. Materials of Irish History*, and on the *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*; the *Ancient Laws of Ireland*, 4 vols. (Rolls Series); Maine, *Early History of Institutions*; Ware's *History of the Bishops*, and *History and Antiquities of Ireland*, ed. Harris (Dublin, 1739-64); the works of Giraldus Cambrensis; Sir J. Davies, *Historical Tracts on Ireland*, ed. Chalmers; Spenser, *View of the State of Ireland*; Regan, ed. Goddard ("The Song of Dermot and the Earl"); the *Annals of the Four Masters* (ed. and trans. O'Donovan, Dublin, 1848-51), and other Irish annals; Gilbert, *Viceroys of Ireland*; A. C. Richey, *Lectures on the History of Ireland to* 1534 (Dublin, 1859); and the histories of Ireland by Macgeoghan (Dublin, 1831), R. Cox (1689), T. Leland (1773), McGee (Glasgow and London), and Joyce (London, 1893).

CHAPTER XI.

THE NEW ORDER. 1558–1584.

A. HASSALL. England and the European Situation.

ELIZABETH came to the throne in November, 1558, determined to resume the royal authority over the Church which had been asserted by Henry VIII. The wisdom of carrying out a religious revolution, when France and Spain were, by the Treaty of Cateau Cambrésis, bringing to an end their long quarrel, might indeed be questioned. But the return of the Marian exiles compelled her to forego the restoration of the "middle way" of Henry VIII., and to cast in her lot with the Protestants. The Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity were promulgated, and Elizabeth could only rely upon her own skill and the jealousies of foreign Powers to aid her in extricating the country from the precarious position in which she found it on her accession. Though there was no immediate danger of a direct attack on England by France or by Spain, the close alliance subsisting between France and Scotland was a serious menace to English independence. In June, 1559, however, the Roman Catholic Church was overthrown in Scotland, the French connection was repudiated, and the Protestant leaders appealed to England for support. After a period of characteristic hesitation, Elizabeth sent an English army to besiege Leith, and in July, 1560, the Treaty of Edinburgh practically destroyed French influence in Scotland, and largely augmented the English queen's reputation in Europe. In 1562 the wars of religion broke out in France, and Elizabeth, fearing that the overthrow of the Huguenots might lead to a close union between France and Spain, occupied Havre, but failed to hold it on the conclusion of the first Civil War. Henceforth the religious wars and political differences between the French and Spanish Courts secured England from danger on the side of France, and Elizabeth and Catherine de Medicis found that they had many interests in common.

During the next four years (1564–1568) events in Scotland gave the English Government much anxiety. Mary Stuart, on the death of her husband, Francis II., had returned to her kingdom in August, 1561, and, supported by all parties, was bent not only on being recognised as heir-presumptive to the English crown but on removing Elizabeth from the English throne. Her marriage with Darnley (July, 1565) was followed by political and religious turmoil, exemplified in the murders of Rizzio (1566) and of her husband (1567). Her marriage with Bothwell ruined her cause in Scotland, the Protestant lords overthrew her at Carberry Hill, and she was compelled to abdicate in favour of her son (July, 1567). Her escape from Loch Leven the following year, and her defeat at Langside, forced her to take refuge in England. Meanwhile in Ireland, which, as we have seen in the last chapter, was in a state of partial rebellion at Elizabeth's accession, the revolt of Shane O'Neill (p. 400) had broken out again in 1562, and had terminated only to be succeeded in 1569 by the far more serious rising of the Geraldines.

Scotland

and Ireland.

During the next twenty years England passed through a period of unparalleled difficulties. Calvinists and Catholics struggled for supremacy. The presence of Mary in England constituted a perpetual danger, and the outlook on the continent was uncertain. Archbishop Parker (1559–1575) endeavoured by means of the High Commission Court and the Book of Advertisements to enforce uniformity. The Independent party arose, and Parliament, itself strongly Puritan, enforced in 1571 subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles. Archbishop Grindal (1576–1583), himself a moderate Puritan, refused to repress Puritanism, and was suspended by Elizabeth (p. 317). This steady growth of the Protestant party in England was due in great measure to the aggressive attitude of the Papacy and to the steady development of the Counter-Reformation. The imprisonment of Mary in England brought in its train plots for her release, for the overthrow of Cecil, the deposition of Elizabeth, and the restoration of Catholicism. A conspiracy headed by the Duke of Norfolk collapsed in October, 1569, and the insurrection of the Northern earls was easily suppressed before the end of the year. In 1570 the excommunication of

The Religious Struggle.

Elizabeth by Pius V. was followed by the discovery of Ridolfi's plot (1571), the execution of Norfolk (1572), the arrival of a large number of seminary priests from Douai to stir up the Catholics in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the underhand intrigues of Spain.

Influences favouring Elizabeth.

During this dangerous period (1568–1584) Elizabeth found support (1) in the attitude of Parliament, (2) in the revolt of the Netherlands, (3) in her alliance with France. The Parliament of 1572, like all the Parliaments of the reign, displayed a strong Puritan feeling and warmly supported the Queen against her enemies. The same year the Dutch rose against Spain, and Philip, fearful of driving England into a close alliance with France, and of imperilling his hold on the Netherlands, refused to regard the repeated aggressions of England as a *casus belli*. Henceforth Elizabeth secretly assisted the rising under William of Orange, though she always hoped to bring about a compromise between the contending parties. In 1577 Drake commenced his voyage round the world, and during the next three years attacked the Spanish colonies, inflicting very serious damage on Spanish trade (p. 494). In April, 1572, Elizabeth, after one or two false steps, had at last concluded a defensive alliance with France, and this alliance was till 1584 "the corner-stone of her foreign policy." The Massacre of St. Bartholomew did not impair this friendship between the two Governments, which proved of the utmost value to England. In 1578 diplomatic relations (broken off in 1571) with Spain were renewed with the arrival of Mendoza in England, though in the following year Philip sent troops to Ireland and incited a Catholic reaction in Scotland. Till 1584 Elizabeth's waiting policy, pursued in opposition to the wish of Cecil, who always desired a thorough-going anti-Catholic crusade at home and abroad, proved successful. Instead of forming a league with all foreign Protestants and entering upon an internecine war with Catholics at home and abroad, instead of marrying a French prince and interfering actively in Scotland, where the Anglophile party, headed by Morton, was struggling against Esmé Stuart, Duke of Lennox, the representative of the Guises and of Catholic Europe, Elizabeth resolutely refused to adopt a spirited foreign policy, and in 1581 her marriage scheme with the Duke of Anjou

Elizabeth's Pacific Policy.

was broken off. Events showed the correctness of her judgment, and the position of England at the beginning of 1584 justified her determination to preserve peace. The Raid of Ruthven (August, 1582) overthrew the party of Lennox, avenged the death of Morton, and showed the absence of danger to England from a country torn by rival noble factions. England had since her accession enjoyed peace and good government, and in 1584 was strong, prosperous, and prepared for the great struggle which could no longer be averted.

C. RAYMOND BEAZLEY. Religion.

UNDER Elizabeth the reformed settlement of religion which obtained in the early years of Edward VI. was restored, as far as one time can ever reproduce another. But the point at which the Queen stopped in her anti-Romanism, and the point at which were fixed the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England for the rest of the sixteenth century, was, in technical terms, well-nigh the same as the point arrived at by the second Prayer Book of Edward VI. (1552; p. 181).

The Elizabethan Settlement. 1558-9.

The most extreme developments of Genevan and Zwinglian Protestantism, which were on the point of bringing to pass a third revision of the Liturgy at the end of her brother's reign, were held in check by Elizabeth and her chief advisers in Church matters, Cecil and Parker; the new revision of 1559 was even slightly—like all subsequent additions and corrections of the Prayer Book—in favour of the Anglican Catholicism of Henry VIII.'s last years, and of the first English Liturgy; the distinctive religious mark of the new reign was the evolution of organised Puritanism on the one side, and on the other of that High type of Churchmanship which produced the work of Hooker, Andrewes, and Laud, and the first Old Catholic school of modern times.

Thus, while on one side the connection with Rome was finally and promptly broken; while the religion of English society, as a whole, ceased from the year 1558 to acknowledge the Papal obedience and took to itself gradually a popular Protestant character of an unmistakable kind—yet, within that once compact body of abhorrers of Papistry, a division became every year more apparent between the moderate of the

Anglican or Royalist party and the uncompromising zealot of the school of Calvin and of Knox.

Church and State.

The permanent threefold division of English religion into Churchman, Nonconformist, and Roman Catholic begins in the reign of Elizabeth for all practical purposes, though she would have been the last to recognise the fact. To her, as to the bishops, there was never more than one Church in England—the Church recognised and protected by the State, said the Court: the Church of the ancient ministerial succession, said the High Churchmen who came to the front in the later years of the reign.

State Control of the Church.

But in this later as well as in the earlier period of the Tudor Revolution, the central thought in all religious change and settlement was national, political, or social rather than ecclesiastical. The reformation of the Church, as of all other parts of the English social system, was the work of the State, of the Crown, as representing the people. And, except in the reign of Henry VIII. himself, no epoch of the Tudor dynasty shows the secondary place of purely religious interests, in the transition from the Middle Ages to the Modern World, more thoroughly than the age of Elizabeth. The Church is treated very much as an arm of the Civil Service—a dignified but pleasantly helpless prey of an impecunious sovereign and a rapacious Court; the Queen, without the title, enjoys a full reality of supreme headship; each one of the new Queen's primates at Canterbury—Parker, Grindal, Whitgift—complains without ceasing of the petty oppressions of powerful laymen. Still more is the subject and tributary position of the English Establishment at this time proved by the tone of the current apologies for its reformation, such as Jewell's, where the main charge against Popery is its disloyalty to princes, and the main boast of the reformer is his own obedience to the great laws of Christ—"Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's," for "My kingdom is not of this world."

Doctrine and Ritual.

On the Prayer Book, the Articles of Religion, and the Homilies* appointed to be read in churches, was stamped the same mark of State control. The ornaments of churches existed by the

* "He that nameth rebellion," says the Homily on Disobedience (Part iii.,

authority of Parliament; the General Councils of the Church could not be gathered together without the commandment and will of Princes: the sin of rebellion was denounced in the only authorised sermons of the time as the most deadly of all crimes. "For this,"* as Jewell declares, "is our doctrine, that every soul, of what calling soever he be—be he monk, be he preacher, be he prophet, be he apostle—ought to be subject to kings and magistrates."†

And this subjection, enforced as rigidly by Cecil in 1570 as by Henry and Cromwell in 1536, carried with it not merely a paralysis of Church machinery and Church action (except so far as the Government allowed), not merely the great central doctrine and position that the Crown's majesty had the care of the souls as well as of the bodies of its subjects—but an infinite amount of petty tyranny. Elizabeth's language to the Bishop of Ely, like Henry VIII.'s to the Archbishop of Dublin, was the language of the Court to any ecclesiastic who tried to assert rights of any sort against the good pleasure of the Government, its friends and favourites. The proud prelate, who had shown an unpardonable and amazing reluctance to resign to Christopher Hatton with cheerful readiness the gardens of Ely House, is warned to remember who it was that had made him; if he did not come to a better mind on that point, the Queen screamed at him, as it were, by letter—"by God I will unfrock you." Not even her father had ever dealt more plainly with a "lewd priest." In a way that unpleasantly recalls some of the exactions of William Rufus, we hear of bishoprics often kept vacant, while the Crown drew the revenues; of constantly recurring grants of Church property to noble, or powerful, or at least importunate, beggars; especially of the Commissions of Concealment, issued under the guise of completing the work of monastic dissolution by inquiring if the Crown was still defrauded by any concealment of confiscated property.

init.) "nameth not a singular or only sin, as is theft and such like, but he nameth the whole puddle and sink of all sins against God and man."

* "Apology," Part iv., p. 85 (Cassell's ed.).

† Contrast with this the extreme mediæval churchman's attitude, as expressed in Boniface VIII.'s bull "Unam Sanctam": "It is altogether necessary that every human creature should be subject to the Roman Pontiff." (A.D. 1302.)

The Commissions of Concealment.

These commissions were so shamefully abused by the Court harpies, the "bottomless Baggs" thus let loose upon the clergy, that Burleigh himself interfered to spoil their game, and desired of Parker "some particular information against them." It was forthcoming in abundance;* but so many people, from Leicester downwards, were interested in the extortions, that they recurred "even to the latter end of the reign." And they went so far as to procure many of the possessions of the churches, especially the new foundations, as concealments, "and that for very trifles."† A more extreme way to scourge the clergy, as Parker wrote on Christmas Day, 1572, could not have been devised.

Thus it was not wonderful that Elizabeth's reign came to look like an Egyptian bondage to those Churchmen of the seventeenth century, who, with high ideas of ecclesiastical privilege, were not tempted to quarrel with a Royal patronage so kindly and so watchful as that of the earlier Stuarts. But at the time, in the intensely embittered war between the Protestant or anti-Papal world and the Catholic Reaction, there was little room for any party of Anglican defenders. The Queen's life stood between them and extermination or apostasy—so believed the ordinary ministers of the English reformed religion in 1560. The government which saved their lives and gave them the means of subsistence was a saviour many years before it was thought of as a plunderer. And the supremacy of the lay power over the ecclesiastical had been too completely achieved for a clerical interest, in the England of Elizabeth's early years, to exist apart. All who protested against the Pope's system were in one boat together; and the man who could fight best had the undisputed right to steer it.

The Alleviations of State Control.

This underlay the other fact: that the compromise on

* Thus Parker wrote, December 25, 1572, to Burleigh: "Will this turn to honour, after the fruits, tenths, subsidies, of late most liberally granted: after the arrearages of tenths, of subsidies, from King Henry's days, required and extorted: and some of these . . . twice and thrice discharged, and now after all this such pastimes to be procured?" . . . "I can say no more," he adds in April next, to the same friend, "but Jesus misereatur nostri. Est modus in rebus." "By which short expressions, insinuating the miserable estate of the clergy." Strype, "Parker," ii. 225–6.

† Ib., p. 227.

which rested the religious establishment of the new reign was scarcely supported by anyone for its own sake; was as furiously attacked by Calvin's men as by the Pope's; was a sort of Laodicean mixture to all the zealots who supplied the martyrs of Mary's cruelty, and only won its way as a practical working evasion of the spiritual tyranny both of Rome and Geneva, by slow degrees, almost in spite of itself, by the fact of inherent reasonableness, in times when passionate unreason guided the religious feeling of most. For the Church of England survived the attacks of Romanist and Puritan alike, because it suited the mass of English lay people better than either of the two extremes which threatened to crush it, and because it was, on the whole, amenable to the will of that same people.

Between 1558 and 1584 two archbishops carried out the will of the government in Church matters. Matthew Parker (1559-1575) was the most faithful, as he was the earliest expression of the distinctive Elizabethan settlement of religion. Grindal (1576-83), who followed him, and Whitgift (1583-1604), who followed Grindal, were either too Puritan or too Anglican for the exact correspondence that was aimed at between Lambeth and Westminster. But this was realised under Parker: he was less troubled by Nonconformity, by court intrigue, by petty interference, than either of his successors—though he enjoyed plenty of worry from all these sources—and he had the personal confidence of the Queen and of Cecil beyond any other ecclesiastic of the time.

It is only possible here to give the briefest outline of religious history during the years of these two Primates (1558-1583); but we should miss the real character of that history if we thought of either Parker or Grindal as having an independent policy, or forgot to notice the place of Cecil in Church as well as in State. In a very real sense, the reign of Elizabeth is the reign of Cecil; and whereas it is common enough to get a recognition of the great personal share of the Queen in the religious settlement, we are yet in want of an adequate view of Cecil's control of and interference with the same. But there is hardly a difficulty confronting Parker about which he does not consult Mr. Secretary (the Lord Treasurer Burleigh of 1572 and onwards); and though

Cecil's Ecclesiastical Policy.

Cecil was apparently in favour of a more thoroughgoing "reduction of the Church to its former purity," the practical outcome, in doctrine as in ritual, of the Elizabethan settlement was so far more Protestant than the letter of the Prayer Book and its rubrics, that he had every reason to be satisfied with the reduction. Thus, the government of the Church is through Parker, by Cecil, with occasional interference of the Queen against the will of both. But the seasons were very few when the calm wisdom of the minister could not, in the long run, control the impetuous, ever-changing moods of the sovereign, whose distrust of herself was her own salvation.

Unfortunately, the ultimate control of good sense was often delayed long enough for a great deal of incidental trouble to be felt. "Her Majesty told him once," Parker complained, at the end of his life,* "that he had supreme government ecclesiastical, but what is it to govern cumbered with such subtilty? He charged the Lord Treasurer to use still such things as might make to good judgment and help her Majesty's government in princely constancy, whatever the policy of the world would induce. To dance in a net in this world is but mere vanity."

The primacy of Parker was marked by a number of legislative acts, re-establishing, though in a more moderate way, the chief characteristics of the system of Henry VIII. and Edward VI.

Ecclesiastical Legislation.

1. The Act of Supremacy, brought into Parliament February 27th, passed into law April 29th, 1559, restored to the Crown the ancient jurisdiction "over the state ecclesiastical," over all spiritual courts and persons, and empowered the Queen by letters patent to give commission† to such as were thought fit to "visit, reform, redress, order, correct, and amend all such errors, heresies, schisms, abuses and offences . . . . which by any manner of spiritual jurisdiction can be lawfully reformed, ordered, or amended." The same Act contained clauses repealing all the Acts made for religion in Mary's reign, and revising those of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. For the title of Supreme Head was substituted that of Supreme Governor;

Church Government.

* 1575. Strype, "Parker," ii. 423–5.

† This was the real origin of the High Commission Court under Elizabeth.

and the vast powers given to the Crown by this statute were somewhat limited by a definition of the heresies and errors that fell within its scope. Nothing was to be punished as false doctrine unless it could be proved to be such by Scripture, by one of the first four councils, by a national or provincial synod "determining according to the Word of God," or by Parliament in time to come, with the assent of Convocation.

By the same Act the old method of nominating bishops by *Congé d'élire*, instead of by letters patent, was restored: penalties were denounced against all maintainers of the Papal supremacy: and the oath acknowledging the Royal headship in spirituals as well as temporals was imposed upon every holder of office under the Crown, which thus resumed the absolute discretionary power of 1534 over the Church.

The Reform of the Liturgy.

2. Matters of government being thus provided for, matters of religion proper, of liturgical and ritual usage, were next dealt with by the revised Prayer Book of 1559. First, until the Committee of Eight appointed to revise could issue the final text, a Royal proclamation of Dec. 27th, 1558, provided for the interim, commanding "all manner of persons to forbear to teach or preach" or to use any public prayer, other than what was already used.

The revision, in spite of Elizabeth's own preference for formularies of a Catholic tone, took the second or more Protestant book of Edward VI. (1552) as a basis, and simply re-issued it with a few important though apparently slight changes, intended to conciliate all the more moderate of the old-fashioned party. Thus the form of administration of the Communion was made up by the union of the two clauses, which, separately used, had so sharply defined the difference between the first two editions of the English Prayer Book. "The body of our Lord Jesus Christ . . . preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life." "Take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on Him in thy heart by faith with thanksgiving." Again, the declaration on kneeling at the end of the Communion Office, commonly called the Black Rubric, and originally printed in 1552, as a concession to the extreme Protestant party, was omitted. Thus the one explicit denial of the Real

Presence disappeared for good from the Anglican Liturgy, which no longer denied "the real essential presence of Christ's flesh and blood" in the Sacrament. The suffrage in the Litany which prayed for deliverance "from the Bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities" was cut out: a Table of Sunday Lessons was added, and the Ornaments Rubric, prescribing the vestments and church ornaments of the second year of Edward VI. (1548–9), was inserted at the last moment, seemingly by the Queen in council after the formal passing of the book through Parliament.*

The Act of Uniformity.

3. The use of the revised Prayer Book was enforced, and the new settlement of religion defined and affirmed in the Act of Uniformity, which passed into law April 28th, 1559, by a majority of three in the House of Lords, and gave the Crown a general power of publishing such further "ceremonies and rites" as might be thought fit. A fine of one shilling was imposed for each case of absence from the reformed church service, without reasonable excuse, after the day when it should be generally taken into use—namely, the feast of S. John Baptist (June 24th), 1559.

The Crown and Ecclesiastical Revenue.

4. The old Tudor privilege of Church spoliation, disguised under well-sounding terms of law, was also restored to the Crown by three minor Acts of Elizabeth's first Parliament, one giving first-fruits and tenths, another the revenues of Mary's religious foundations, and the third the manors of vacant sees to the Supreme Governor of English religion. The Queen also gained a special power of annexing the coveted possessions of any bishopric or benefice in the kingdom, giving in exchange impropriate tithes; but, as every one of her archbishops bewailed, the sovereign never came off the loser by this conveyance.

The Injunctions.

5. To supplement the Prayer Book and the acts above referred to, fifty-three Injunctions,† reprinted with important changes from those of King

* The general effect of the alterations was to take away from the Prayer Book the distinctly anti-mediæval character which the revision of 1552 had given it.

† They dealt, *e.g.*, with: 1. Images; 2. Clerical celibacy; 3. Clerical dress; 4. Church ornaments; 5. Church song; 6. Royal supremacy; 7. Holy tables; 8. Sacramental bread.

Edward, were now issued for the guidance of the Church, more especially in the troubled interval between the deposition of the Marian hierarchy and the establishment of their successors.

The Government and the Episcopate.

6. For, in striking contrast to the attitude of the main body of the parish clergy, among whom only 189 out of some 9,000 are said to have resigned, the bishops whom Elizabeth found in office proved thoroughly intractable, and had to be deprived and committed to custody. Only one, Oglethorpe of Carlisle, would act at her coronation: only one, Kitchen of Llandaff, would subscribe the new Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity: the ranks of the Episcopate had been terribly thinned by death, but of the survivors, fourteen out of fifteen refused to yield (May 15th, 1559), and of the twenty-six English sees of that time twenty-five were now vacant.

The Settlement Completed

If the rank and file of the Queen's party could have had their way, they would never have been filled again, and the line of English bishops would have closed with Pole and his suffragans, but the Government had determined to maintain the old methods of Church order, and Matthew Parker, Dean of Lincoln under King Edward, was forced into the Metropolitan See after a long delay, and consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury in Lambeth Chapel on Dec. 17th, 1559. The most important of the other dioceses were all filled by the end of Jan., 1560, and the formal work of the Elizabethan settlement of religion was complete, at least in outline.

and Supplemented, 1559–1584.

7. In the next fifteen years, under Parker's direction, several efforts were made to define more clearly the Church's position in matters of doctrine, ritual, discipline, and government.

Doctrine.

A. As to doctrine, we have first the Eleven Articles of 1560, the Thirty-Nine Articles of 1563, reduced from the forty-two of Edward VI., and finally issued in 1571, the Completed Homilies of 1563, in which Edwardian material was again used as a basis, and Dean Nowell's abortive attempt to re-issue Poynet's catechism as a summary of Church of England teaching.

Besides these, the Bishop's Bible of 1568 was an attempt

to give a thoroughly Anglican version of the Scriptures, in opposition to the popular Geneva Bible, with its Calvinistic notes; and, lastly, though only the work of a single man, Jewell's Apology of the Church of England was accepted on all sides as the complete and satisfactory statement of her position in 1562.

Ritual.

B. As to ritual, these years saw the opening of the endless Vestiarian Controversy. The letter of the Prayer Book in the Ornaments Rubric, and the personal predilections of the Queen, required the use of all the chief mediæval vestments, as ordered in the first English Liturgy of 1549. In practice it was found extremely difficult to enforce the use of the surplice only. The compromise attempted by Parker in his Advertisements of 1566 (p. 426), which ordered the surplice in all parish churches, with the addition of the cope at Communion in cathedrals and collegiate foundations, was a failure, and from the year 1563 there is a continuous struggle with a more or less organised Nonconformity within the Church.

Discipline.

C. The struggle to enforce the discipline of the Church, the fight for the Godly discipline, was the struggle which Elizabeth's death found as present as her early years had done: it was a struggle to enforce a minimum of ritual upon the Puritans and Precisians and a maximum of morality upon the scandalous ministers who then troubled the Church in perhaps unusual force. In spite of all the efforts of the Queen, Parker, and Cecil, it would not be easy to exaggerate the variety of usage within the churches, the evasion of the most plain requirements of the Prayer Book, or the disorder of spiritual interests as a whole, more especially in the outlying districts.*

* For the low condition of the Church, *e.g.* in 1572, *cf.* Strype's "Parker," ii. 204–5. "The Church was neglected, occasioned, in measure, by controversies about the Church's government, and other external matters . . . which employed the thoughts and zeal of Clergy and Laity. The churchmen heaped up many benefices upon themselves, and resided upon none; many alienated their lands, made wastes of their woods, granted advowsons to their children. Churches ran greatly into decays: were kept nasty and filthy, and undecent for God's worship.

"Among the laity there was little devotion.

"The Lord's Day greatly profaned and little observed.

"The common prayers not frequented.

"Some without any service of God at all.

The Puritan opposition found friends enough among the great men at Court to be able to thwart Parker at every turn: he declared again and again to Cecil that he was weary of his life—"some drew back while he drew forward." What was the use of struggling with such a stone of Sisyphus? "I may not work against Puritans," he cries in despair, in the last year of his life, "though the laws be against them."

D. As to government, the standing difficulty of a dual control—a nominal one by the bishops, a real one by the Council—hampered the work of Parker and Grindal, and it was only with the primacy of Whitgift, when the Ecclesiastical Commission was put on a permanent footing, and both councillors and bishops were enlisted in its service and joined in a single board, which really controlled the government of the Church of England, that any improvement was reached in the practical working of ecclesiastical affairs. Unfortunately for the Church, this practical improvement was associated with such an increase of dogmatic clearness and "admired" severity, that dissent began to take a much more serious shape. On another side, the attempt to give the Church of England a code of reformed canon law fell to the ground now and for ever (1571–2) in the failure to gain Parliamentary sanction for the Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum, prepared and brought forward under Henry VIII. and Edward VI. It was not the interest or wish of Court, Council, or Commons to allow the Church they had "amended" to develop its organisation or to gain a basis for independent action. Let it remain as amorphous, as vague, as harmless as possible, consistently with such decent conformity to the rules of State as any branch of civil service would demand.

Government.

Grindal, who refused to be altogether guided by the royal supremacy he acknowledged, found himself sharply checked. On his demur to the Queen's order (1577) for suppression of the

Grindal's Suspension.

"Many mere heathens and atheists.

"The Court an harbour for epicures and atheists, and a kind of lawless place, because it stood in no parish.

"All which put Lord Burleigh upon considering about effectual remedies."

Besides this, the vexation of the Concealment Commissions (Strype, "Parker," ii. 227) lasted all the Queen's reign. For similar reports of the Church in South Wales later on, *cf.* Strype, "Grindal," 401–2.

prophesyings or class meetings of the Puritans, where ministers and laymen * met together to discuss theology and practise debate in divinity, he was suspended, his see sequestered, and the main part of his work delegated to other and more pliant officials. The punishment was removed in 1582, just before his death, when his spirit was "enough purged of his proud folly," and he had forgotten the words with which he had once, in 1577, stood up against the State commands—"That in matters of faith bishops were wont to judge of Christian emperors, not emperors of the bishops."

He, like the other Churchmen of the day, had to learn that lesson that Jewell had learnt so well—"That a Christian prince hath the charge of both tables, temporal and spiritual, committed to him by God, to the end he may understand that not temporal matters only, but also religious and ecclesiastical causes pertain to his office."

For to that view were doggedly pledged the mass of the English people, the whole nation with the exception of three small groups—the Protestant Separatists of 1564 and later years, the Roman Separatists of 1570, and a few, a very few, within the Established Church, who sympathised with the unbending theories, though not with the self-abnegation, of one or other, or both, of these extremes.

R. HUGHES. Architecture and Art.

THE reigns of the son and elder daughter of Henry VIII. have little architectural significance. The Duke of Somerset, the Protector, was a great patron of the Italian John of Padua, an artist who had been employed, in a more or less subordinate character, in France, and who brought to his work, though with probably less intelligence and invention, the same ideas which are exemplified abroad by the work of Vignola, Lescot, and De Lorme. The Italian architecture was, in fact, about to close its grip on the decadent Gothic and

* Grindal was quite ready to be shocked at laymen thus presuming to talk about spiritual matters on an equality with the clergy—but as to the prophesyings themselves, apart from their abuses, he would not give way, "choosing rather to offend her Majesty than the heavenly." Strype, "Grindal," 325–9.

finally to strangle it: but, during the period of the agony a development of great interest took place, largely in the reign of Elizabeth, which has left its traces all over England.

Elizabethan Architecture.

It is commonly said that the Elizabethan architecture grew out of the attempt to reconcile the English Gothic with the classical Italian. But if there was any such attempt, it would seem to have been made unconsciously. Classical details, no doubt, were borrowed from the Italian monuments, which were the real beginnings of the Renaissance in England. These date back to the very first years of the century, while the Renaissance architecture was three-quarters of a century later. Elizabethan is at first irregular in plan, Gothic in feeling, troubling itself little about proportion, but delightfully picturesque. The later, or more fully developed Elizabethan, is distinguished by regularity, and by a feeling for proportion in mass and façade, which is much more Italian, even Palladian in spirit, though Palladio was not yet an influence. John of Padua, or at any rate the architect of Longleat, is probably responsible, to a large extent, for this change of feeling. But whoever may be responsible, it is quite impossible to compare the two kinds of work without seeing that a great change has been in progress.

Its Genesis.

Knole, Penshurst and Haddon Hall are, perhaps, the most typical specimens of houses built in that earlier style of what we may call the indigenous Elizabethan—the Elizabethan, that is, which is the most English and least Italian. All three were rebuildings, with additions, of fortified manor-houses of early date, and present all sorts of conundrums for the inquirer who would discriminate between the old and the new. There is great variety in arrangement in all of them, though a few features may be described as normal: but these were present long before, and are found long after, the reign of Elizabeth. Such were the great hall where dinner was served daily, the long gallery, usually giving access to the garden, and the solar, or withdrawing-room. Usually, too, there was a chapel or oratory, and this even in small houses, such as Igtham Moat, though occasionally in large houses (Cobham, for instance) it was omitted. These rambling buildings are, of

Indigenous Elizabethan.

Manor Houses.

course, infinitely more picturesque than their more Italianized contemporaries, which differ from them chiefly by their symmetry and their proportion, and, not unfrequently, their absolute regularity of plan. The name of these, too, is legion, Longleat, Hardwick, and Audley End, the ruined Kenilworth, and the famous Kingston House at Bradford-on-Avon, being the most famous. Longleat, perhaps, shows the Italian influences most clearly, not only in details, such as the engaged column between the windows and at the central doorway, but in its superb proportions, and the stately uniformity of its mass. But Kingston House, or "the Duke's house" at Bradford, though smaller, is more beautiful—indeed, perhaps the most beautiful specimen that we possess. The following description by an enthusiastic admirer of Elizabethan will serve to explain its typical character:—

Italianized Elizabethan.

"The front has two storeys, topped by attics under three gables. The central window projects squarely; the side windows are much wider, and each projects in a small semi-circular bow. Over the windows is a beautiful flat balustrading, not in the least Italian, yet not Gothic. This balustrading is typically Elizabethan; and on the terrace and steps into the garden it is of the same character, but of a different pattern. Between the projecting windows are others, flat, so that the whole front is taken up with a series of lights, those on the ground-floor being interrupted only by the entrance. These windows are formed by stone mullions, two transoms, in each opening, running along the whole front. The chimneys are plain and square, set cornerwise. There are two gables at the side of the house, with four tall, plain, double-cross mullioned windows in two storeys. The back is very like the front, but plainer. The entrance doorway from the terrace is the only place where we see any Italian features, two graceful, but very plain, engaged columns standing on either side. Unlike so many houses of the period, the duke's has no courtyard, the centre being occupied by a wide newel stair, an unusual but very pleasing feature. The rooms are, of course, magnificently lighted, and are light in proportion to their size. The ceilings are beautifully decorated with plaster fret-work. There is not, except in a kind of cresting over the door, and the balustrades already mentioned, an inch of ornament anywhere; yet the effect is ornamental in no slight degree. The whole front is about 50 feet high, about 60 wide. . . . . There can be little doubt that the same architect designed both it and Longleat. In each there is the same reliance upon proportion, rather than upon ornament, to insure an ornamental effect, the same abundant fenestration, the same beautiful parapet work, and, as compared with contemporary buildings, the same freshness and originality."*

* Loftie, "Inigo Jones and Christopher Wren," p. 66, *seq.*

Not, perhaps, quite abreast of the Italianized Elizabethan, but, as one may say, at its girths, came the new style, which owed nothing to Gothic, but was wholly the product of the classical Renaissance. Of great buildings in this style few seem to have been erected, though Gresham's Royal Exchange may possibly have been an exception; but none of these, so far as is known, remain. Have, or Havenius, of Cleves, seems to have been the architect of the Exchange, and he certainly was of the gate of Virtue and Wisdom, and of the gate of Honour at Caius College, Cambridge. The former of these was completed in 1567, the latter in 1574; and it is noteworthy that it was between those very years that Longleat was being built. In both gates the archway is slightly pointed. Both are adorned with Ionic pilasters, and both are charming. The Gate of Honour is, indeed, by itself sufficient to keep Have's name from being forgotten. Although the details are not quite pure, the ensemble is of the most delicate beauty and balance; and this gate, crowned with a small temple-like structure of the Corinthian order, forms one of the few gems of pure Renaissance work in this country. Not unnaturally, the feeling for classical work seems to have taken more root in the universities, though the proof of this is mostly evidenced by later examples. Elsewhere one can almost fancy that one sees faint glimmering signs of a Gothic revival. Thus Wollaton, commenced the year after Longleat was finished, shows a stronger Gothic feeling. Longford, commenced in 1591, when Wollaton was being completed, has less Italian dignity than either, though the use of the order as a means of decoration is more profuse. There is a jumbling of motives too. The Doric pillars which adorn the porch immediately support pointed arches, while those above them are circular. On the whole, during the latter part of the reign of Elizabeth, there is a tendency to that anarchy in architecture which was, a little later, to be expressed in the quaint form to which the name of Jacobean has been given.

Renaissance Architecture.

The reign of Elizabeth, though an Augustan age in literature, was not distinguished by any great outburst of talent in the direction either of painting or sculpture. But the first English school of painting dates from that reign. It was a school

Elizabethan Miniatures.

of miniature, and was destined to have a long life, though never to develop into anything of quite European excellence. Nevertheless, the tradition is unbroken from the time of Elizabeth to the time of George IV.; and Cosway may, not unfairly, be designated as the lineal descendant of Nicholas Hilliard. It may well be doubted whether, prior to the reign of Elizabeth, any artist had devoted himself exclusively to this form of painting. Of course Holbein, Zucchero, Van Cleef, Van Heere, the Terlings, and others whose names have been mentioned in dealing with the reign of Henry VIII., occasionally painted "portraits in little"; but probably the first miniaturist pure and simple was Nicholas Hilliard. He was a Devonshire man of good family, born in 1547, and began life as a goldsmith. He was, to some extent, self-taught, and professed to have modelled himself on Holbein, though, in truth, he seems to have owed more to the old missal painters, whom he resembles both in his opaque colours, in his use of gold to heighten the effect of ornament, and by a certain flatness and absence of shadow. He seems to have been a precocious genius, and to have begun to paint at the age of fourteen. There are miniatures by him of Henry VII. and Henry VIII., and of Jane Seymour and her son, though obviously some of these could not have been taken from the life. Queen Elizabeth was frequently painted by Hilliard—old Hilliard, as he is called to distinguish him from his son Lawrence, also a miniature painter. He lived till 1619; and James I. rewarded him in a characteristic manner, by the grant of a monopoly of reproducing the royal image. He found a younger rival, and indeed much more than a rival, in Isaac Oliver, or Olivier. He was apparently of French extraction, as the notes in his pocket-book, which has been preserved, are partly in that language. He was born in 1556; and his work, as Dr. Propert excellently says, is "second to none in the whole history of miniature art." Isaac Oliver pursued his laborious profession until his death in 1617. He was succeeded by his son Peter, a miniaturist of almost equal excellence, to whom his father bequeathed the refusal of his works "at fyve shillings in a pound cheaper than any would pay for them." He enjoyed the favour of Charles I., who employed him to make reduced

Nicholas Hilliard.

The Olivers.

copies of the masterpieces of the Royal collections. Out of the same school came a long line of miniaturists, including Balthazar Gerbier, knighted by Charles in 1628, Robert Peake who is known to have received payment from the Council in 1612, Hoskins, and the two Coopers, his nephews, of whom Samuel is, and deserves to be, the best known; but these, though most of them at work in the early part of Charles's reign belong properly to the Commonwealth and the Restoration.

Portrait Painters.

In the other and higher branches of painting England was less fortunate. The insatiable vanity of the Queen would, no doubt, have given us a richer harvest, had not that vanity been constrained by an equally imperative parsimony. The collection of royal portraits is, however, considerable, though, for the most part, they are the work of second-rate Dutchmen or Italians. "A pale Roman nose, a head loaded with crowns and powdered with diamonds, a vast ruff, a vaster fardingale, and a bushel of pearls, are the features by which everybody knows the pictures of the Queen of England." Walpole's sarcastic description is certainly graphic enough.

Zucchero.

Federigo Zucchero, an Umbrian, is the greatest Italian who painted "her Grace"; and Lucas Van Heere, Ketel, Marc Gerhardt of Bruges, and Cornelis Vroom are believed to have had the same honour But once more we have a list of foreign names, and no considerable native artist seems to have risen to paint the features of a reign prolific above all others in men whose portraits were worth painting.

Queen Elizabeth's Coins.

A large importation of coined Spanish gold had been one of the suggestive incidents of the marriage of Philip and Mary, and, consequently, on Elizabeth's accession the usual demand for gold coin was somewhat diminished. But soon after her accession a commission was issued to Sir Edmund Peckham and others for a coinage of sovereigns, angels and angelets, of exceptionally fine gold, representing the values of thirty, ten, and five shillings respectively. At the same time, in the Crown gold (of the ordinary twenty-two carats fineness) there were issued sovereigns (of twenty shillings) and half-sovereigns, crowns and half-crowns, of proportionate value. By proclamation,

too, the earlier silver was ordered to be taken at three-fourths of its value—pennies, half-groats, and the rest, except certain testoons, which were excepted on the ground of exceptional inferiority. Subsequently there was an issue of old standard silver, including, besides the ordinary denominations, the three-halfpenny piece, and that most singular coin, the silver three-farthings. Most of the base coins were got into the treasury, but not without a good deal of difficulty. There was, in fact, a sort of panic in the early part of Elizabeth's reign, but it was put an end to in a heroic fashion (*cf.* p. 360). In 1561 a final proclamation was issued, lowering the values without decreasing the pureness of the coinage. A list is subjoined :—

Gold	Fine Gold	Sovereign formerly current at	30/-	to pass for	20/-.
		Real	15/-		15/-.
		Angel	10/-		6/8.
		Half-angel	5/-		3/4.
	Crown Gold	Sovereign	20/-		13/4.
		Half-sovereign	10/-		6/8.
		Crown	5/-		3/4.
		Half-crown	2/6		1/8.

Silver	Shilling	to pass for -/8.
	½ Shilling	-/4.
	¼ Shilling	-/2.
	Three Half-penny Pieces	-/1.
	Three Farthing Pieces	-/0½.

In addition three groats were to serve as 8d., three half-groats as 4d, and three pennies as 2d.

Tokens.

There were a great many supplementary and later coinages during the long reign of the Queen those of Louison, which included angels, angelets, quarter angels, half and quarter shillings, three-halfpenny and three-farthing pieces, and pennies, were specially notable. The use of private tokens increased steadily; lead, leather, and base metals of various kinds being employed for the purpose. The abundance of these was so great that an attempt was made to legalise the situation, and in 1576 a licence for their issue was granted to the town of Bristol. A copper coinage was even proposed, and not only received the royal fiat, but dies were prepared for the purpose; yet it appears that no issue was ever made, the existing specimens being supposed to be only patterns. The

reform of the coinage was justly considered by Elizabeth to be one of the glories of her reign, but her method of dealing with the exceptionally bad silver was characteristic. It was transferred in large quantities to Ireland, and notwithstanding its original inferiority, four thousand pounds of this base silver, only three ounces fine, were further diluted into eight thousand pounds of Irish currency.

A special feature of the reign was a coinage for the Indian trade. The natives seemed to have been accustomed to Spanish money, but the Queen objected to its use by her subjects. Accordingly, crowns, half-crowns, and sixpences were issued to the East Indian traders, but it was found necessary to adjust their weight according to the Spanish piastre. These coins have the shield of arms on one side, and on the other the portcullis. The portraiture exhibited on Queen Elizabeth's coins is excellent, even on some of the tokens.

Coins for the Indian Trade.

During the fifteenth century the fear of the supernatural was slowly drawing round the minds of the people of Western Europe. Hitherto the magic of the people had been of the nature of folklore, reminiscences of pagan worship which had become heresy by the conquest of the Christian faith; but when, in 1398, the Sorbonne published its twenty-seven articles dealing with conjurations, with images of devils, and sorcery, it gave the widest possible advertisement to the crime. We have shown how popular belief in the demoniac compact gradually took shape and grew (Vol. II., p. 79); but it did not loom large in the public mind till in the fifteenth century the accusation of sorcery began to be used as a political weapon, chiefly against women. Thus in 1419, Joan, the Queen Dowager, was committed to prison for sorcery against Henry V., and her associate, Friar John Randolph, taken in Jersey, was sent to the Tower. We have the charges against the Duchess of Gloucester and the Duchess of Bedford, Joan of Arc, and Jane Shore, whom the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Ely were afterwards accused of assisting. In Scotland, too, the Earl of Mar, brother of James III. (1460-1488), was bled to death by order of the Lords of the Council

R. STEELE. Magic, Astrology, Alchemy.

for magical practices against his brother; and, subsequently, twelve witches and four wizards were burnt to death in Edinburgh for the same crime.

At the end of the century, what has been well called a diabolical nightmare fell on Europe—a nightmare which weighed on our country for over a century. In 1484 Innocent VIII. issued his celebrated bull against the witches of Germany, enumerating the evils they wrought, and appointing inquisitors to put down the scandal. It is difficult to say what the effect of this was—a single inquisitor burns 900 in fifteen years, 500 are burned in one city in three months. The wave of terror did not reach England in any force till near the middle of the century. It shows itself almost simultaneously in England and Scotland by the revival of the old charges of sorcery. This was one of the crimes which fell under the jurisdiction of the King's Council (Vol. II., p. 483), of which few records exist; but we find from them that Cromwell issued a proclamation forbidding it, and Lord Hungerford, in England (1540), and Lady Glanmis, sister of the Earl of Angus—a Douglas (1537)—were executed for attempting the lives of their respective monarchs. As Henry grew older, and his thirst for blood grew strong, the fear of witchcraft increased; and in 1541 the first Act against witchcraft (33 Henry VIII., c. 8) was passed, the "tricesimo-tertio of Henry," quoted in Ben Jonson's *Alchemist*. The practices it forbade were the devising and practising invocations to find gold and silver, or to destroy a neighbour's person or goods; the making images of men, angels, devils, beasts, or fowls; of burying crowns, sceptres, swords, rings, glasses; and of telling where things lost or stolen should be found. The penalty was death, without benefit of clergy. In the same year an Act was passed by the affrighted Parliament making it felony, without clergy, to found any prophecy on badges, or field beasts, fowls, etc., worn in arms (which might bring them into trouble with our lord the king); and on July 1st a Welsh minstrel suffered under the Act.

Legislation Against Witchcraft.

In the first Parliament of Edward VI. the Acts of this session were repealed, with few exceptions; but witches were not thereby set free, since the jurisdiction of the ordinary was untouched (1 Edward VI., c. 12). Indeed, in 1549, Cranmer's

visitation directs the clergy to enquire after users of charms, etc., and to present them to the archdeacon. During the reign of Mary the hunt for heretical doctrine was so keen that we have no record of witch burning; but in one of the first sermons preached before Elizabeth in 1558 by Jewell, he took occasion to remark on the widespread sin of sorcery. In 1562 Henry's law was re-enacted in a more merciful form (5 Elizabeth, c. 16), the first offence being punished by a year's imprisonment and four exposures in the pillory, a second conviction being felony. It seems that for some time there were few prosecutions under the Act, but in 1575 a witch persecution was begun, though not carried out with the ferocity of that begun and carried on by James. In 1576 two children, and Mildred Norrington, the maid of Westwell, were pilloried. Soon the madness spread. In 1577 a waxen image of Elizabeth was picked up, and Dr. Dee was consulted as to the best means of guarding her Grace; but his measures were ineffectual, for next year she suffered greatly from pains in her teeth, and Dee was again applied to. Such an evident case of sorcery was not neglected; the ordinaries actively took up the search for witches—witness the fate of Simon Pembroke, who, being observed to be lucky at dice, was summoned before the ordinary at Southwark. But being in the act of passing some money to the proctor, his head sank and he died; whereupon he was searched, and they found a tin man holding three dice, marked "chance the dice fortunately," and "five devilish books of conjuration, and most abominable practices." After 1579 the persecution ceased for a time, perhaps discouraged by the publication of Reginald Scot's "Discoverie of Witchcraft," a learned and sensible book, considering the state of popular belief. Almost the only other execution for witchcraft in the reign after this was the famous Warboys case in 1593, when three persons named Samuels were executed for bewitching, in 1590, the five children of the Throgmorton family, with seven servants, Lady Cromwell, and others. The story of this case is more fully preserved than usual, since Sir Samuel Cromwell, as lord of the manor, founded an annual sermon on witchcraft to be preached every Lady-Day in Huntingdon by a D.D. or B.D. of Queen's College, Cambridge, out of the property of the felons which escheated to him.

Alchemy.

Our survey of English alchemy in the previous volume brought us up to the end of the fifteenth century, with its evidence of a revival of study in the earlier part of the second half of the century. We know of few alchemists in the early part of the sixteenth. Sir Robert Greene, of Welby (1467-1538), who is spoken of as Comes Palatinus, was a voluminous writer, and Robert Freelove in 1536 makes a copy of Lully's works, which he values at £20. In 1550 he translates Bacon's "Radix Mundi," and seems to have been living in the Savoy in 1566. The issue of base coin in Henry and Edward's reigns produced the usual result of a plentiful crop of alchemists. Men of all classes joined in the search for riches, from the yeomen of Kent to the treasurer of England. The Queen accepted the dedication of many of the works on alchemy, and perhaps with propriety, for the philosopher's stone was, as Jonson says in the *Alchemist*, "a wealth unfit for any private subject"; and the fate prophesied to its owner was no unlikely one—

> "You may come to end
> The remnant of your days in a loathed prison
> By speaking of it."

The work of Thomas Charnock gives an interesting account of the way in which he proceeded. The potter makes him some large vessels for furnaces, and he has to tell him for what they are to be used. Then the carpenter makes a stand for them; and, lastly, he has to go to Chiddingfold in Surrey to the glass-blower to get his vessels blown. Lastly, we have an account of his troubles and trials ending up with the neighbouring gentleman, who impresses him to serve for the relief of Calais, when he breaks up his furnaces with a hatchet, and marches forth "with the cross upon his back" to serve as a soldier. A note in one of the Sloane MSS. tells that the price of a glass body for a still, *i.e.* a wide-necked flask, was 2s. 6d. for the gallon size, or 1s. 6d. for a potell, at this period. It must be said that some of the alchemists had minor secrets, not to be disdained by any women; "water to cleanse and keep bright the skin and flesh, a precious water for purifying and preserving the teeth, etc.," are among the secrets imparted to Queen Elizabeth by one of them, Ralph Rabbard, in 1574. A London haberdasher translates

Lully; a Bristol customer forms a manuscript library of alchemy; the "Master of the Engynes" has other translations made for him; the Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity resigns his chair to study it more freely—facts like these testify to the widespread interest. In truth, though we cannot yet discern it, the birth of science was at hand.

Paracelsus.

For fifteen years an extraordinary man, Paracelsus (1526-1541), held the attention of Europe. The grossness of his language, and his hearty animalism, are the things that strike a modern observer most; but in his own time, among the men hit so hard by the "Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum," neither his language, his gluttony, nor his drunkenness would be so great as to be noticeable. What was extraordinary was his bold revolt against authority, and the application, in some measure, of common sense to medicine. We are chiefly concerned with him here because he gave publicity to a new theory of the chemical elements of bodies. The mediæval theory was that metals consisted of mercury and sulphur, the impurities of which made the difference between them, while earths were bodies of a different nature. The theory after Paracelsus seems to have been that all bodies consisted of mercury, sulphur, and salt, to which was soon added phlegm. The sulphur of the body was the inflammable part of it, the mercury was that which could be sublimed or collected from the smoke, and the salt was the ash or earthy substance left when it was burnt. These are the chemical elements against the theory of which Boyle wrote the "Sceptical Chymist." Another characteristic of Paracelsus was his unbridled imagination. A whole mythology of elves and salamanders is described in his works. The "homunculus" of Goethe, the flower revived from its burnt ashes of Sir Thomas Browne, the weapon-salve, demogorgon, etc., of other writers, all passed through or sprung from Paracelsus. If he was in one sense a great man, he was in every way a great charlatan.

Dee and Kelly.

From his time alchemy became the peculiar property of charlatans and visionaries. Typical examples are found in the famous association of Dee and Kelly. The latter, an almost uneducated man, is first heard of in 1578 as an alchemical writer; in 1580 his ears were clipped for coining base money; in 1582 he became

associated with Dee in magic and alchemy, and in 1583 they went abroad. In December, 1586, Kelly wrought the projection, and gave away a large number of gold rings on his daughter's marriage; and when, after various adventures, Dee left him and returned to England, Kelly was imprisoned by the Emperor. He was finally killed in endeavouring to escape, 1595. Dee, on the other hand, was the son of a servant of Henry VIII., and became known first as a mathematician, writing of algebra, astronomy, astrology, and geometry. At about the age of forty his attention seems to have been turned towards the Neo-Platonist writers, and he wrote an extraordinary little book called "Monas Hieroglyphica" at Antwerp, 1565, addressed to the Emperor Maximilian, on the properties and parts of the alchemical sign for mercury. After visiting this emperor he returned to England and had an interview with the Queen early in 1568, in which he imparted to her the great secret contained in that work. He now seems to have engaged in the study of alchemy and of magic. In 1574 he wrote to Burghley, asking leave to search for hidden treasure (which was illegal), and offering to halve any that he found with him. In the same year the Queen visited him to see the spirits in his famous specula (one of which is now in the British Museum). In 1579 he revealed the secret of the elixir to Roger Cooke—a secret which he himself afterwards learnt in 1586 from Kelly. While giving Dee credit for his wide learning, his undoubted ability and zeal, we cannot but accept the conclusion that his excursions to the Continent covered other secrets than alchemical ones; and that he was, in reality, one of Elizabeth's political agents, especially when we remember how the Steganographia of Trithemius, a book of magical conjurations, was shown in the eighteenth century to be a manual of cryptograms for the conveyance of secret information.

Astrology.

The connection between astrology and alchemy, always intimate, was never closer than in the period under notice. Norton's poem (see Vol. II., p. 375) had given the proper astrological periods for each stage of the "great work," and this work is only named as one of many others because it is in English; astrology was universally believed in. As time wore on, people began to doubt, first the rules of one or the other master of the art, and then the very

foundations of it; till at last the triumph of the Copernican system destroyed the fundamental basis of astrology, leaving it to be driven out of court by the common sense of mankind, though the fulfilled predictions of the Commonwealth astrologers are still appealed to as proofs of the science. Yet even to the present day our language bears token of the belief, and some of the finest passages in Shakespeare and Milton owe their beauty to the cant of the astrologer.

Astrology and Medicine.

The foundation of an English school of medicine by Linacre, and of the College of Physicians in 1518, tended, if anything, to strengthen the hold of astrology on popular belief. The great Greek physicians were believers in it, making it a first condition of success in medicine that the student should understand astrology. The doctrines of the complexions, humours, and qualities were intimately bound up with the astronomical theories in vogue—so much so that the greatest physician of his day, Jerome Cardan, was also the first astrologer. Called to Scotland in 1552 to cure Cardinal Hamilton, he was tempted to pass through England and give an opinion on the state of the king's health. His account shows plainly that the chief desire among the nobles of the court was to get from the most renowned astrologer of the day some information as to how long Edward would live. Accordingly, he calculated his nativity, which stands first of twelve nativities published in full by Cardan. The stars showed a sufficiently long life, with sicknesses at the ages of 23, 34, and 55. But what the stars failed to reveal to him, his own common sense told him, and he hurried away from England. Scarcely had he returned when the news of the king's death reached him; and Cardan, instead of suppressing his predictions, added to them a chapter, "What I thought afterwards about it." When in England Cardan lodged with Sir John Cheke, perhaps the most learned man in England, with whom he may have seen the experiments of Eden the alchemist in the Tower, and where certainly Dr. Dee made his acquaintance, and saw the famous magic ring that Cardan wore.

T. WHITTAKER. Natural Science in England.

Natural Science in England, as in modern Europe generally, can scarcely be said to have been definitely set going till the seventeenth century. Before then everything is tentative. At the close of the Middle Ages, along with or following the humanistic movement, there had been a movement of return to the study of the sciences—mathematical, physical, and biological—that had been carried forward some distance by the ancients, but in the intervening period had made little or no progress. For a century or more nothing had come of the movement in special science beyond a few new observations that were waiting to be organised, and some important theories that had not yet found verification. The philosophers, indeed, in trying to work out new systems, aimed at an explanation of the whole of Nature, and sometimes, by taking up the most promising generalisations, were able to go beyond both ancient and mediæval thinkers in their cosmical conceptions. But for this, peculiar insight was needed. New conceptions of the world, such as were involved in the Copernican astronomy, could not yet be forced on reluctant minds by undeniable facts; and not till this has taken place can a scientific theory be regarded as fully proved. In the meantime, the state of things in relation to scientific research was not the same as at the close of antiquity. If there was little more actual knowledge, there had been a long preparatory process, which was soon to produce its effect. In the fourth century men's minds were turning away from science, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries they were returning to it.

The Preparation.

The Development of a Technical Language.

The dialectical disputes of the Middle Ages had not been altogether wasted. By means of them new precision had at least been given to language; and language of a higher degree of precision was needed to make modern scientific analysis possible. Even before modern languages were used for scientific or philosophical purposes, the Latin that had passed through the hands of the Scholastics could adapt itself to the more analytic turn of modern thought. Other new instruments, both of a symbolic and of a material kind, were awaiting scientific use. The much more convenient system of

numerals introduced by the Arabians, from whatever source it came originally, and the beginnings of algebra derived from them, were to be the basis of a more advanced mathematics. The mariner's compass—known to have been in use in the twelfth century—became the germ of the new science of magnetism. And, by the latter part of the sixteenth century, constantly renewed attempts to make discoveries in the realm of external nature had spread abroad the conviction that in experiment was to be found the key to truth of fact. This had been the conviction of Roger Bacon long before the times were favourable to it. It was preached by Francis Bacon after it had become, among philosophic opponents of scholasticism and small bodies of scientific investigators, a note of the new time.

Symbolic and Instrumental Aids.

The Appeal to Experiment.

For the special period dealt with in this chapter, there is little that is striking to relate in the way of new discovery. A treatise on algebra, entitled "The Whetstone of Wit," was published by Robert Recorde, in 1557. This work is the first in which the modern sign of equality is used. In 1576 the dip of the magnetic needle was independently discovered by Robert Norman, having been observed earlier (1544), but not by an Englishman. Norman, who published a work called "The Newe Attractive" in 1581, was recognised by Gilbert (see next chapter) as a precursor.

"The Fruits" of the Period.

NOTHING is more characteristic of the Renaissance in all countries than the intense and diffused interest in education which distinguished it (p. 88). Nor was this interest of the narrow kind, which is too often intended when we speak of education in our own days. The newly recovered treasures of Greek and Latin, indeed, beguiled men to bestow as much attention as possible on them and to introduce others to them; the endeavour to imitate the perfections of the classics urged them, though for some time in a shamefaced and apologetic manner, to cultivate their own tongues; the increase of communication between different countries for commercial,

G. SAINTSBURY. Literature.

religious, and political purposes, opened to them the modern literatures and languages; and the universal curiosity of the time by degrees directed itself into the various branches of physical science. But, to do the Renaissance justice, the education with which it chiefly busied itself was a real *paideia*, a real attempt to revive and extend and apply to contemporary circumstances the Greek ideal of the complete culture of a gentleman in bodily and mental exercises, in philosophy, in religion, in statecraft. The famous passage in which, almost for the only time, Rabelais casts aside his mask and mantle of humorous extravagance and pourtrays the education of a prince as he conceived it, is but the capital and genial exemplar of a vast multitude of similar attempts.

The Zeal for Education.

England was by no means behindhand in these generous and not always fantastic speculations and practices. Even before the accession of Elizabeth the two streams of the current—the purely scholastic and the more widely *paideutic*—had been represented by the works of Cheke and Wilson, at Cambridge, for the one, and by such books as Elyot's "Governour," and Hoby's translation of Castiglione's "Courtier" for the other. But the two currents to a great extent met, and were best represented in the famous work and personality of Roger Ascham, whose "Schoolmaster," the best known and perhaps the best example of the whole class, was written, or at least finished, when his royal pupil had been about ten years on the throne, though it was not printed till 1570, after Ascham's own death.

This was one of the little books which have good fates. It had no extraordinary popularity in its own time, but it was taken up at intervals afterwards by persons of literary influence—by Upton in 1711, by Dr. Johnson sixty years later, by Mr. Mayor and Mr. Arber twenty or thirty years ago—and has thus been constantly kept before the world of readers for the last two centuries. And so it deserved to be. Ascham had, indeed, the great fault of hating poetry and romance, which may be one reason why the generations that immediately succeeded him paid him little attention; but otherwise it has been generally admitted that no better book of pedagogy in the best sense exists in English or, perhaps, in any other language.

Ascham's "Schoolmaster."

Its directions for the mere learning of the tongues are very shrewd and sound, but the general spirit of the book, in its hints on the bringing-up of a "yong Ientleman," is better still, and gives the key to much that was good, if not best, in the nature and nurture of the great race that were at school in Ascham's own day.

No one exactly followed the genial author of "Toxophilus" (wherein, long before the "Schoolmaster," he had vindicated the rights of bodily education) in his combined advantages of representation of the Court and practice in actual educational work. Florio, indeed, might have had some claims to do so, but the translator of Montaigne, though an exceedingly delightful writer, was, if not a complete Holofernes, undoubtedly something of a coxcomb. Mulcaster, the Headmaster of St. Paul's and Merchant Taylors, whose work has been recently resuscitated by the pious and most jealous care of the late Mr. R. H. Quick, was the chief follower of Ascham in the strictly pedagogic vein during the later years of Elizabeth. But the other side, the larger if also vaguer education, which, as I have said, caught the imagination of the Renaissance, English and other, so strongly, was very widely represented and cultivated. It was represented, indeed, not solely but mainly, in the first book of Elizabeth's reign which attained to really commanding notoriety, and it may even be said fame—a book which was endlessly imitated, wildly extolled, and after a time fiercely attacked and decried—the celebrated "Euphues" of John Lyly, which appeared in 1579, before either Spenser or Sidney had published anything of importance.

Lyly's "Euphues."

There is, perhaps, no single book the reading of which is more necessary to anyone who is thoroughly to understand the age of Elizabeth from the literary side than "Euphues"; but there are not many more difficult to read. The merely literary characteristics of it, though they have often been strangely misunderstood, are not hard to sum up. They consist, on the one hand, in endless antithesis; on the other, in an endless abuse of simile, derived partly from classical history and anecdote, partly from the strange natural history of real or imaginary birds, beasts, and fishes, herbs, flowers, and minerals which had gradually possessed the mind of the later middle ages and earlier Renaissance, and which made its

mark on science for many a year to come. But the matter is, for the present purpose, more important than the manner. "Euphues" is the work of a man thoroughly acquainted with Oxford (which he describes or addresses sometimes under its own name, more commonly under that of "Athens"), an aspirant to, and soon to become—if, indeed, he was not already—a familiar of the Court, and deeply imbued with the ideal of a sort of educational course, at once affecting body, mind, manners, sentiment, and business. The nearest approach to "Euphues" in all other literature is "Wilhelm Meister," and both the differences and the resemblances are invaluable, because both enlighten us as to the character of the attempt at a cosmopolitan education. Indeed, it may be said that Goethe was the last person who seriously aimed at this, though Lyly was not the first.

The book consists of two parts—"Euphues, the Anatomy of Wit," and "Euphues and his England." The scene of the first is laid at Naples, and the story, in so far as there is any story at all, turns on the caprices of a certain Lucilla, a maiden of great beauty, rank, and fortune, who, after setting the friends Euphues and Philautus at variance by reason of their love for her, is false to both and chooses a fribble named Curio, thereby breaking her father Ferardo's heart and inflicting grinding torments on her two jilted suitors. Although, however, this is what may be called the plot, there is next to no incident to work it out, and great part of the considerable space of the section is allotted to an enormous epistle from "Euphues to Philautus," after Lucilla has made fools of both; to a dialogue of the orthodox kind between "Euphues and Atheos," whom he converts, and to an episode between the two called "Euphues and his Ephoebus" (see *infra*), which contains a complete theory of education, and is thought by some to be the kernel and most important part of the whole work. It contains both the plan and the eulogy—a little vague and rhetorical, but decidedly sound on the whole—of an education directed not more to good learning than to good living; partly of a rather sharp reprobation of the actual state of "Athens." The first part ends with divers letters of Euphues, referring, among other things, to the death of Lucilla in poverty and shame.

The second transports the scene openly and *nominatim* to England, which Euphues and Philautus visit together.

They land authentically at Dover, and see Canterbury; but it is always irksome to Lyly to be on firm ground long, and he promptly leads them off into cloudland at the house of a certain Fidus, once a courtier, now a bee-keeper, who morals them many old tales, notably that, a rather graceful one, of his own ill-starred love long ago for a certain Iffida. At last they reach London and the Court; and Philautus the susceptible, falling in love, consults Psellus, an Italian magician, but gets little good of him or of direct addresses to Camilla, his idol. But he is a little consoled by an obliging Lady Flavia, who offers him her niece Frances to be "his violet" while he is in England. All this time—and it is a very long time—we hear little or nothing of Euphues except that he is hard at study, having, indeed, quarrelled again with Philautus in the beginning of the latter's suit to Camilla. In his forsaken condition, however, Philautus abases himself, and with some difficulty succeeds in appeasing his friend, whereafter the main book ends with a supper given by Lady Flavia to most of the characters, and very fruitful of conversation. In a sort of appendix Philautus, more and more drawn towards his "violet" Frances, first prolongs his stay and then settles in England; while Euphues, after a set of letters, the longest of which is a panegyric on the ladies of England, on Burleigh, and above all on Elizabeth, announces his departure to meditate at the bottom of the mountain Silexsedra, in which not over cheerful locality we leave him.

This brief abstract seemed exceptionally well worth making because of the extremely small number of persons who read "Euphues," and because of the epoch-marking, if not epoch-making, character of the book. Much of it is no doubt taken bodily from the classics—it has been pointed out that "Euphues and his Ephœbus" is little more than "Plutarch on Education" with some omissions, additions, and alterations. But as a whole it could hardly have been written at any other time than one in which the whole of life, and not merely youth, politics, and love-making as well as book-learning, the Court and camp as well as the university, were regarded as parts and scenes of education. A view with faults and drawbacks, doubtless, but infinitely preferable to the view in virtue of which almost the whole of our modern legislation and practice on the subject is constructed.

G. SAINTSBURY. The Drama.

It has been constantly observed by judicious literary historians, and yet it is a thing probably in need of still more constant inculcation, that the "Elizabethan" age of our literature belongs almost wholly to the last half, and, in all its most effectual and characteristic manifestations, to the last quarter of the great Queen's reign. She had been on the throne for more than twenty years when the earliest work of Lyly, Spenser, Sidney, and others gave what was itself but a foretaste of the future glories of her time, in non-dramatic literature; while several more were to elapse before what is itself a sort of *lever de rideau* to the great dramatic work of her era—the theatre of the "University wits"—was to appear. Yet there is no doubt that the thirty years which passed between the probable appearance of *Ralph Roister Doister* and the certain appearance of Peele's *Arraignment of Paris* were marked by a great deal of dramatic production of various kinds, and by a growing taste for dramatic performances in the people, which was certain to attract more and more writers to the profession of dramatist. We have some results of this; and it is absolutely certain that a great deal more has perished —partly because it was not worth preserving, partly because of difficulties with the censorship, or of the unwillingness of men who had reached a certain position in Church or State to preserve work which was looked on askance, partly also because it was the obvious interest of the actors to keep a successful play unprinted as long as possible; while, when it ceased to be successful, nobody cared to print it.

Thus, to give one example only, we know that Stephen Gosson, afterwards (but no later than the very beginning of the great dramatic period) the vehement opponent of stage-plays, had both written and, it seems, acted in them before he changed his views. But we have nothing save the names of the plays which he wrote, and not even the names of the plays in which he acted.

Conspicuous Examples.

The loss of so much writing, which probably or certainly existed, is not in this, as it is in some other cases, a matter over which we need make much moan. For we have sufficient if not abundant examples in actual preservation; and these examples are not

of a kind to make us long vehemently for more. Three famous pieces—*Ralph Roister Doister*, of uncertain date, but not probably much younger than Mary's reign at the latest, by Nicholas Udall, head-master of St. Paul's and Eton; *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, assigned to Still, afterwards bishop, which may be ten or a dozen years younger; and the tragedy of *Gorboduc*, by Norton and Sackville the poet, which was certainly first acted in 1561 (under the title of *Ferrex and Porrex*)—are the three traditional and, beyond all question, the three capital plays of this period. Around and under them may be grouped at least a dozen others, which are easily accessible in the latest edition of "Dodsley," a few more which have not been collected, and perhaps a very few others yet which are only in MSS. The intrinsic interest even of the best is but small. *Ralph Roister Doister* is amusing and not offensive. *Gammer Gurton* is more questionable and less amusing *Gorboduc* is an everlasting example of meritorious but mistaken attempt at something which most emphatically (like a later play) "will not doe." But it is in the lines which these plays follow, in the paths of adventure and exploration (often ending in mere bafflement and squirrel-track nothingness) which they pursue, in the vehicles and mediums with which they experiment, that their real interest lies. The "high-sniffing" critic—who demands only the best and principal things, who has no interest in literary history and morphology—will and can make nothing of them; those to whom even the best thing produced is better if they are enabled *rerum cognoscere causas*, to whom the greatest single exploit of literature is not so fascinating as that marvellous map of the ever-varying and never-changing human mind which all literature presents, may find them very interesting indeed.

The Structure.

The two chief points on which this interest centres are: first, the dramatic style of these experimental plays, and, secondly, the metrical mediums which they adopt. In the former respect, it is especially necessary to remember the models and examples which their authors had before them. The Middle Ages and the earliest Renaissance produced no tragedy proper, though the miracles and mysteries approached the character of sacred tragedies; and the "profane mysteries," as they are called, which were written in France to some extent during the fifteenth century,

were a kind of ancestor to the chronicle play. Even the revived attention to Greek did not concentrate itself very specially on the Greek tragedians; while of Latin tragedy they had, even as we have, nothing at all save the singular group attributed to L. Annæus Seneca. On this, in the absence of other models, the attention of those who wished in the ordinary Renaissance way to enrich the vernacular by attempts in every classical style was therefore necessarily concentrated; and imitations of the Senecan tragedy were very early written in Italian and French. The first English imitation was the above-named *Gorboduc*. Here we have the regular division, the arrangement—as far as the author can—of plot and action according to the Horatian canons, the chorus, the stately blank verse, and so forth. Nothing of all this was to stand in the English tragedy of the future except the blank verse, though a few attempts continued to be made from time to time in the regular form; though it has been contended—with some exaggeration, but also perhaps with some truth—that the predilection of Seneca for grisly incidents and ghostly personages, for language inflated to the bombastic and gloomed to the dismal, influenced the Elizabethan playwrights to a far greater extent than the formal accidents of his scheme.

Comedy has at all times and among all peoples been a much freer kind than tragedy: first, because it is a more natural and universal form of diversion; secondly, because the laughing faculty absolutely declines to answer except to real tickling, while pity, admiration, and terror on the stage are very much matters of convention and education. Moreover, the models here were much more numerous. Though Terence was certainly not without his influence (which is apparent even in *Ralph Roister Doister* itself), he did not reign alone like Seneca. Farces, drolls, moralities, interludes, and the almost invariable comic episodes of the mysteries themselves had for a long, though a not very definitely measurable, time already engaged the attention of the people, and must now necessarily divide that of the playwright. Long after our present time, in the early work of Shakespeare, we find two striking instances of the two streams of influence in the mainly classical study of the *Comedy of Errors* and the purely romantic material and manner of *Love's Labour's Lost*. And this latter preserves what is perhaps the only example at all familiar to the average

English reader of the various metres—some of them things for which metre is too dignified a name—which were tried on the stage, till the decasyllable, with the occasional aid of prose, drove all of them off. The earliest comic medium in our period was the singular swinging doggerel —showing very considerable remnants of the old alliteration, cut into lines of different lengths and formed on a basis of more or less anapæstic rhythm—which meets us in both the two early comedies cited, which appears in most of their successors, and which lasted, as has been said, well into the Shakespearian age. The "fourteener" or what used to be inexactly called the "major Alexandrine"—a seven-foot verse which breaks up at pleasure into eights and sixes—was also tried; it was indeed the favourite verse-of-all-work for the first twenty or five-and-twenty years of Elizabeth's reign. And there was an equal independence of experiment in rhyming or leaving rhyme alone. In fact the single word "experiment" practically sums up the performance, the character, and the value of the dramatic work of this time. Very frequently it was more or less learned work, produced almost as part of academic exercise, and certainly as part of academic and scholastic recreation; for Renaissance teachers, according to an idea long cherished by the Jesuits, held dramatic performances to be no mean instrument of education. Sometimes it was intended as part of the pageants and festivities given by the great men of the time, whose habit of maintaining troupes of players was one of the chief fosterers of our early theatre. Sometimes it was neither more nor less than a bread-winning industry, aiming at the supply of a demand made by people at large. But it was always experimental, and it never once in this period got much beyond experiment.

The Metres.

HARDLY the most careless observer, if he takes account of the dates and names of Elizabethan literature, can fail to note, as has been noted already, the extreme difference of the production of the first and the last half, respectively, of her long and glorious reign. It would be a rash, as well as an inadequate antithesis, to say that the one is all promise and the other all performance; for to the first half, with certainly notable exceptions, chiefly at its extreme end, it would hardly

G. SAINTSBURY. Earlier Elizabethan Poetry.

be too churlish to deny any great promise, except of the most ambiguous kind. Of the poets who wrote before 1579 it is vain to attempt to rank one, with the single exception of Sackville, among those poets who, without counting in historical attractions, attain anything like the first or a high second rank. It is quite true that, looking back on what actually followed, we see that in this long period of twenty or thirty years the ground was being worked and prepared, the manure spread, even to a certain extent the seed sown, which was to produce the magnificent crop of the later time. But few students of literature, whose studies have taken a pretty wide range, will deny that all this care and pains, all these (as the retrospective fancy or fallacy allows or induces us to consider them) favourable circumstances, all this seed-sowing, and manuring and digging, might have resulted in little or nothing. Fortunately for us, the results here were great and wonderful; and, while guarding ourselves as much as possible from the said retrospective fallacy, it is easy to discover, while it should not be too difficult to avoid laying undue stress on, the circumstances and processes which, if they did not actually cause, accompanied, and if they did not directly stimulate, certainly did not injure the new growth.

It may seem a little strange that the poetic spirit which at once discovered itself and indicated the forms and mediums proper to it in "Tottel's Miscellany," representing a period of composition much older than its date, should have taken a full generation before finding, except in the solitary and rather abnormal instance just referred to, anything like full and free expression. Wyatt died nearly forty, Surrey more than thirty years before Spenser and Sidney and Watson appeared. Perhaps not the worst school of criticism (though it is a school which seems at once cynical and jejune to ardent believers in the possibility of finding out everything) would say that no further explanation of this can be given, and that no further explanation of it need be required, except the bare fact that no poet of the first class happened to be born at such a time as to come in during these years. We can, however, soften the harshness and adorn the barrenness of this severe literary agnosticism by indicating certain secondary causes which may have helped in producing the actual result. The political and

An Intermission and its Causes.

religious troubles of the later part of Henry VIII.'s reign and the whole of his son's and his elder daughter's, were not of that kind which stimulates literary composition. The ferment of mind which starts a revolutionary era is, indeed, very favourable to literature, but not the actual time of revolutionary action. A man who is divided between very genuine trouble about his soul, and still more genuine uncertainty about his neck, may sometimes produce stirring prose and verse, but will hardly have time or taste for the working out of elaborate literary problems, or for the production of that pure literature which always keeps more or less aloof from storm and stress. In the second place, the interesting spirit of inquisitive exercise which the new learning had instilled or helped to develop in men's minds was, however promising for the future and helpful to after-comers, not exactly the spirit to produce masterpieces. It is no mean feat, indeed, to rank in history as George Gascoigne ranks, with fair documentary evidence to prove his title, as the actual first practitioner in English of comedy in prose, satire in regular verse, short prose tales, translated tragedy, and literary animadversion. But the above-mentioned student of literature as a whole, or as nearly as may be in its wholeness, would be rather surprised if he found a clever, enterprising, industrious innovator of this kind rising at once to mastery in his innovations. The most brilliant pioneers and leaders of cavalry raids are not generally the generals who win epoch-making battles, or hold down the country they have scoured. And in this particular Gascoigne, who is, perhaps, the most notable and characteristic figure of our earlier period, of which his manhood covers the greater part, is no exception. A diligent and scholarly American student of Elizabethan literature, Professor Felix Schelling of Philadelphia, has recently made a valiant attempt to vindicate for Gascoigne a higher place than historians have generally given him; but it will not do. He is, indeed, a most typical figure, and, from the point of view of this present book, almost more useful for our purpose than if he had been a master. Few men—perhaps none, with the exception of his greater and younger friend Raleigh—so well realised that ideal of varied adventurous life, now in the study, now in affairs of camp and court, which we rather freely attribute by generalisation to

Gascoigne.

Elizabeth's men. He was a gentleman of good family. He was educated at Cambridge certainly, and, not impossibly, like so many other men of the time, at Oxford also. He was a member of one Inn of Court, perhaps of two. He sat in at least two Parliaments for Bedfordshire; he was at least charged with being a roisterer and loose liver; he was certainly a courtier. He is accused (and is thought by the sleuth-hounds of somewhat fantastic name-analogies to have boasted) of *liaisons* with great ladies. He was a soldier, and saw no little service in the Low Countries. He danced and spoke as a "Salvage man" at Kenilworth before the Queen. He may have returned to the Netherlands and been present at the sack of Antwerp. And then he died, having during these twenty years of busy life produced a great deal of prose and of verse, including the experiments above mentioned, and much else. His work is never exactly despicable; as a critic of the day immediately succeeding his own said, with, perhaps, a trifle less of sarcastic intention than if the words had been used now, but still certainly with some, it "may be endured." In some respects, too, it would be unfair to leave it with this very faint praise. The blank verse, of which Gascoigne was but the fourth or fifth practitioner in English, is not without merit; his prose is spirited and vigorous, if not elegant; and in his lyrics there is not seldom a touch of that unforced and child-like pathos which is the best point of these earlier Elizabethans, and which, in the later and greater school, is rather hushed by higher notes, except in the case of some of the lesser men, such as Gascoigne's step-son, Nicholas Breton. On the other hand, his metres are still alternately limp and wooden; his style is still stiffened with the old clumsy alliteration; there is no fire or splendour in his poetry; his prose has neither continuity nor gorgeousness. He is merely a clever man living an active life in times of both material and mental activity, but with nothing very particular to say and no very exquisite manner of saying it.

His Minor Contemporaries.

Noting, as a point to be taken up presently, that the weak spot in Gascoigne is not least evident in the fact that three of his so-called original experiments were translations, we may glance at the minor poets, among whom he, for want of a better, was

major. They were all tarred with much the same brush. There was Thomas Churchyard, a sort of "moon" of Gascoigne, who resembled him in life and character of work, but was of a more regular temper, and perhaps for that reason, after having contributed to "Tottel," lived into James I.'s reign, while Gascoigne died in early middle age. There were George Turberville and Barnaby Googe, who are generally mentioned together, having been friends, contemporaries, and writers of not very dissimilar work. Turberville was particularly notable for the plaintive, cushat-like note above referred to. There were Edwards, Roydon, Hunnis, and many others, besides the translators pure and simple, many of whom gravitated towards the poetical miscellanies which, after the example of "Tottel," became specially fashionable towards the close of our present period, and in some cases (such as the "Paradise of Dainty Devices," and the "Gorgeous Gallery of Gallant Inventions") considerably anticipated that close; but the character of all this work is either immature or pedantic —generally both at once.

Among them towers—at no mean height, even when compared with greater poets, and a very Atlas among his own contemporaries—the solitary, and in more than number, singular figure of Thomas Sackville, afterwards Lord Buckhurst and Earl of Dorset, author of *Gorboduc*," the "Induction" to the "Mirror for Magistrates," and the "Complaint of Buckingham" in the same work. *Gorboduc* is spoken of elsewhere, and except as a literary *point de repère* is not of much interest. Very different are the two contributions to the "Mirror for Magistrates"—a great poetical miscellany or cyclopædia in verse, describing for the most part the misfortunes of princes and statesmen, which first appeared in 1563, and which was frequently republished with additions. Sackville himself was born in 1536, at the place from which he took his first title in Sussex, belonged to both Universities and to the Inner Temple, saw the Continent of Europe, and during all his later life occupied a position in the State such as befitted a man of the most ancient family, of ample means, of unblemished character, and of very unusual ability. His literature was the work of his youth, and the contributions to the "Mirror" were written when he was but three-and-twenty, full twenty years before

Sackville.

Spenser startled the great age with the "Shepherd's Calendar." They were not bulky, the two containing not much more than a thousand lines in the old seven-lined stanza *ababbcc*, and the subject, and even to a certain extent the treatment, exhibit far less striving after novelty than was customary with Sackville's contemporaries. A careless reader merely looking at the cast of the stanzas might see no great difference from the half allegoric style of the fifteenth century as practised from Chaucer to Hawes. But if any one of these stanzas caught his attention enough to make him cease to be careless, and if he had some knowledge and some love of poetry, he would very soon discover that here was such power as no one had shown since Chaucer himself, together with a marked alteration of tone. For although Chaucer can deal with doleful subjects, and deal with them as satisfactorily as genius always does deal with everything, it is notorious that he is in the main a thoroughly cheerful poet. Sackville is penetrated with that deep melancholy of the Renaissance, which haunted and dogged all its grandiose schemes, its intellectual alertness, its confidence in learning and in action. The singular gloom, not dull but intense, which hangs over the "Induction" especially, with its famous prosopopœia of sorrow, is no young man's fancy of sitting on a stool and being melancholy of malice prepense, no caprice of literature, no trick of the time, no mere craftsman's adaptation of style to subject. It is a darkness that is felt by the reader, because the writer felt it. And it has reflected itself in the metre and style after a fashion only paralleled in literature by men who are usually ranked far higher than Sackville is. A few of the characteristics are, no doubt, old and borrowed, especially the alliteration, the use of which is still excessive at times. But this is as nothing compared to the rich stream of melancholy music—never heard in English before, and not to be heard again till Spenser (it may almost be said) echoed it—which pours through the piece, silvering the "brown air" of its Inferno with strange light, as well as filling it with unwonted harmony.

Translations

No fear of meeting anything strange in the same sense (though otherwise there is not a little strangeness in them) need be felt in regard of the group of translators more than once referred to. Yet they

did a good work. The insatiable curiosity of the Renaissance, together with what may be called the most distinct and characteristic of its many ruling ideas—the notion that it was the duty of every good citizen of a modern country to acclimatise as much as possible the achievements not merely of the ancients but of other modern countries for the benefit of his own countrymen—worked in England almost more strongly than anywhere else, as, indeed, it was certain to do in the case of the most isolated of European states. The great translators of the Elizabethan age, indeed, North, Florio, Philemon Holland, belong not to this time; but a crowd of inferior yet well-deserving persons adorn or, at least, fill it. The most influential of the whole band upon poets and poetry were Arthur Golding, who turned Ovid's "Metamorphoses" into English, and Thomas Phaer, who did the same service to Virgil, using the tremendous measure of fourteen syllables, which was on the whole the favourite measure of the time. The tragedies of Seneca, the immense influence of which, both direct and indirect, is referred to elsewhere, were Englished by Jasper Heywood and others within the present period; and a large number of other classics both in verse and prose underwent the same process at different hands. Nor were the classics by any means exclusively favoured. Googe, the poet mentioned above, was a diligent translator, and the extent and variety of his exercises in this kind may serve as a sample of the accomplishment of a large number of his contemporaries. He is said to have turned Aristotle's Categories (whether from the original or a Latin version) into English; and it is positively known that he did the same for the anti-Popish satires of two moderns, Palingenius (probably Manzolli) and Naogeorgus (certainly Kirchmayer). He also translated the Latin "Five Books of Husbandry" of Conrad Heresbach, and the "Spanish Proverbs" of Mendoza, Marquis of Santillana. Most of these books went through several editions in his lifetime, showing the remarkable demand there was for such things. Less attention was paid to German (which, indeed, was only beginning to possess a vernacular literature, though the Elizabethan translators gave their full share of attention to German Neo-Latinists), and, which is rather surprising, very little to

From the Classics.

From German and French.

French. It ought, however, to be remembered that the literary movement of the French Renaissance, though a little was not much anterior to that part of Elizabethan literature which we are now discussing, that Joachim du Bellay, whom some think the greatest of the Pléiade, early attracted the attention of Spenser, and that the remarks of E. K. on the "Shepherd's Calendar" as to Marot, the references to Rabelais in Nash, and other things show no lack of consciousness of what French had to give.

From Italian.

As for Italian, the number of actual translations from it, though that is not inconsiderable, gives no idea of the overpowering influence which the language and literature of Italy held on the wits, the intellect, the fashions of the day. It was vain for Ascham and others after him to thunder against "Italianate" Englishmen: the charm was too great. By the greatest of Italian writers, indeed, it was exercised but little; this was not Dante's day. But Petrarch, Ariosto, and, when he wrote, Tasso, with innumerable underlings, rode sovereign; and Italian measures, Italian thought, tags of Italian phrase were in all men's memories and mouths.

The Literary Revival. 1579-1582.

This busy research and exercise had been going on for at least twenty years, and Elizabeth had been for more than that space of time on the throne before the real and unmistakable first-fruits of a new literature appeared. It has always been noted that wits jump together on these occasions in a very strange fashion, and at least a quartet of such wits, dissimilar in magnitude but all eminently of their time, appeared in the years 1579–1582. These four were John Lyly, Edmund Spenser, Philip Sidney, and Thomas Watson.

With Lyly we are not immediately busied, for his main achievement at this period was in prose, and has been already handled. But it is not immaterial that he contributed an introductory epistle to the "Hecatompathia," Thomas Watson's main work. Indeed, the reproach of "mutual admiration," which is rife at all times, and is generally brought by those who fail of admiration mutual or other, applies nowhere more than to Elizabeth's men, who were for the most part either each other's dear friends or each other's deadly enemies. Lyly and Watson were both Oxford men, as

indeed was Sidney. But the latter—whether from the fact of his bosom friend and schoolmate at Shrewsbury, Fulke Greville, having gone to Cambridge or not—seems to have drawn his chief literary associates from the University which was not his own; and the "Areopagus," as the Sidnean clique was called, consisted chiefly of Cambridge men, with the famous Gabriel Harvey—a prig and a pedant, but not exactly a fool—at their head, and with the addition of distinguished foreigners, like Giordano Bruno. But Watson also knew Sidney, and Sidney's sister, to whom his "Amyntas" was in a posthumous edition dedicated, as the dedication asserts, by his own request.

Sidney and Spenser.

Of Watson, as of Lyly, we know very little personally; our knowledge of Sidney and Spenser is fortunately fuller; and from the letters exchanged between the latter and Gabriel Harvey, from the curious dispute over Gosson's "School of Abuse" (which, though not avowedly, produced Sidney's own "Apology for Poetry" as a counter-blast), and from a great number of scattered references in different works of the time, we can, without too dangerous an admixture of the purely conjectural, perceive that the literary hive was really swarming in those days, the last of the eighth decade of the century. Over the latter half of that decade Sidney's "Astrophel and Stella" poems, even if we hesitate to adopt the very confident guesses which have been made about them, must have been scattered in point of date of composition; and it is thought that the "Arcadia" was written about 1580, as the "Apology for Poetry" certainly was next year. Watson's "Hecatompathia" was licensed in March, 1582, while Spenser, who was born in 1552, and whose earliest known work appears in a publication which is a literary puzzle, in 1569, produced the "Shepherd's Calendar" ten years later, and by it at once leapt to the very head of English poetry.

Yet Spenser's achievement in the "Calendar" was as nothing to what he was soon to accomplish. The sonnets of the "Hecatompathia," though manifesting much grace, a real if not commanding passion, and a complete eschewing of the clumsy and inartistic metres of older contemporaries, are somewhat thin and pale; and there are some who have ranked Sidney even below Watson. This last, however, is heresy, and

bad heresy. In the best things of "Astrophel and Stella" there is a combination of poetical feeling with poetical expression, which we shall certainly not find in any earlier writer of the reign, and which, in so far as the "Shepherd's Calendar" goes, we shall not find in Spenser himself. And in all these three writers we shall find a difference—at once perceptible, though not extremely easy to formulate in brief words—from all their predecessors. If they do not excel Sackville—and I do not know that they do, though one of them was to go far beyond him before long—in distinct and intense poetical quality, they have outgrown the archaism of his instrument and the narrowness, albeit novelty, of his tone. Between them and all the persons yet mentioned, many of whom were still writing and to write for years, there is a great gulf set. The poets, of whom Gascoigne was the most versatile and the deftest, speak a poetic language which is utterly immature; they babble and stammer, and at best "croon." Sidney and Spenser, with Watson not far below them, sing.

Yet it is noteworthy, and is, perhaps, the most noteworthy thing about this first phase of the great phenomenon, that they were all of them for the most part doing what they did not only half unconsciously, but more than half against their own intention and desire. The strange fancy for classical metres—which books about Spenser and Kingsley's "Westward Ho!" have made known to many who, perhaps, never opened the "Four Letters," or read a line at first hand of Daniels' admirable "Defence"—was very far indeed from being the only craze of the kind which possessed the eager students of the Areopagus and their admirers and echoes in both universities, in the Inns of Court and elsewhere. It was the dream of this English school, as it had been twenty years earlier of the French Pléiade, to adjust vernacular literature in all things as nearly as possible to ancient, or if to modern to Italian models. We think, for instance, and think rightly, of Sidney himself as of a very front-fighter in the ranks of the Elizabethans in the English romantic army. So he is, in so far as his practice and unconscious influence went. But read his "Defence of" or "Apology for Poetry" (it bears both names), and anybody not previously acquainted with the state of the case will wonder whether the book has been "changed at nurse." Sidney, it is true, defends the English

stage and English imaginative literature generally, against the half-Platonic, half-Puritan onslaughts of Gosson and others. But the kind of literature, dramatic and other, which he vindicates and hopes for, is quite other than that which actually followed. It is a literature of pseudo-classical regularity, not unlike that which France actually achieved in the next century and preserved till far into this.

This mistake, however, was so natural a consequence of the studies and aims which have occupied us throughout this section, that it can hardly be necessary to add anything in explanation of it. Nor is there room remaining to take more than a glance at some other peculiarities of this school of 1580—such as the still subsisting combination of the older measures and the new in the "Shepherd's Calendar," as the admixture of sharp political and personal satire with the fantastic pastoralities of the style, as the somewhat undisciplined and, indeed, never finally edited, medley of the "Arcadia," and as the intensely literary and personal character of the "Hecatompathia." As far as we can tell, Sidney's sonnets were the earliest and deciding force which animated, not merely the two other poets named, but a host of others unnamed. It is one of the most singular things about this very artificial and now very ancient form, that it from time to time, and apparently with undiminished power, renews its hold on the poetic fancy, not merely of individuals, but of whole classes—almost of whole nations. For twenty years and more, though poetry was written in a vast number of forms, the sonnet held sway as much in one way as the drama did in another. It was the Elizabethan short poem; and that it was so was perhaps due, as far as it was due to one man, to Philip Sidney.

R. E. PROTHERO. Agriculture.

We have seen how, with the close of the Wars of the Roses and the dawn of the Tudor period, an agricultural revolution began, which continued in progress till the middle of the reign of Elizabeth, and after more than two centuries of quiescence, recommenced in the eighteenth century. This revolution was part of the general movement, which gradually transformed the country. It may be described

as the introduction of the commercial spirit into national life.

The Agricultural Revolution.

In agriculture, the commercial spirit took the direction of enclosures—the break-up, that is, of mediæval agrarian partnerships, the appropriation of commons by individual owners, the substitution of individual enterprise for the united venture of village-farms. Both in the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries this was the direction which the revolution assumed. But in details the earlier and the later movements widely differed. Under the Tudors the agricultural revolution was accompanied by the substitution of pasture for tillage, of sheep for corn, of wool for beef and mutton. Under the Hanoverian sovereigns, the British farmer no longer took his seat on the woolsack, but devoted himself instead to the production of bread and beef for the teeming populations of manufacturing cities. The different directions which in details the revolution assumed at the two periods is mainly due to the improvements in agricultural practices which the Hanoverian farmer commanded. The Tudor husbandmen might devote himself exclusively to one or other of the two known branches of farming; but his change from tillage to pasture involved no improvement in his practices, no introduction of new crops, no economy in the cost nor increase in the amount of production.

Commercialism.

The period which began with the close of the Wars of the Roses and ended with the defeat of the Spanish Armada was one of transition from the mediæval to the modern form of landownership. Feudalism was dead or dying, and trade was usurping its throne. In the hands of lords of the manor, the soil had been required to furnish, not money, but men-at-arms. Mediæval barons valued their estates chiefly for the number of retainers which they sent to their banners. Tudor landlords estimated their worth by the amount of rent which they paid into their coffers. Mediæval farmers extracted from the soil only so much food as they required for the sustenance of themselves and their families. Modern tenants were not satisfied with this self-sufficing industry; they desired to raise from the land not only food, but profit. As trade increased, and towns grew, and English wool made its way into continental cities, or was woven into cloth by English weavers (p. 369), new markets were created for agricultural produce.

Fresh incentives were supplied to individual enterprise, and both landlords and tenants learned to regard their land from the commercial point of view.

The results of this infusion into agriculture of the commercial spirit were, as has been already noticed, twofold: first, the break-up of the old agrarian partnerships, in which lords of the manor, parsons, yeomen, farmers, copyholders, and labourers were associated for the supply of the wants of the villages; and, secondly, the substitution of pasture for tillage, and of sheep for corn.

If money was to be made out of the land, it was plain that only individual enterprise could make it. Under the old system, it was open to the idleness of one man to cripple the energy of fifty others. To exchange, divide, enclose, and so consolidate the holdings, became the object of the rural aristocracy. As Fuller says in his "Holy State":—"The poor man who is monarch of but one enclosed acre will receive more profit from it than from his share of many acres in common with others." Sometimes the commons were equally divided; sometimes the landlords bought up the whole; sometimes they enclosed them by force, or by connivance with the principal commoners. Voluntary agreements between commoners and proprietors of land were not infrequent, and bargains were often struck on equitable terms, based on a valuation and commutation of commoners' rights. But it was a rough age, in which might was right; and Sir Thomas More presents us with another side of the picture. He speaks of "husbandmen thrust out of their own, or else by covin and fraud, or by violent oppression, put beside it, or by wrongs and injuries so wearied, that they be compelled to sell all."

(1) Enclosure.

A striking example of More's first statement may be quoted from the lives of the Berkeleys. Maurice, the second earl, had a wood called Whiteclive Wood, which "hee fancieth to reduce into a park." He treated with his tenants and the freeholders for the sale or exchange of their land, and with the commoners for their rights of common.

"After some labour spent, and not prevailinge to such effect as hee aymed at, he remembered (as it seemeth) the Adage, '*multa non laudantur, nisi prius peracta*,' 'many actions are not praiseworthy till they bee done.' He, therefore, on a sodain, resolutely encloseth soe much of

each man's land unto his sayd wood as he desired; maketh it a parke, placeth keepers, and storeth it with deere. And called it, as to this day it is, Whitelyve Park.

"They, seeing what was done, and this lord offeringe compositions and exchanges as before, most of them soone agreed, when there was noe remedy. And hee soone after had theire grants and releases of land and common as hee at first desired. *Unguentem pungit, pungentem rusticus ungit.* It is not for a lord too long to make curtesy to the clowted shoe. Those fewe that remayned obstinate, fell after upon his sonne with suites to their small comfort and less gaines."

If a small copyholder or yeoman were obstinate, the proceedings of Sir Giles Overreach, in the *New Way to Pay Old Debts*, may illustrate the way in which the Naboth's vineyard, even of a lord of the manor, might be appropriated by a wealthy capitalist:—

'I'll buy some cottage near his manor;
Which done, I'll make my men break ope his fences,
Ride o'er his standing corn, or in the night
Set fire to his barns, or break his cattle's legs.
These trespasses will draw on suits, and suits expenses,
Which I can spare, but will soon beggar him.
When I have harried him thus two or three years,
Though he sue *in forma pauperis*, in spite
Of all his thrift and care he'll grow behindhand.
Then, with the favour of my man at law,
I will pretend some title; want will force him
To put it to arbitrament. Then if he sells
For half the value, he shall have ready money,
And I possess the land."

Considerations of mutual advantage, equitable bargains, fair purchase, superior force, legal chicanery, were all at work to accelerate the change from common to individual ownership, and to the consolidation of separate holdings instead of open farms. If the commoner appealed to the law courts, the matter too often "ended as it was friended." "Handy-dandy" was, in the Middle Ages, a proverbial expression for a covert bribe; and the perversion of justice is enshrined in the Latin jingle:—"*Jus sine jure datur, Si nummus in aure loquatur.*" Sometimes, indeed, the enclosure was successfully resisted. By the energy and public spirit of William Shakespeare, himself a commoner, the attempt of the lord of the manor to enclose the common fields at Welcombe, near Stratford-on-Avon, was defeated. At Warwick Assizes, Chief Justice Coke made an

order that "noe inclosure shalbe made within the parish of Stratforde, for that yt is agaynst the Lawes of the Realme."

(2) Growth of Wool Trade.

The first result of the commercial spirit which was infused into farming was the increase of enclosures, and the consequent severance, whether directly or indirectly, of a considerable portion of the rural population from the soil. If this change had been accompanied by a large extension of arable farming, the market for agricultural labour might have been so enlarged as to relieve agrarian distress. But the change which took place in farming served only to increase the scarcity of employment. The second result of the commercial revolution was to substitute the shepherd and his dog for the ploughmen and their teams, wool for corn, and pasture for tillage, and thus to diminish the demand for labour at the very moment when the supply was increased. Woollen manufactures grew so rapidly both at home and abroad that there was a ready sale for English wool both in England and on the Continent. The fineness of the English fleeces made them indispensable to foreign weavers; wool was easily transported, without risk of damage, and without liability to duty. The profits of sheep-farming were sure, and the outgoings in the cost of labour small. Arable farming, on the other hand, was an uncertain speculation, and the necessary outlay was large. No efforts were spared to extend sheep-walks. Small tenants were evicted; labourers' cottages were pulled down, the lords' demesnes turned into pastures; wastes and commons were enclosed for the same purpose. This process, which began at the end of the fifteenth century, continued till the middle of the reign of Elizabeth.

Legislation Against Sheep Farming.

The change of tillage into pasture was strenuously resisted by the legislature (pp. 117, 240). To encourage arable farming, and to prevent the depopulation of country districts, corn-laws prohibited the importation of wheat until the prices had reached a certain height. Acts of Parliament were passed to limit the size of the flocks which might be owned by a single sheepmaster, to prevent the destruction of farm buildings, and to check the conversion of tillage land to pasture. At law, arable land was given the precedence over other lands; beasts of the plough received privileges from which other beasts were debarred: bonds to restrain tillage were declared

to be void. But at first legislation was as powerless as the Pope's bull against a comet, and the change went on apace. It was not checked till the middle of the reign of Elizabeth, when the increased value of corn and meat, and the profits that were to be derived from arable farming, once more redressed the balance.

The Agricultural Labourer.

The twofold effect of the commercial revolution told disastrously on the condition of the agricultural labourer. His miseries were aggravated during the period under review by a rapid rise in the value of all agricultural produce. Every owner of land benefited by the rise, and tenant-farmers, if they held their tenancies at reasonable rents, grew rich. But the labourer alone suffered. As a new supply of precious metals poured in from America, the purchasing power of money fell (p. 362). The wages of labour were arbitrarily fixed by statute at the rates of the previous century, though, relatively to the prices of necessaries, they had dwindled by a half. At the same time, the dissolution of the monasteries had deprived the poor of charitable aid; and the principle of their compulsory support was still imperfectly understood. The labour-market was glutted, and the power of the trade-gilds excluded the peasant from employment in towns. Hundreds of poor Toms were whipped from "tything to tything, and stock'd, punished, and imprisoned":—

> "From low farms,
> Poor pelting villages, sheepcotes, and mills,
> Sometime with lunatic bairns, sometime with prayer
> Enforce their charity."

The remedy for these conditions of rural distress was the employment of more labour in the profitable cultivation of the soil. But here, too, misfortune seemed to pursue the unhappy agricultural labourer. Direct and indirect evidence is forthcoming to prove that agriculture was retrograding rather than advancing, that the yield per acre was less plentiful, and that the use of such fertilisers as the science of the day commanded was declining. Fitzherbert, writing in the early part of the sixteenth century, notices that the useful practice of marling the land was in many places abandoned, that the crops were smaller, and that the husbandry was more

slovenly. The decline was not unnatural. The transition which has been described disturbed that security of property without which enterprise dies. Moreover, the dissolution of the monasteries inflicted a heavy blow upon agriculture as an art. To English farming the monks were, in the sixteenth century, what capitalist landlords were in the eighteenth. They were the most scientific farmers of the day; they had access to the practical learning of the ancients; their intercourse with their brethren abroad gave them opportunities of benefiting by the experience of foreigners which were denied to most of their contemporaries. When the great religious houses were destroyed, agriculture, of which they were the pioneers, suffered a heavy loss.

Already, however, there were signs that, as soon as the transition era was ended, their places would be occupied. Throughout Europe agricultural literature was commencing, and writers were at work urging upon farmers the improved methods which enclosures had opened out to them. In Spain Herrera, in Italy Crescenzio and Tarello, in the Low Countries Heresbach, in France Charles Estienne and Bernard Palissy, wrote upon farming. The gentry began to pay attention to agriculture. As Michel de l'Hopital solaced his exile with a farm at Etampes, so Fitzherbert, in the reign of Henry VII., or Sir Richard Weston in that of Charles I., or Townshend in that of George II., occupied their leisure in agriculture, and so conferred greater benefits in their retirement upon the well-being of England, than they had ever done by their judicial, or diplomatic, or political services. A list of the numerous writers who studied the subject of farming in the Elizabethan period would exceed our limits. It will be sufficient to mention Thomas Tusser and Barnaby Googe.

Writers on Farming

Thomas Tusser was an Essex man and a Suffolk farmer. But his own life proved the difficulty of combining practice with science. "He spread his bread," says Fuller, "with all sorts of butter, yet none would ever stick thereon." He was successively "a musician, schoolmaster, serving-man, husbandman, grazier, poet—more skilful in all than thriving in his vocation." To the present generation he is little but a name; yet his doggerel poems, printed in 1573, are valuable as a storehouse of information respecting the rural life, domestic

economy, and agricultural practices of our Elizabethan ancestors. When, in 1723, Lord Molesworth proposed schools of agriculture should be established, he also advised that Tusser's "Five hundred points of good husbandry" should be "taught to the boys to read, to copy, and get by heart." Like all the scientific farmers of the day, he was an enthusiastic advocate for enclosures, and he sings the praises of "several," as opposed to "champion," or open farms. He was ignorant of the use of clover, artificial grasses and roots. Though he mentions turnips, it is only as "a kitchen garden root to boil or butter." He altogether ignores the necessity of drainage, and dismisses the subject of manure, or "compass," with the briefest possible mention.

And their Advice.

Almost a contemporary of Tusser was Barnaby Googe, whose "four Books of Husbandrie" were published in 1577. The value of his work, which is mainly a compilation from Flemish and English works, lies in his insistence on the necessity of manure, and his mention of clover, which he calls *trèfle de Bourgoyne*, and supposes to be a Moorish grass introduced by the Spaniards. Elizabethan farmers were apt to take from the same land as many corn crops in succession as it would bear. When thoroughly exhausted, it lay fallow. No rotation of crops was practised, except the interposition of beans once in every three years: roots and artificial grasses, which, when properly employed, clean, rest, and enrich the land, were entirely unknown to the English husbandman in the sixteenth century. Hence Googe was invaluable for the stress that he laid on the one means of restoring the fertility of the soil which was open to his contemporaries, and for his mention of clover, in which lay the germs of future agricultural wealth.

Nor was it in literature only that the promise of better times brightened the agricultural prospects. In the revival of gardening, also, there lay hope for agriculturists. Since the Wars of the Roses the art of gardening had almost expired, and the dissolution of the monasteries, where alone it had survived, gave it for the time its death-blow. It is said that Queen Catharine was provided with salads from Flanders because none could be furnished at home in the reign of Henry VIII. Herbs, fruits,

Gardening.

and roots, which had been plentiful in the fifteenth century, were dying out, or their use unknown, when the trim gardens and "erberes" of the monks passed into other hands. Now, however, gardening began, as Fuller says, to creep out of Holland into England, though, as late as 1650, Hartlib states that it was almost unknown in the north and west. Onions and cabbages had been cultivated in cottage gardens in the reign of Henry III., and were commended by Piers Plowman; but in the first half of the fifteenth century they were imported from Flanders. In the neighbourhood of Fulham and along the Suffolk coast, gardens were laid out in which these useful vegetables were cultivated, as well as carrots and parsnips; and, it is said — though probably they were not known till half a century later—"colle flowers." In these gardens also turnips were grown, but only as roots to be boiled and eaten with butter. Near Sandwich, carrots were extensively cultivated, and were called from the place of their cultivation "Sandwich carrots."

By the middle of the reign of Elizabeth enclosures had been extensively made; sheep-farming had prospered; prices of agricultural produce were rising, and thus giving a new stimulus to arable farming; here and there a gentleman was giving attention to the cultivation of his estates; agricultural writers were urging the adoption of the best farming methods which were known to the science of the day, and in gardens new stores of agricultural wealth were accumulating. The most disastrous feature of the period was the condition of the agricultural labourer; and in the increase of arable farming lay his chief hope of employment.

J. E. SYMES. Industry and Trade.

THE reign of Elizabeth opens a new chapter in our industrial history. We have seen how the mediæval and feudal organisation of society had broken down in the Reformation and Renaissance periods. The increased activity of the human spirit was no longer content to work under the restrictions which custom, tradition, and law had built up. The greed of kings, rulers, and landholders co-operated in the destruction of those organisations which had in some measure protected the working classes, and in the reigns of Henry VIII.

Edward VI., and Mary, little had been done to build up any new organisation adapted to the new order of things.

The period of transition had been one of great disorder and misery. It was reserved for the reign of Elizabeth to usher in a period of prosperity for all except the poorest classes, and to lay the foundations of that commercial and industrial supremacy which England was to enjoy for several centuries among the nations of the world.

Of this coming revival there were few signs at the time of Elizabeth's accession (1553). The treasury was bankrupt, and the credit of the Government so low that it had to pay fourteen per cent. for its loans. Every branch of the administration was rotten. England was at war, but miserably deficient in all military and naval appliances. Domestic trades were stagnant. The spread of vagrancy and pauperism had been hardly checked by the terrible laws of Henry VIII. and his successors (pp. 250, 253); and the currency had been utterly disorganised by the fraudulent policy of successive governments, and the consequent increase of clipping, and of false coinage.

The Currency Problem.

This was in some respects the most urgent of the problems which the new queen had to deal with. The religious question was indeed more visibly pressing. Some sort of ecclesiastical settlement must be made. The rival parties must be in some measure restrained. But there was no chance of a revival of trade and prosperity while the currency was in such a condition that no one could say what would be the real value of any coins he obtained, nor how soon that value might be diminished by a fresh issue of debased coins. There were in circulation three different kinds of shilling, and four different kinds of tester, or sixpenny pieces. All of these varied in original quality and size, and now differed from one another still more through the action of clippers and sweaters. Similar disorder prevailed among the lesser coins, and Elizabeth's council determined to call in the whole currency, and to issue a completely new set of coins (1560). This was a gigantic undertaking, and there were serious objections to every possible way of carrying it out. Nor could any method avoid rousing much discontent among those who suffered, or fancied that they

Reform of the Coinage.

suffered, from the change. But the council wisely felt that they must, at all risks, complete the reform. So the Queen issued a proclamation (Sept. 27, 1560), explaining the evils of the existing currency, and calling in the debased coins, which were to be paid for in the new coins at a rate below their nominal value, but, on an average, nearly their real value; and a small bounty was offered for every pound's worth of silver brought in. This was the essence of the proclamation, only that the rate of purchase was represented as somewhat more favourable to the public than it actually was. The Government professed to be ready to bear the whole cost of re-coinage. In reality they defrayed it, and even made a small profit, out of the slight difference between the real value of the old coins and the price given for them in the new. The following figures show the extent of the transaction :—

Debased coin collected	631,950 lbs.
Silver in debased coin	244,416 lbs.
Value of this in new coin	£733,248
Price paid by the Government for debased coin ...	£638,000
Cost of collection, bounties, etc.	£45,359
Cost of coining new money	£35,686
Total cost of new issue	£719,045

Comparing the third and seventh items, we see that the Government made a profit of £14,203, after paying all expenses. We certainly need not grudge Elizabeth's Government their profit. They were in urgent need of money, and had conferred an almost priceless benefit on the community; but it was characteristic of Elizabeth, that she was able to make a profit out of the transaction and yet to get the credit of having been a loser by it.

The Influx of Silver.

The establishment of a sound currency made a revival of industry and prosperity at least possible. Fortunately, it was carried through in time to enable our countrymen to take advantage of the great influx of silver from America. It is estimated that the amount of silver in Europe was quadrupled during the fifteenth century. The new silver, however, went chiefly to Spain in the first instance, and the Spanish Government made strenuous efforts to prevent the other European nations from obtaining supplies of the precious metal. Their efforts, however, met with little success; and if England did not secure

much additional bullion before 1561 this was chiefly because the condition of our currency and the social and religious disorder had ruined our foreign trade. From 1561 onwards silver flowed into England, with the natural consequence that prices rapidly rose, and that industry was greatly stimulated.

The Rise of Prices.

The rise of prices had indeed begun by 1549, and had, on the whole, continued; but before 1561 this was mainly due to the depreciation of the coinage, which raised nominal prices. No doubt there was also a real rise in the price of grain; but this must be connected with the extensive changing of arable land into pasture. Accordingly, we find that neither profits nor wages rose proportionately. After 1561 the rise was of a healthier sort. Merchants and manufacturers began to grow rich, and workmen in their turn participated in the growing prosperity.

The Increase of Coin Stimulates Saving.

The increased stock of silver tended also to assist the accumulation of capital. Wealth saved in other forms had not been so readily available for productive purposes. In the form of bullion it was at once easier to preserve it without deterioration and to apply it to trade, manufacture, or agriculture, according to whatever openings might arise for profitable investment.

The rise in prices was not indeed an unmixed advantage. Neither rents nor wages rose at quite so rapid a rate; and thus both the country gentlemen and the labourers found themselves put at some disadvantage. So far, however, as the labourers were concerned, the increased activity of industry gave them more employment, and more opportunities for earning wages outside their regular trade; and this probably more than counterbalanced the fact that their wages did not rise as rapidly as the prices of the things they needed. Our information is too defective to enable us to speak positively on the subject; but, at least, the proofs of social misery diminish after the restoration of the currency, though for some years the improvement seems to have been slow and slight.

The Mercantile System.

We must now speak of the efforts of Elizabeth's Government to organise and foster the national industries. The name "Mercantilism" has been given to the system that was built up in this reign, and that practically dominated English commercial policy till the

close of the last century, when the whole system began to be assailed by Adam Smith and his followers. A fundamental object of this policy was the increase of the stock of precious metals within the country; and modern political economists have had little difficulty in showing the fallaciousness of the implied assumption that money is the kind of wealth most essential for national prosperity. "Money," they tell us, "is only a means towards an end, and that end is wealth in other forms—as, for instance, in the form of necessaries, comforts, and luxuries." This is no doubt true, and might be accepted as self-evident, were it not in practice so often ignored. But there is something to be said on the other side. Though money is not the ultimate object of human desire, it is, for many purposes, the most convenient *form* of wealth; and, in some circumstances, it may be worth while to sacrifice quantity to form. Elizabeth's object was political quite as much as commercial. She wanted money in order to subsidise Scotch and French rebels, and so to embarrass her external enemies. She wanted money to maintain internal order, and to provide for national defence; and the maintenance of authority at home and abroad was a pre-requisite for the growth of English industry. This may be accepted as at least a partial excuse for her violation of what we should call the principles of Free Trade.

The Navigation Laws of Elizabeth.

This is strikingly illustrated by the Navigation Laws of the first and fifth years of Elizabeth's reign. The older laws were in some measure relaxed; but English subjects who imported goods in English vessels were excused some of the customs due from aliens and from Englishmen who used foreign ships; while, in some trades, English ships were given a complete monopoly. These measures were not merely "protective" in the modern sense. They aimed at encouraging seamanship, partly at least, because English seamanship was one of the bases of national strength. On the same principles, Fishery was encouraged, and that not merely by remissions of customs duties in the case of English fishers in English vessels, but also by the legislative enforcement of Fasts. To assert that fasting was a religious duty was made a penal offence; yet, for the encouragement of fisheries, fast days were to be observed. Heavy restrictions were also placed

The Fisheries.

on the importation of fish caught by aliens, or from alien vessels. In a report issued as to the success of the Fishery Acts in the early part of the reign, it is proudly stated that a thousand additional men had thus been attracted to the fishing trade, and were consequently "ready to serve in Her Majesty's ships." Experience, however, proved that English fishers could not supply the market adequately, and many of the restrictions were removed in 1597.

Encouragement to Native Industry.

We will not attempt to describe in detail the various other ways in which Elizabeth's Government tried to stimulate native industries. Few of them involved any new principles. The importation of manufactured goods and the exportation of raw material were alike discouraged. There was, however, little theoretical consistency in the national policy. Wool is a raw material; but to forbid its exportation would have ruined one of our chief industries. So wool might be exported; but woe to that man who exported a live sheep. For the first offence he might lose a hand! English subjects must wear English-made caps. They had not even the choice of going without caps altogether. Caps, fully wrought in England, had to be worn by almost all persons of six years and upwards, on every Sunday and Holy Day, under penalty of a fine.

Monopolies.

Another favourite method for the encouragement of English industry was the granting of patents and monopolies. The establishment of great industries was induced by granting exclusive rights to those who would engage in them. This system was at a later time often resorted to, chiefly as a means of enriching royal favourites or in order to raise money for the Crown, in return for exclusive privileges. But when the ostensible motive was the real one, we must not regard the system as altogether indefensible, however unsuitable it may be to modern industrial conditions. The scarcity of capital and of business experience and enterprise in the early years of Elizabeth may have justified the giving of an artificial stimulus to new industries. But great wisdom and caution were needed in granting patents, or the ensuing evils were likely to exceed the advantages. The chartering of merchant companies was one of the most important branches of the policy of granting monopolies. But we must reserve this subject for a later paragraph.

We pass next to the Statute of Apprentices (1563)—the great effort made by Elizabeth's Government to control and organise manufactures and agriculture. This Act was not repealed till 1813. Among its expressed objects we find the raising of wages. In this respect, it seems to stand in striking contrast with the earlier Statutes of Labourers; but the Government could scarcely shut its eyes to the fact that the general rise in prices, and the revival of industrial prosperity, made an increase of wages both desirable and possible. We may next notice that the Act showed the persistence of the old belief that those who were able to labour might reasonably be compelled to do so. Agricultural labourers might be *made* to work till the age of sixty; but other labourers and artisans only up to thirty years of age or marriage. To promote permanence of service, it was provided that, in many trades, workers must be hired by the year; and a man from another parish might not be employed, unless he brought satisfactory testimonials from his last employer.

The Statute of Apprentices.

The State and Labour.

Wages were to be fixed annually for each district by the justices, after consultation with "such discreet and grave persons as they shall think meet," for every trade, and no one might pay more or less than the wages so settled. This is evidently a great advance on the clumsy attempts to regulate wages in the older Statutes of Labourers.

State Regulation of Wages.

The hours of labour were defined much as in the older laws. Except in London, the summer day's work was to be from five a.m. till six or eight p.m., but with intermissions which brought the total down to about nine and a half hours. In winter the daylight was to regulate the duration of work, and this would probably give an average of eight and a half hours a day; but the meaning of the Act is by no means clear, nor can we discover whether its regulations were adhered to in practice. It further contained elaborate regulations as to apprenticeship. These may be described as an attempt to secure a thorough technical education for those entering any trade, and also as an endeavour to regulate the supply of labour of various sorts, and the proportion of apprentices to journeymen in each. Thus agriculture and village trades

were more favourably treated than those occupations which involved living in towns, and which were generally of less paramount necessity, or less conducive to national power. Therefore, while an agriculturist might take any lad as an apprentice, an artisan in a corporate town was limited to the sons of freemen, and these might not be withdrawn from agriculture. Merchants and shopkeepers were still further restricted, and could only take as apprentices the sons of the comparatively well-to-do. Such limitations were probably partly due to the influence of the growing middle classes, anxious not to have their trades overcrowded; but in the main they seem to indicate a desire to encourage tillage and other open-air and village industries, which would tend to keep up the supply of strong fighting men, who might otherwise be tempted to migrate into the towns, already unsanitary and overcrowded, and to pursue avocations less directly productive of food and other necessaries.

The Reorganisation of Industry.

The Act is chiefly interesting as the first serious attempt to organise English industries after the great breakdown, in the middle of the sixteenth century, of the mediæval organisation. On the whole it follows many of the old ideas, but it shows that Elizabeth's statesmen recognised the need of more flexibility than had been provided for under the older laws. Thus, in the matter of fixing wages, it seems clear that the justices were intended to give authoritative sanction to a rate of wage according to the industrial forces at work in a particular locality and trade, rather than to enforce their own ideas as to what wages were equitable, or to maintain the rate that existed in the past. The State had not, indeed, abandoned the idea that it could interfere to fix wages, but it was certainly now showing a greater appreciation of the need of caution and the strength of economic forces, the results of which could be at most only slightly modified by a consideration of what rate of wages seemed desirable. Accordingly the justices were somewhat in the position of modern arbitrators in a dispute about wages, who have to consider, not what they would desire, but what the conditions of the market admit of. Unfortunately, the justices, who were themselves generally employers, were not always impartial, and were suspected of unfairness, even when they did their best. But

it is probable that they served a useful function. They were not to blame for the fact that wages rose more slowly than prices, for this is generally the case, even when the labourers are associated in strong trade unions, and are thus able to take early advantage of an improved market. At any rate it appears that the condition of the trades to which the Act applied compared favourably with that of the new trades that sprung up in the eighteenth century, to which the Act did not apply.

A similar approval may probably be given to the attempt made by Elizabeth's Acts to secure a better technical education for the labourers in the different skilled trades, but it is not possible to decide whether the regulations as to the limitation of apprentices did more good than harm.

Another branch of the Elizabethan organisation of industry was the formation of companies to take the place of the old craft gilds, which had deteriorated before the Reformation, and been almost destroyed by the confiscating policy of Henry VIII. and Edward VI.'s Council (p. 127). The new companies were of a wider character than the old gilds; they were authorised by the Crown instead of the Municipalities. They were generally associations of employers instead of, like the old gilds, of actual workers, and a single company often included a number of trades.

One of the chief reasons given for forming these companies was the importance of supervising the quality of the goods offered to the public; but the more extended character of the companies made them less efficient for this purpose than the old gilds had been in the days of their efficiency.

The Alien Immigration and its Effect on Manufacture.

A great stimulus was given to English manufactures in Elizabeth's reign by the immigration of Protestant refugees from Flanders and, to a less extent, from France. As in other industrial departments, it was thought necessary for the Government to regulate the admission and privileges of these aliens. In 1561 Sandwich was licensed to receive from twenty to twenty-five master workmen as cloth-workers or fishers. Sandwich had been decaying during the last sixty years, chiefly through the silting-up of its harbour. The Government hoped to revive the industries of the town by means of these foreigners, and the experiment was so successful that it

was repeated, both here and elsewhere. In a survey taken in the eighth year of Elizabeth, the town was found to contain one hundred and twenty Walloon as against two hundred and ninety-one English householders. The newcomers also introduced the manufacture of paper and silk.

The Netherlanders at Sandwich

In 1565 Norwich received a similar licence, and by 1571 no less than four thousand natives of the Netherlands had settled there, besides large numbers in other parts of Norfolk. They introduced the making of "bayes, sayes, arras, mockades, and the like." The first book ever printed in Norwich was printed in 1570 by one of these immigrants, and we find at the present day many natives of this town who bear names corrupted from the Dutch.

And in Norfolk.

In 1567 Maidstone petitioned to be allowed to have foreign settlers. The petition was granted, and the thread industry, which flourished there for nearly three centuries, was thus started.

The manufacture of lace was introduced by refugees from Alençon and Valenciennes into Cranfield, in Bedfordshire, and extended thence over Bucks, Oxfordshire, and Northamptonshire. Other immigrants introduced the making of Honiton lace into Devon. Silk weaving was also brought into England by French Huguenots, and parchment, needles, and gallipots are mentioned among the other products of the skill and enterprise of the fugitives from the Netherlands.

French Lace-Makers

And Silk-Weavers.

In almost every instance the invaded districts derived great advantages from the coming of the aliens. In some cases the jealousy of the English artisans was naturally aroused; but the fact that the newcomers were Protestants, exiled for their religion, probably moderated this ill-feeling, and the improvement which the strangers made in English manufactures was so rapid and so considerable that neither the Government nor the people were much disposed to listen to the complaints of their rivals. Some restrictive measures were at a later time adopted, and in 1592 the immigrants were required to go through a seven years' apprenticeship.

While the foreigners were building up many new industries, the native woollen manufacture preserved its old pre-eminence. The direction of it was passing more and more into the hands of capitalists, who gave out work, and grew rich, partly by availing themselves of the opportunities for division of labour, which manufacture on a large scale provided. Thus the Carders became a powerful body, and were able to secure legislative protection against the importation of foreign cards for wool. There was much rivalry between clothiers in large towns and those in country places. The latter enjoyed far more liberty, and this seems often to have balanced the advantages of concentration, and the greater facilities for manufacturing on a large scale. Parliament frequently tried to confine the trade to special towns, probably from a belief that the quality of the goods could be better kept up, owing to the greater ease of supervision; but their efforts to preserve the monopoly for a few towns were not very successful.

The Woollen Manufacture.

The working-up of wool into worsted was a staple of the Eastern Counties, especially of Norfolk. This was a flourishing industry before the coming of the Protestant refugees. As early as 1554 some foreign artisans were engaged by the mayor and some of the chief workmen to teach some of the Norwich weavers certain branches of the trade. The result was the famous Norwich satins and fustians. To illustrate the nature of English manufactures, and the growing consumption of luxuries, we may quote here an interesting list that L. Guicciardini gives of the imports and exports between England and Antwerp, which was the port with which we did the greatest trade. "To England," he says, "Antwerp sends jewels and precious stones, silver, bullion, quicksilver, wrought silks, cloth of gold and silver, gold and silver thread, camblets, grograms, spices, drugs, sugar, cotton, cummin galls, linen fine and coarse, serges, demi-ostades, tapestry, madder, hops in great quantity, glass, salt-fish, metallic and other merceries of all sorts to a great value, arms of all kinds, ammunition for war, and household furniture. From England Antwerp receives vast quantities of fine and coarse draperies, fringes, and other things of that kind to a great value, the finest wool, excellent saffron in small quantities, a great quantity of lead and tin,

Imports and Exports.

sheep and rabbit skins without number, and various other sorts of fine peltry and leather, beer, cheese, and other sorts of provisions; also Malmsey wines, which the English import from Candia."

It will be noticed that English exports were still mostly in the form of raw, or almost raw material. Much of the English cloths, stuffs, and wools were exported again from Antwerp to Italy, Scandinavia, and other parts of Europe.

The above list, referring only to the Antwerp trade, must not be regarded as a complete enumeration either of our exports or of our imports in the sixteenth century. From India, Persia, and Turkey, from Sweden, Russia, and the New World, luxuries unknown to earlier generations of Englishmen were being brought in, and many of the elders feared that a demoralisation of the national character would certainly ensue.*

The English foreign trade was mainly in the hands of certain great companies, who enjoyed the legal monopoly of the commerce with various parts of the world. The earlier of these companies were not conducted on joint stock principles. They were associations of merchants, each of whom might trade with his own capital, and at his own risk, provided that he was a member of the company, and conformed to its rules.

The Great Merchant Companies.

The earliest of these companies was that of the Merchant Adventurers, who have been spoken of in a former volume (II., pp. 401, 552); but in the period with which we are now dealing, several very important fresh companies were incorporated. Thus the Russia Company received its first charter in 1555. It thereby obtained a monopoly of the trade with Russia, and with any new countries its servants might discover (*cf.* pp. 227, 486, *seqq.*).

The Merchant Adventurers.

The Russian Company.

The Czar, Ivan the Terrible, soon gave these merchants free access to all his dominions, and they tried to open up a new trade route through Russia to Persia. An Act of Parliament

* Among the things first introduced into England between 1518 and 1578 we may mention carp, pippins, apricots, turkeys, hops, and tobacco. "Women's maskes, buskes, mufs, fanns, periwigs, and bodkins" were brought into our country about 1532.

in 1556 extended their monopoly to include most of the trade with Armenia, Media, Hyrcania, Persia, and the Caspian Sea, conditionally on the trade being carried on only in English ships, and the majority of each crew being English. The company was very successful till about 1571. Then it began to decay, partly through the fluctuating policy of the Czar, but partly through the company's greed. Dutch and German traders secured much of the Russian trade, and private English merchants managed to elude the monopoly in various ways.

Of the other companies we will only mention here the *Eastland Company*, which traded in the Baltic, and the *Levant*, which traded with Turkey, Syria, and Asia Minor. By the close of Elizabeth's reign, France was almost the only country with which English merchants could trade without being members of a company.

The Eastland and Levant Companies.

The system thus built up was open to many of the abuses that accompany monopolies. It may, however, be noticed that it is doubtful whether, in Elizabeth's reign, freedom of foreign traffic was desirable. It was the prospect of obtaining special privileges which encouraged merchants to open up new and hazardous markets, and the organisation of such merchants into companies provided a means of protection against the oppressions of the foreign, and often half-barbarous powers, with whose subjects the merchants wished to trade.

Among other indications of the growth of English wealth and commerce in the first half of Elizabeth's reign, two facts may be mentioned here. The first of these was the building of the Royal Exchange. Hitherto the London merchants had conducted their exchange transactions in Lombard Street, in the open air. But in 1566 the building of the Royal Exchange began. This was chiefly due to the liberality of Sir Thomas Gresham, the merchant who conducted the Queen's mercantile and financial dealings with foreigners. But it was a feeling of the inadequacy of the existing accommodation for the increasing commercial transactions of London which prompted Gresham's offer to defray the cost

The Growth of Wealth and Commerce.

The Royal Exchange.

of the building, if the corporation would provide the site. The other illustration of the growing wealth of England is that when the Government wanted to borrow in 1569, they were able, for the first time, to obtain their loan in England, instead of having to apply to foreign capitalists.

C. CREIGHTON. Vital Statistics of London.

Overgrowth of London.

THE year 1580 is notable in the history of London for the adoption of a deliberate policy of State, by the advice of the Privy Council and at the instigation of the mayor, aldermen, and other the grave wise men in and about the city, to confine the capital, as far as was then possible, to the old inhabited area within and immediately without the walls, by prohibiting the erection of buildings on new sites in the Liberties and out-parishes, or within three miles of the city gates, as well as the sub-division of houses into numerous tenements. The ordinance took the form of a royal proclamation, signed by the Queen at Nonesuch, near Epsom, on the 7th of July, 1580, and was meant to serve only until such time as some further good order should be devised for remedy by Parliament or otherwise; however, the royal proclamation remained for nearly a century the form by which it was sought to give effect to the policy of checking the growth of London. The reason alleged for this remarkable ordinance was "that great multitudes of people were brought to inhabit in small rooms, whereof a great part are seen very poor; yea, such must live by begging, or of worse means, and they heaped up together and in a sort smothered with many families of children and servants in one house or small tenement." This was, doubtless, the special effect upon London of the vagrancy and pauperism which had begun in rural England under the first Tudors in consequence of the rage for pasture-farming, had grown owing to early and improvident marriages and the removal of all other mediæval checks to population which the Reformation had brought with it, and had become so fixed a part of the national life as to require, before the end of Elizabeth's reign, the formal adoption of the Poor Law. Vagrants and "landless men" naturally found their way to London, although they were not freely admitted within the walls. In a dialogue of the year 1564, a

beggar stops before the door of a citizen and says the Lord's Prayer, or a jargon of it, in a canting Northumbrian accent. "How got you in at the gates?" asks Civis; whereupon the mendicant explains that the Beadle of the Beggars was a countryman of his own, and had softened towards him on hearing his Northumbrian speech. In one way or another the Liberties or skirts of London, all round the walls, had filled up with a comparatively poor and often vicious class, dwelling in mean tenements, who "must live by begging or of worse means." Many inconveniences, said the proclamation of 1580, were seen already, and more were like to follow, the most specific danger alleged being the spreading of plague into the City itself and all over the realm. The jurisdiction of the mayor and aldermen extended to these skirts of the city, as far as the Bars (Temple Bar, Holborn Bar, the bar in West Smithfield, and so all round the semi-circle to the bar on the Whitechapel highway). But the arm of the law did not reach to the Liberties as it did to the well-ordered and regularly-built City; and it is probable that the extramural part of the capital was becoming unmanageable in other respects than in the matter of plague. One of the academic themes of the time, which occupies an appendix to John Stow's "Survey of London," was touching the most convenient size of a civic community. Stow's essayist cites the opinion of the Greek architect Hippodamus, better known to modern readers through Aristotle's "Politics," that ten thousand persons was the largest community that could be well governed, fed, and kept in health.

"London over the Border," temp. Eliz.

The repressive policy which was adopted in 1580, on the initiative of the mayor and aldermen, was formally adhered to for nearly a century, during which time London quadrupled in numbers and area. A letter of 27th of June, 1602, gives us a glimpse of how the ordinance worked:—"The council have spied an inconvenient increase of housing in and about London, by building in odd corners, in gardens, and over stables. They have begun to pull down one here and there, lighting in almost every parish on the unluckiest, which is far from removing the mischief." Also householders were now and then indicted at the Sessions for subletting, but only in very bad cases: thus, at the Middlesex Sessions in May,

1637, a house was indicted which contained eleven married couples and fifteen single persons. London continued to grow; only it grew after a most irregular and unwholesome fashion, because no provision was made for its orderly expansion. But the question that here concerns us is the actual numbers of the capital at the time when the Queen's Government ordered that no more houses should be built within a radius of three miles of the City gates.

The Population of London, 1580.

It happens that we have the means of reckoning the population of London in that very year, 1580, with a high degree of accuracy. During the trouble from plague in 1582, when the Privy Council were blaming the City authorities, and the City authorities were retorting upon the Council and the Court, it occurred to Lord Burghley to get from the mayor a series of the weekly burials from plague and from all other causes, and of the weekly christenings. The mayor was able to get the figures from the books of the Company of Parish Clerks, who had begun as early as the reign of Henry VIII. to compile weekly bills of mortality in special times of plague, and had gradually assumed the office of registrars of births and deaths, which they held in London until the Registration Act of 1837. The result of the Lord Treasurer's application was a neatly written tabular abstract, on ten or more pages quarto (preserved among the Cecil papers at Hatfield), showing a long series of weekly burials from plague and from ordinary causes, and of the weekly christenings, together with columns of still-births, and of the number of parishes that were free of plague in each week. The tables cover a period of five years, from 1578 to 1582 inclusive, with the five first weeks of 1583. It is not quite clear how many parishes were included in the return; but it is probable (from the known precedents of 1563 and 1574) that the statistics are those of one hundred and eight parishes, of which ninety-seven were within the walls (mostly small), and eleven without the walls and in the Liberties, including the gate-parishes at Aldgate, Bishopsgate, Cripplegate, and Aldersgate, which were partly within and partly without. In the 1563 figures there were eleven out-parishes besides the one hundred and eight, including Hackney, Stoke Newington, Islington, the Westminster parishes, Lambeth and Stepney; if these had not been included in the

tables for 1578–82, we should have to increase the following estimate by about one-seventh. The note gives a summary.* The annual average of burials is 33 per cent. more, owing to the severity of plague in four out of the five years; but in the year 1580, when there was little plague (128 deaths), the christenings were 3,568 and the burials only 2,873, the former being 24 per cent. in excess. With the christenings (in a year without the disturbance of plague) one-fourth more than the burials, we may assume that the birth-rate and the death-rate had both been favourable, say 29 per 1,000 inhabitants for the former and 23 per 1,000 for the latter, which would give a population of some 123,000.

Population of London at Earlier Periods.

It is probable that the numbers thus reckoned for 1580 were twice as many as the population of London would have amounted to at the time of the Reformation, or at the dissolution of the monasteries, and that they were three times the average population throughout the whole mediæval period. The earliest known estimate is one that was made in the time of Richard I. by the Archdeacon of London, Peter of Blois. The Archdeacon was as likely a person as any to know: he gives the number of parish churches at 120 (they must have been mostly chapels), besides thirteen greater conventual churches, and the number of inhabitants at 40,000. These figures he gives in a letter to the Pope, so as to bring out the extent of his ill-paid archidiaconal duty. When the poll-tax of 1377 was taken, 23,314 above the age of fourteen years were assessed in London for their groat each, which, by the ordinary allowances for evasions and for children, would give a population of some 45,000. Nearly all of these had resided within the walls or at the gates. It was a few years after that date (in 1393) that the Western Liberty, or the ward of Farringdon Without, was created. The two extant bills of mortality of Henry VIII.'s reign may easily mislead as to population, being each for a single week in a time of plague; but it is probable, from a study of their figures, that the population about 1532–35 was some 60,000, of which 20,000 would have been in the

	Plague Deaths.	Other Deaths.	All Deaths.	Baptisms.
* 1578	3,568	4,262	7,830	3,150
1579	629	2,777	3,406	3,430
1580	128	2,745	2,873	3,568
1581 (45 wks. only)	987	2,954	2,931	2,949
1582 (51 wks. only)	2,976	3,780	4,762	3,433

parishes outside the walls. The deaths for 1563 are a better basis of reckoning, the christenings also being known (fifty-one) for a single week of July, suggesting a population of some 90,000, which would probably have included a few thousands in the out-parishes beyond the Bars of the Freedom. It is true that the Venetian ambassador, in a long despatch to his government in 1554, gives the population of London at just double that (180,000); but he shows his vague sense of numbers in two or three other instances which can be checked, such as the deaths by the sweating sickness of 1551, and the size of the liveried retinues of certain nobles, which are roundly exaggerated beyond Stow's precise numbers.

Political Arithmetic.

At that time the science of political arithmetic did not exist; even Lord Burghley's exact and clerkly tables of births and deaths for the five years (1578–82) would hardly have been used, as we can use them now, to reckon the population. The first attempt of the kind was made by John Graunt, of Birchin Lane, in 1662. He had been long deterred from making it by the "misunderstood example of David," in the last chapter of II. Samuel (if he could have foreseen the Great Plague of 1665 he would hardly have succeeded in overcoming his scruples at all); but as he heard aldermen and other grave wise men of the City stating the population after the Restoration at so many millions, he at length gained courage to apply the rule-of-three to the christenings and burials, and found that the whole number of inhabitants was about 460,000, of which a fifth part was within the walls, a fifth part in the parishes furthest out, and three-fifths in the Liberties and in the ring of out-parishes next to them. That population of the old City, some 90,000 in the year 1662, was perhaps the maximum of its overcrowding. Its area was 380 acres, the narrow strip of Liberties all round it having about 300. But the City, which in the time of Sir Thomas More had orchards and gardens behind the houses, green graveyards round many of the churches, and public gardens on Tower Hill, had to sacrifice every foot of open space before it could hold 90,000. Perhaps the last of these sacrifices was in building the twenty houses of Cullum Street, after the fire of 1666, upon the site of an old mansion and garden which had stood intact until then between Lime Street and Fenchurch Street.

Although it is beyond all doubt impossible to assign to any single moment such things as the rise of a middle class or the general extension of commerce, it is equally undoubted that the general notion, which more or less dates and attributes these things in England from and to the reign of Elizabeth, is roughly and roundly correct. At no time had a middle class been wanting; at no time had there been no such thing as commerce. But until the fifteenth century, or thereabouts, England had had little to export but wool; and her imports had not been of a kind to encourage a very extensive and varied class of merchants. The influences which, with increasing force and speed, changed all this at the end of the fifteenth century, and ever more and more during the sixteenth, have been partly traced already; but may be conveniently summed up here. There were, at home, the increase of population after the cessation of the violent checks imposed by the Black Death, the Hundred Years' War, and the Wars of the Roses; the tendency towards breaking up pasture and towards enclosing: the dissolution of the monasteries, and the consequent disturbance and reshaping of national life (the placid vocation of monasticism and the employments which it gave being henceforth closed); the advance in domestic refinement and luxury; the press; and the great development given by these things and others to the secular side of the profession of the law. Abroad there was, before everything, the immense revolution and stimulus communicated and kept going by the discovery of America and of the sea-route to the East; the additional energy infused into the prosecution of trade in these directions by the ever-growing religious and patriotic enmity between England and the great Powers of the Continent—especially Spain and her soon-to-be dependency Portugal—and the openings given to merely European trade, partly by the new communications with Russia and Turkey, partly by the continual disturbance of Western Europe, and the religious and political changes which occasioned or resulted from them. If a more general and less particular account may be desired, it would almost be enough to say that the extension of commerce (and the rise of a middle class which it necessarily

G. SAINTSBURY. Elizabethan Society.

Transforming Influences.

brought with it) was simply one of the most obvious results of the indefinable spirit of innovation and change which distinguished the sixteenth century after Christ, more perhaps than any single age in the entire known history of the world.

The Literary Evidence.

The abundant remains which we luckily possess of the light literature of the time—the first time in English annals when light literature can properly be said to have become abundant—enable us to perceive the changes which had come or were coming over society with great ease and vividness. In the plays of the time above all, in the very remarkable and valuable series of pamphlets (mainly, indeed, by writers of the later Elizabethan and early Jacobean time, but partly by forerunners of theirs who are enough to save us from danger of anachronism), in many passages of graver works, in religious controversies, in set biographies, and in the nascent kind of descriptions and travels by Englishmen and foreigners, we are pretty well furnished with the means of noting the changes and the additions which had been made in the types and forces of English public and private life since Chaucer and Langland—with vigour not inferior to any Elizabethan's, but with a far narrower canvas and a far simpler palette—limned the types and the figures of a hundred and fifty years earlier.

The Court.

The grades or classes of society, in one sense more distinct, were in another much more intermingled than at the present day. It was not till the introduction of German etiquette in the second decade of the eighteenth century that the Court was sharply shut off from the people; and a delightful if not very decorous poem of Dorset's shows us how, even under the later Stuarts, persons of any character or of no character at all could safely venture into the presence uninvited, and uninterfered with unless they misbehaved themselves. In Elizabeth's own time, the constant pageants and progresses threw Court and people into pretty close company; and the Queen notoriously retained not a little of her father's disposition to be hail-fellow-well-met with his subjects. But the uncertain temper which she also inherited, and her very strong ideas as to her own dignity, prevented her from encouraging quite the same easy communication which her successor and that successor's grandson—Charles II.—freely allowed; and it cannot be said that, on the whole, we

hear very much of the Court in the literature of the day, except in what may be called full-dress relations. This was partly due to the fact that much of this literature was decidedly what we now call "Bohemian," partly to the inveterate passion of the time for masking and disguising such relations in all manner of allegory and paraphrase. But the masque, the tiltyard practice, the progress, and the pageant of all kinds played a very great part in the life of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries—a part incomparably greater than anything that now corresponds to it.

The Nobility

Relatively, however, the class of persons immediately below the sovereign exercised a greater influence than even the sovereign herself. The few remaining members of the ancient nobility, the (so long as Elizabeth lived) still fewer additions to their ranks, the great officers of State, and even the wealthier country gentlemen of knightly rank, and the considerable functionaries (from bishops and judges downwards) maintained, as is well known, a style of housekeeping to which at present we have absolutely nothing that bears the least resemblance. Even in the Queen's days, and not in the latest of them, the death of Edward, Earl of Derby, was lamented as putting an end to "old English hospitality"; but from what we know of the ways of those who survived him, there was not much to complain of. The maintenance, indeed, of a regular mediæval force of armed and regimented retainers had been made difficult by the jealous edicts of Henry VII., and would have been dangerous under the capricious tyranny of his son; but though Elizabeth was nearly as jealous as the one, and, in a less sanguinary fashion, almost as capricious as the other, the thing if not the name practically survived throughout her days; and we meet with traces of it after the Civil Wars. Nothing is more alien from our habits, and hardly anything is more difficult to conceive in our time, than the status of the "gentleman" of a great household then. It has been said, with hardly any exaggeration, that it provided an additional profession for men of gentle or respectable birth but not much fortune in those days; and it may be said, without any exaggeration at all, that it was a very usual interim occupation between the university and a regular profession, or a post in the civil and military service. We find, for instance, the

and their Retinue.

poet Donne, long after he was married and had children, and while he was hesitating between the Law and the Church, holding this position in the household of a very undistinguished person—a mere Surrey knight. From such men upwards to earls and archbishops, every man of fortune and family, or of fortune and office, in of course increasing numbers, had these "gentle" dependents. He did not, as a rule, give them much more than houseroom in his almost always spacious house, and board at his always plentifully, if somewhat rudely, supplied table. What they gave him cannot be by any means so precisely defined. They appeared with him on public occasions; they did his miscellaneous business and errands; they gave him consequence; and occasionally, as in the cases of Wyatt and Essex, they still fought for him. Relatively to the then not very numerous population, their numbers must have been extremely large; and as a great part of their rather nondescript duty consisted in appearing in public at least as handsomely dressed as they could afford, they must have counted for much in the restless, if not exactly busy, society which we see moving in the plays and other documents of the time.

The Smaller Gentry.

The class immediately below these men's employers (if employers be not too misleading a word), and above the lower professional and upper commercial classes, the smaller country gentlemen, need not much separate notice. They were often—perhaps in most cases—attached as pages or otherwise to the great households in their youth, and thus actually formed part of the class just dismissed. And when they had succeeded to their estates they did not, unless Parliament or business of some kind brought them, appear much in London, or fall very readily into its ways when they did. Nor can it, as a rule, have been well for them to be there: for if something may be set down to a stock and useful dramatic motive in the constant pictures of the squire ruined, or, at least, heavily fleeced by usurers and attorneys, courtesans and tradesmen, something will remain for solid truth. Indeed, the rapid rise of the professional and commercial classes, and the hardly yet obsolete desire of every Englishman to found a family if he can, must have supplied great facilities and no small temptations, even to country gentlemen, who were not mere pigeons (or, as the phrase then went, "coneys"), to melt their

acres into gold. Such a household as has been referred to, even in its most modest form, must have been enormously expensive; while the trader and the rising, but not risen, lawyer, doctor, or divine were not encouraged by the laws and customs of the time to spend very much money, and were, during the earlier years of their career, always making more. There was not, strictly speaking, any regular army or navy, and the commissions in both, when war was going on, were chiefly, if not wholly, filled by the same floating body of gentlemen which maintained and formed the households. But a good deal of money was made, if some was also lost, in the half-privateering, half-commercial expeditions of the time; much more by direct and straightforward trade, internal and foreign: much by the law in its various grades from counsel to scrivener, and, probably, a good deal by medicine (p. 152), while the abundant toleration of pluralities made the Church as a vocation occasionally a very profitable one.

The Universities and Society.

It is not to be forgotten that the Universities played a perhaps more considerable part in relation to all these grades than they have ever played since, at least, the end of the seventeenth century. Although there was no general system of education, almost any clever and promising boy in any class was pretty sure to be sent by some patron to one of the numerous free schools, whence it was his own fault if he did not proceed to Oxford or Cambridge (or, as was then common, to both). And though the greater number of those who did so proceed doubtless went into the Church, a considerable surplus drifted into the other professions and employments. The connection of both Oxford and Cambridge with the capital was also pretty close; and in the later years of their stay (which, it must be remembered, was then seldom less than seven years), it is probable that most graduates haunted one part or another of London society.

The Middle and Lower Classes.

The basement of the structure of the edifice of that society, and to a great extent of all society throughout England, was composed of elements not very different from those of the present day, with the exception of the important contingent of "'prentices" as an addition, and of an infinitely smaller proportion of journeymen of all kinds as a subtraction,

with an almost total lack of the lowest class of unskilled workmen, or partially skilled "factory hands." But these materials, and to a very large extent the members of the upper classes already described, were interningled and shaken together in a manner quite unknown to-day. At present, society moves in sharply separated groups, while even the individuals of these groups keep very much to themselves. The same people meet each other at the same places and times; and they do not, as a rule, meet other people, especially of different classes. Then, life was led much more in common, and much more in the open air. The merchant, instead of being shut up in his office during business hours, passed those hours on 'Change; the lawyer, instead of writing his opinion, or holding his consultation in his own chambers, met his clients in "Paul's," in the Temple Gardens, in Westminster Hall. The streets themselves, though they could hardly have been fuller, would have been full not of men hurrying merely from one place to another, but of men occupied in them, doing their business, taking their pleasure, living their lives on the actual pavement. The perpetual rendezvous in taverns, though, no doubt, each tavern had its more or less regular customers, was much less of a coterie thing than club frequentation. The theatres were open-air for the most part; the churches were constantly open, and places of regular resort; the great places of public haunt already named, Paul's 'Change, Westminster Hall, and others—were not mere professional places, still less wildernesses tenanted by passing sightseers, but actual assembly-rooms. And the assemblies that haunted them were of the most varied and picturesque kind, with more than a little left of the caste dress of the middle ages, and with an incessant movement and mixture of new kinds. Soldiers just returned from Flanders and Ireland (in the latter case probably a good deal the worse for wear), adventurers fresh from Virginia or Guinea, grave citizens and lawyers, divines and physicians, great men with their company of gentlemen and serving-men, flat-cap 'prentices, city dames and damsels, courtesans, bravoes, cooks, all distinguishable more or less by their appearance, and each class having for the most part much more opportunity for individual distinction than at present—such must have been the *dramatis personæ* of the streets of London in the sixteenth century,

while the streets of London were the stage on which the national life in more than a microcosm of it passed and was seen as it has never been seen since.

M. BATESON. Elizabethan Manners.

Since the social life of a nation is affected by the personal idiosyncrasies of even a weak sovereign, it is not surprising to find that the strongly marked personality of Elizabeth had power to determine the tone of society.

The Queen and the Nation.

The age which knew her is fitly called Elizabethan, for no other adjective so amply describes it. From many points of view, her personality was typical of that of the nation, for the nation and she were thoroughly at one. She liked to think of herself as "wedded to her people," and so close was their union that she and her people grew like each other even in externals. Thus it came about that Elizabeth's insatiable love of pleasure, her unflagging good spirits, and zest in the enjoyment of life, made gaiety and light-heartedness prevail; for her Court was gay, and her Court was everywhere, since she moved up and down the country, to be known and seen of all men. Progresses and pageants were everyday matters, but the Queen's healthful body was too vigorous to suffer, and neither she nor her subjects ever showed that they found the pursuit of pleasure may end in weariness. In politics and in religion she was before all things practical; so, too, was her age. She admired worldly wisdom, and if honest in nothing else she was honest in her frank worldliness. She and her people made gain and pleasure definite objects in life, and sought them in a spirit of truth. There was no half-concealed attempt at combining instruction with amusement; the Elizabethan did not seek out what he ought to enjoy and try to be interested or to laugh, but he sought what did amuse him and did make him laugh. Yet with the spirit of hearty, unrestrained enjoyment there sometimes goes a lack of discrimination and refinement, and it cannot be denied that, just as the Queen's gay, pleasure-seeking temperament was coarse, so also was Elizabethan society. The Queen could control herself well enough upon occasion, yet neither she nor her subjects thought fit to check the expression of their emotions, and the consequence was that their

manners were at times unbecoming. Elizabeth spat at a courtier whose coat offended her taste, she boxed the ears of another, she tickled the back of Leicester's neck when he knelt to receive his earldom, she rapped out tremendous oaths, and uttered every sharp, amusing word that rose to her lips. Accordingly, the man who could not or would not swear was accounted "a peasant, a clown, a patch, an effeminate person."* Swearing became a privilege of the upper classes; the invention of new and original oaths by "St. Chicken" and the like was the young nobleman's duty,† whilst his servants were fined a penny for every oath.‡

Court Manners and Morals.

To obtain the Queen's favour it was necessary to be amusing, no matter at whose expense. Mary Queen of Scots judged wisely when she warned her ambassador, Melville, whose temperament was not naturally of the most serious, that he must "cast in merry purposes" as far as he could in his interviews with Elizabeth. Even the physical defects of her statesmen caused Elizabeth much delight, since they enabled her to nickname them the more aptly. The poor little pock-marked dwarf Alençon, her favoured suitor, who fortunately was devoid of personal vanity, was called "petite grenouille" to his face. Coarse manners were often the expression of coarser morals. Men of the purest and best intelligence shrank from no allusion, however gross, and felt no impulse to check their words in speech or writing; it is not surprising, then, that men of weaker intelligence felt no impulse to check their actions or their conduct. Ascham suggests, in his famous attack on the parents who sent their young sons to Italy for their education, that that "Court of Circe" was in part to blame for the degradation of English morals. He writes: "I know divers that went out of England, men of innocent life, men of excellent learning, who returned out of Italy, not only with worse manners, but also with less learning." "Italy now is not that Italy that it was wont to be." Her enchantments "mar men's manners in England, much by example of ill-

* Philip Stubbes' "Anatomy of the Abuses in England." Ed. F. J. Furnivall, p. 132.

† Crowley, "Select Works." [1550.] Ed. J. M. Cowper, p. 19.

‡ Harrington, "Nugae Antiquae." Ed. Park, I., 105.

life, but more by precepts of fond books, of late translated out of Italian into English, sold in every shop in London, commended by honest titles the sooner to corrupt honest manners, dedicated over-boldly to virtuous and honourable personages, the easier to beguile simple and innocent wits." *

Women's Dress.

The same absence of restraint, of taste and of dignity showed itself in fashionable dress. The Queen's extravagant artificiality knew no bounds, and her example was so eagerly followed by both men and women that the English became a laughing-stock to foreign nations. The women of the Middle Ages had let loose their fancy on their headgear; but their dresses till the days of Elizabeth were dignified and simple. Even headgear in the reign of Henry VII. and Henry VIII. was simple, for the diamond hood replaced the horned and peaked structures of the past. Elizabeth's dress as a girl was markedly plain, but when she came to the throne she gave free scope to her vanity. She was proud of her hair, which was of a reddish gold colour, and she elaborated its dressing. Sir James Melville, in his "Memoirs," noted that it "curlit apparantly of nature." Later in life she wore a wig dyed a bright auburn to resemble her own hair in its youth. Accordingly, the use of false hair and curling-tongs became general among ladies of the fashionable world. Philip Stubbes, the Elizabethan satirist, describes women's hair as "frizzled and crisped, laid out on wreaths and borders from ear to ear, propped with forks and wire," and says that "on this bolstered hair, which standeth crested round about their frontiers, they apply gold wreaths, bugles, and gewgaws." On the top of this structure only married women were required to wear hats;† as a rule, a caul, or network to show off the hair, or the "French hood" of former days, now reduced to a tiny cap, sufficed for outdoor wear.

Headgear.

Like most of the striking fashions of the period, the ruff was of Spanish origin. It began as a large loose cambric collar, and became so enormously wide that the wearer was greatly inconvenienced by its flip-flapping in a storm of wind and rain. To overcome this, wires were inserted to hold it up and out from the neck,

The Ruff.

* Ascham's "Schoolmaster" [1570] (Arber) p. 71 seqq.

† Rye, "England as Seen by Foreigners," p. 73.

and three or four minor ruffs were added to fill the space beneath this fan-like structure, which in women's dress reached to the top of the high-dressed hair. Starch, "the devil's liquor" as the Puritans called it, was invented to meet the needs of the ruff, as also goffering-tongs, or "poking sticks of steel." By their means the collar was reduced to a stiff frill.

At the beginning of the reign unmarried women wore the front of the neck bare, even out of doors. As Elizabeth's complexion was pale and fair, women in general desired to be "of a pale bleake colour"; and to obtain that end swallowed gravel, ashes, and tallow. She was long-waisted and narrow-chested, so "to get a straight, spagnolised (Spanish-shaped) body what pinching, what girding, what cingling will they not endure?"* The long-peaked stomacher helped to produce a long-waisted appearance, and in men's dress too the doublet was padded and brought down to a peak in front.

The Hoop.

To counterbalance the enormous winged ruff, both men's and women's dress showed a tendency to expand below. A modified form of the "farthingale," or hoop, was worn in England as early as 1545. The word is derived from the Spanish "verdugal," young shoots growing in a wood after cutting, thence a rod or hoop. In Italy, France, and Spain small hoops to expand the hips were generally worn; and as with greater expansion a larger surface for the display of jewels and embroidery could be obtained, Elizabeth's farthingale became enormous. At the end of the reign the "wheel" farthingale was in vogue, in which the skirt was drawn out from the waist at right angles to the body, and wired so as to form a sort of table on which the arms could rest. Elizabeth's appearance in some of her portraits has been aptly compared to that of an Indian idol. Her dresses were covered with ornaments, not a square inch of the original fabric was left without quiltings, slashings, or embroidery, the whole being further covered with a bushel of big pearls, or other precious stones. These last the Queen was in the habit of losing, and her wardrobe accounts contain such notices as "lost from Her Majesty's back one tassel and one middle piece of gold from a knitted button"; "lost from

* 1603, J. Florio, "Montaigne's Essays," cited by Furnivall, in Stubbes' "Anatomy," p. 77*

the face of a gown in our wearing, one pair of small aglets (spangles) enamelled blue, parcel of 183 pair." Well might the Elizabethan satirist groan, "women seem the smallest part of themselves" (*pars minima est ipsa puella sui!*); "a ship is sooner rigged than a woman."

Men's Dress.

In men's dress the chief change which marked the Elizabethan period was the division of the long "hosen" of the past into two parts, breeches and stockings. Breeches were called trunk-hose or hose, and stockings nether-stocks. As a rule the trunk-hose, or "galligascons," were stuffed or "bombasted" to such an extent that stooping was extremely difficult. To get into these garments was not easy; to make sure that "the long seams of our hose be set by a plumb-line, then we puff, then we blow, and finally sweat till we drop."* Lozenge-shaped puffings and slashings decorated the padded surface. Philip Stubbes, hearing that £100 had been paid for a pair of breeches, cries "God be merciful unto us!" Harrison jokingly tells of a "well-burnished" gentleman who cut down three-score woods, and bore them in his galligascons, "but caught such an heat with this sore load that he was fain to go to Rome for physic."

Breeches.

Clothing.

Sleeves, doublet, and cloak were equally ornamented; sometimes with much parti-colouring, and instead of the brown and russet and tawny of yore, numbers of new-fangled hues devised for the nonce.† Stockings were curiously knit, with open seam down the leg, quirks and clocks about the ankle, and cost about 20s. a pair. Shoes, or "boot-hosen," were "clogged with silk of all colours, with birds, fowls, beasts and antiques portrayed all over."‡ The Venetian "chopine," or high-heeled shoe, came in fashion, and men, as well as women, chose to "tread on corked stilts a prisoner's pace." Gallants wore bracelets and earrings, and covered themselves with perfume, especially civet and musk.

Hats.

But it was in hats that the Elizabethan gentleman found most scope for the display of his taste. It was said that the block of a man's head altered faster than the feltmaker could fit him, wherefore the

* Harrison's "Description of England." Ed. F. J. Furnivall, ii. 169.

† Harrison, *op. cit.*

‡ Stubbes, p. 61.

English were called in scorn blockheads.* Massive gold hat-bands were used as a decoration; others wore great bunches of feathers of divers colours "peaking on top of their heads." The English used so many incongruous fashions, borrowed from Denmark, France, Italy, Utrecht, Spain, and Poland, that a suit was said to be like a traitor's body, hanged, drawn, and quartered, and distributed in sections to different parts of the country. A Dutchman observed that "the English dress in elegant, light, and costly garments, but are very inconstant and desirous of novelties, changing their fashions every year, both men and women. When they go abroad riding or travelling, they don their best clothes, contrary to the practice of other nations. Their garments are usually coloured, and of a light stuff, and they have not many of them, as they have in the Low Countries, since they change so easily; nor so much furniture or unnecessary house ornaments."† The author of the "Anatomie of Abuses," however, complains that coffers crack and presses burst with the excess of change of apparel. According to him the love of dress affected not merely the upper but all classes of society. "Pride in apparel has poisoned no country so much as Ailgna" (Anglia); indeed, he was prepared to allow noble folk to wear sumptuous apparel, and directed his crusade against "the inferior sort."

The General Effect.

The rigid sumptuary laws of the Tudors took no effect. "Every merchant's wife and mean gentlewoman wore her French hood, every cottager's daughter her taffeta hat." "Far-fetched and dear-bought is good for ladies," and it was in vain that the Government sought to overcome this law of feminine nature. Ascham in "The Schoolmaster" complains in somewhat mysterious language of certain "disorders," "of outrage in apparel, in huge hose, in monstrous hats, in garish colours, which are winked at and borne within the court." By law all citizens' wives were constrained to wear white knit caps of woollen yarn, unless their husbands were "of good value in the Queen's book," or could prove themselves gentlemen by

Sumptuary Laws.

Encouragement of Native Industry.

* T. Decker, "Seven Deadly Sinnes" (1606), Arber, p. 37.

† Rye, p. 71.

descent.* Elizabeth re-enacted several of the sumptuary laws of Henry VIII. by a proclamation of 1565. None but the nobility might wear woollen goods made out of the realm. Only those with a net income of over £200 a year might wear "velvet or embroidery, or pricking with gold, silver, or silk" on their own apparel, or the apparel of their horses or mules. None but those worth over £100 a year might wear satin, damask, silk, camlet, or taffeta. No hosier (tailor) might make upper-stocks or breeches which measured more than a yard and a half "in compass round about," which measure is proved sufficient for persons of the highest stature, wherefore persons of meaner stature should understand that they are intended to use a less measure. Three linings must suffice for the breeches of all persons under the state of baron. Licences might exempt persons from these rules, but fines punished those who infringed them without licence.† In spite of the rule against wearing velvet, a foreigner noted in 1592 that the woman who had not a piece of dry bread at home wore velvet in the streets;‡ but perhaps hers was a cast-off garment. Stubbes tells how proud men were of their charity in giving away an old ragged coat, doublet, or pair of hosen.

In accepting the descriptions which satirists give of Elizabethan dress, it must not be forgotten that it is the tendency of every age to ridicule its own dress. The portraits of Elizabethan courtiers and court-ladies afford, however, ample evidence of the ugliness and artificiality of the prevailing fashions. There were many country gentlefolk and sedate statesmen and lawyers who did not follow the fashion, and their funeral monuments show them in a quiet and dignified dress.

The Dress of the Lower Orders.

It does not appear that the dress of the poor had undergone any important change. The poor man's breeches and stockings had not yet become distinct garments. Apprentices wore blue gowns to the calves of the legs; only persons over three-score years might wear them longer. "Breeches and stockings were of white broadcloth—viz. round slops, and their stockings

* Stow's "Annales," ed. Howes, p. 1,039, col. i. (1631).

† Strype's "Annals," I., ii., p. 537 *seqq.*

‡ Rye, p. 8.

sewed up close thereunto as if they were all but one piece."*

Sports.

The military exercises of the Middle Ages were a thing of the past. Masques and interludes supplied their spectacular effects; and football (played with great violence), tennis, wrestling, fencing, and games on horseback—such as tilting at the ring—took their place as exercises. Hunting with hounds and hawking were as popular with the aristocracy as ever, and, for shooting, the gun was beginning to oust the bow. The Queen hunted every other day as late as 1600, when she was sixty-seven; and it is noted that in 1591 she shot three or four deer with the cross-bow.

Hunting.

The secretary of a German prince who visited England thus describes his sport: "The huntsmen who had been ordered for the occasion, and who live in splendid separate lodges in these parks, made some capital sport for his Highness. In the first enclosure his Highness shot off the leg of a fallow-deer, and the dogs soon after caught the animal. In the second, they chased a stag for a long time backwards and forwards with particularly good hounds, over an extensive and delightful plain; at length his Highness shot him in front with an English cross-bow, and this deer the dogs finally worried and caught. In the third, the greyhounds chased a deer, but much too soon; for they caught it directly, even before it could get out into the open plain." On another occasion, a bloodhound was used "to single out the deer from several hundred others, and pursued it, till at last the wounded deer was found on one side of a brook, and the dog, quite exhausted, on the other; huntsmen took it, and the hound was feasted with its blood."†

Bull and Bear Baiting.

All classes thronged to the great bear-rings in Southwark, where bulls and bears were baited. The chief was "Paris Garden," a piece of land which once belonged to a certain Robert of Paris; and thither the Queen went in her royal barge in 1599. On ordinary occasions, a place could be had for a halfpenny;‡ and on Sundays the ring was thronged with an excited crowd, crying: "To

* Stow's "Annales," p. 1040, col. i.

† Rye, p. 17.

‡ Crowley, "Select Works," p. 17.

head, to head!"—some in satin doublet and velvet hose venturing down among the bears and dogs till they were "all with spittle from above bespread."* In the opinion of Puritans, Sabbath bear-baitings had but one defence—they drew all the devils to one place.† In order to gratify the German prince above mentioned, and at his desire, "two bears and a bull were baited; at such times you can perceive the breed and mettle of the dogs: for although they receive serious injuries from the bears, are caught by the horns of the bulls and tossed in the air, so as frequently to fall down again upon the horns, they do not give in, but fasten on to the bull so firmly that one is obliged to pull them back by their tails and force open their jaws. Four dogs at once were set on the bull; they, however, could not gain any advantage over him." According to another account (1575), "it was a sport very pleasant of these beasts, to see the bear with his pink eyes leering after his enemy's approach, the nimbleness and wait of the dog to take his advantage, and the force and experience of the bear again to avoid the assaults; if he were bitten in one place, how he would pinch in another to get free; that if he were taken once, then what shift with biting, with clawing, with roaring, tossing and tumbling, he would work to wind himself from them, and when he was loose, to shake his ears twice or thrice with the blood and the slaver about his 'fiznamy' was a matter of a goodly relief."‡ The Puritan Stubbes speaks feelingly of the sufferings of the bear; but a careful bearward was no doubt anxious to preserve his charge from serious mauling. For many years the bears Harry Huncks and Sackerson were the chief attraction at London baitings, and their names were known throughout the land.

Besides such exercises as hurling, wrestling, football, and coits, the country people had many amusements in the form of dancing, mumming, and pantomimic shows, generally enjoyed at annual festivals; and these were very numerous.§ New Year's Day, Twelfth Day, and the day after (called Rock or Distaff Day), Plough Monday, and Candlemas wound up the Christmas season;

Country Pastimes.

* Sir John Davies' "Epigrams" (Grosart ii. 41).
† A tract of 1606, cited in Furnivall's Stubbes, p. 79*.
‡ Rye, p. 215.
§ Drake, "Shakespeare and his Times," Part i., VI., VII., VIII., IX.

and a pause ensued till Shrovetide, when Collop Monday and Shrove Tuesday were celebrated with games, plays, cockfights, and feasts. Easter Sunday's hilarity began at sunrise, and was celebrated with morris-dancing and ball-games. Hock Day, the Tuesday after the second Sunday after Easter; May Day, when the May-pole, that "Stinking Ydol" of the Puritans, was brought home, drawn by twenty or forty yoke of oxen, garlanded with flowers on their horns, was set up and danced round; Whitsuntide, when the Lords of Misrule, "the wild-heads of the parish," decked with scarves and ribbons, with their legs gartered with bells, riding hobby-horses and dragons, came dancing right into the churches, piping and playing, so that the congregation mounted on the pews to see them:* all these things helped to make the people gay. Then followed the sheep-shearing feast or "lamb-ale"; harvest-homes; Seed-cake Day, at the close of wheat-sowing in October; Martinmas, when the stock of salted provisions was laid in for winter; and Christmas closed the year. Besides these occasions for feastings and merry-making, there were the church-ales, for which the churchwardens provided malt and brewed ale to be sold in the church for the benefit of the church. Each village had its own wake-day—the vigil of its patron-saint—when young and old ran gadding for a night to the woods, groves, and hills, spending the whole night in pleasant pastimes; and, besides these, christenings, betrothals, weddings, and funerals were made occasions for much feasting. At ordinary times, too, there was the tavern to fall back upon, and in ale-houses was much rhyming and singing by itinerant musicians, who were licensed; Stubbes would fain ask whether it was Christ, the Arch-Justice of the Peace, who had licensed their horrid songs.

Food.

The nobility, gentry, and students dined at eleven before noon, and supped between five and six. The merchant dined at twelve and supped at six. Husbandmen dined at noon and supped at seven or eight. To take two meals only was the rule; none but the young, the sick, and very early risers were thought to need odd repasts. Idle Londoners helped out the day by a half-pint of wine before dinner and a posset before bed. "Breakfasts in the forenoon, beverages or nuncheons after dinner, and thereto rear suppers generally when it was time to go to rest," were things of the past.

* Stubbes, p. 147.

All classes found it a hard matter to rise from table, and "large tabling and belly cheer" were considered by foreigners prevailing English characteristics; in an Englishman's opinion* this was true only of the Scotch. It was, however, generally admitted that the English were not only great eaters of meat, but also very fond of sweet things. It was noted that the Queen's teeth were black, "a defect the English seem subject to from their too great use of sugar." Courtly housewives found a way out of the annual difficulty of the New Year's gift to the Queen by sending her comfits and confections of their own making. The cooks of the nobility were, for the most part, "musical-headed Frenchmen and strangers," and the "sweet hand of the seafaring Portingale" was considered the cleverest at confectionery.† The merchants of Corinth are said to have wondered what the English did with the quantity of currants they imported, and supposed that they were used for dyeing or for feeding hogs.‡ It was customary to eat soft saffron cakes with raisins in them to give an excellent relish to the beer. Raisins and currants, sugar and spices underwent great fluctuations of price with variations in the trade restrictions. In 1587 sugar sold at 2s. 6d. a pound which had just before been 4d. a pound. In 1598 a writer on the "gentlemanly profession of serving-men" complains that "there is not anything that belongs to housekeeping but it is a triple charge over [what] it was"; his father or grandfather bought an ox for twenty shillings, a sheep for three shillings, a goose for sixpence, and a pig for twopence.

Wine and Beer.

Wine was no longer made in England, and the wines used were French, German, and Spanish. The home-brewed beer was very pale in colour, but even His Highness the Duke of Würtemberg found it delicious and relished it exceedingly. The Elizabethan country parson, Harrison, a man of "small maintenance (for what great thing is forty pounds a year, *computatis computandis*, able to perform?"), brewed annually three hogsheads of good beer ("such, I mean, as is meet for poor men as I am to live withal").

In drinking or eating, a foreigner writes that the English "will say to you above a hundred times, '*drind iou*,' which is, 'I

* Harrison, ii. 142. † Harrison, ii. 145. ‡ Rye, p. 190.

drink to you,' and you should answer them in their language, '*iplaigiou*,' which means, 'I pledge you'"*; and surfeiting and drunkenness were, in the opinion of most strangers, vices of the English race. Harrison, however, notes a great improvement in his days, and speaks of the "great silence that is used at the tables of the honourable and wiser sort generally over all the realm," likewise "of the moderate eating and drinking that is daily seen"; indeed, so much care was taken to avoid the temptation to drink that "salted meats are not any whit esteemed." It was still usual to taste everything on the table, but "menus" were beginning to be written for the tables of the gentry. Foreigners noted then, as now, that it was not an English custom to press guests to eat.

The Table.

"In number of dishes and changes of meat the nobility of England do most exceed." "No day passes but they have not only beef, mutton, veal, lamb, kid, pork, coney, capon, pig, or so many of them as the season yields, but also fish in variety, venison, wild-fowl, and sweets."

Though this sounds excessive, it should be remembered that there were but two meals in the day, and that in the halls of the nobility it was still usual for the chief servants of the household to dine with the family and guests. The upper table having been served, the food was sent down to the serving-men and waiters, who fed thereon "with convenient moderation, their reversion also being bestowed upon the poor, which lie ready at their gates in great numbers to receive the same." Gentlemen and merchants contented themselves with four, five, or six dishes, or if there were no guests, with three at most. At merchants' boards, Harrison notes, cold meat is often seen, but at their great feasts butcher's meat was quite despised, and the poulterer's more delicate meats preferred. "In such cases also jellies of all colours, mixed with a variety in the representation of sundry flowers, herbs, trees," "marchpanes, wrought with no small curiosity," and all kinds of sweets generally bore the sway.

People of the middle class, such as the Harrisons, accounted all the varieties of brawn and sowse "a great piece of service at the table" for the winter months. Brawn being somewhat hard of digestion, a draught of malmsey, muscadel, or hot

* Rye, 191.

Spanish wine was usually taken after it "if it could conveniently be had." At all seasons of the year it was possible to get fish, which was much used by the common people. Its consumption was fostered by legislation. Fowls, pigeons, and all kinds of game were cheap and easily obtained. "The artificer or husbandman makes greatest account of such meat as they may soonest come by and have it quickliest ready." White meats, milk, butter, and cheese, which were wont to be accounted one of the chief stays throughout the island, are now, Harrison says, "reputed as food appertinent only to the inferior sort."

The very poor, if they had an acre of ground wherein to set cabbages, parsnips, radishes, carrots, melons, pumpkins, lived on such-like stuff as their principal food. Bread was less easily come by, and many substitutes, such as beans, peas, oats, and even acorns were used by the poorest. At feasts, when "husbandmen do exceed after their manner, especially at bridals, purifications of women, and such odd meetings," "it is incredible to tell what meat is consumed." On such occasions it was the custom for each guest to contribute one or more dishes. The artificers and husbandmen, Harrison's "fourth and last sort," are, he says, liberal and friendly at their tables, and when they meet are so merry without malice, and plain without inward Italian or French craft and subtlety, that it would do a man good to be in company among them.

Increase of Comfort.

The old men of country villages loved to discourse on the great, although not general, amendment of lodging which had taken place in their lifetime, and on the change which the introduction of chimneys in all the better houses had brought about. In their eyes both subjects were matter for melancholy lament. To their thinking, charity died when chimneys were built, for the poor had never fared so well as in the old smoky halls. When houses were willow, Englishmen were oaken; now houses were oaken and the Englishmen of straw. In every age men believe that their new comforts are signs of the nation's approaching decay, and every age is convinced that it suffers more from physical delicacy than the age which preceded. The Elizabethans had further to lament that their windows were made of glass and not of open lattice-work; that many floors had carpets which

lately had rushes; that timber houses were giving way to houses of brick and stone, smoothly plastered inside; and that even inferior artificers and many farmers possessed comfortable beds, hung with tapestry, and used pillows (once thought meet only for women in childbed) instead of a log of wood, or at best a sack of chaff. In every merchant's hall stood "easy quilted and lined forms and stools"; and Sir John Harrington, writing about 1596, says that, as this is so, it is absurd that the stools in the Queen's presence-chamber should be so hard that "since great breeches were [for a while] laid aside, men can scant endure to sit on" them.*

Owing to the great plenty of silver after the Spanish conquests in Peru and Mexico, comparatively poor men could afford to garnish their cupboards with plate, and the poorest now used spoons and platters of pewter instead of wood. "The gentility, as loathing the metals, silver and gold, because of the plenty, chose generally the Venice glasses," and even poor people could afford an inferior home-made glass, made of fern and burned stone. "Glasses, glasses is the only drinking."

Decoration and Furniture.

The English taste for rich hangings of tapestry was as strong as ever. All gentlemen's houses had either wainscot or "painted cloths wherein either divers histories, or herbs, beasts, knots, and such-like are stained." At Hampton Court the tapestries were of pure gold and fine silk, "so exceedingly beautiful and royally ornamented that it would hardly be possible to find more magnificent things of the kind in any other place." In the Queen's state-room the tapestries were garnished with gold, pearls, and precious stones, and the royal throne was studded with very large diamonds, rubies, sapphires, and the like.† All this display was rendered comparatively easy by the influx of gold and precious stones from America.

Sudden wealth had come to a whole country, and the country was tempted, like a merchant not born to riches, to use the whole in outward show. The dearth of certain modern necessities of life becomes the more glaring. Good soap was an almost impossible luxury, and clothes had to be washed with cow-dung, hemlock, nettles, and refuse soap, than which, in Harrison's opinion, "there is none more unkindly savour." Again, at table no forks were used; they were first

* "Nugae Antiquae," i. 202. † Rye, p. 18.

introduced, to the great "sparing of napkins," at the beginning of the next century.

Even Elizabethans felt that the state of the roads was a disgrace to their country. All long journeys were performed on horseback; no kind of light carriage existed. Royal personages possessed lumbering gilt coaches, but towards the end of the reign coaches were beginning to be used by the wealthy in the London streets. The Queen performed most of her journeys on horseback, and men and women grew habituated to continuous riding. Princes who started on journeys in coaches got stuck fast in the boggy roads, but some preferred this to remaining long in saddles, which the heavily built found exceedingly hard. Baggage was carried in two-wheeled waggons drawn by six strong horses, and for a progress the Queen used as many as six hundred such carts. In the neighbourhood of London highwaymen were specially to be feared on Gad's and Shooter's Hill. The inns (p. 138) were praised by most travellers, though it was always needful to sleep with a sword at hand. The purse, we are told, should be laid by the pillow with the garters, so that it may not be forgotten.

Roads and Travel.

In a manual of so-called English conversation, published 1589,* we meet with this dialogue:—The traveller is to address Jane, the chambermaid, thus: "My shee frinde, is my bed made?—is it good?" "Yea, sir, it is a good federbed; the scheetes be very cleane." Traveller: "Pull off my hosen and warme my bed; drawe the curtines, and pinthen with a pin. My shee frinde, kisse me once and I shall sleape the better. I thanke you, fayre mayden."

A Dutch traveller, in 1560, writes thus of the English:—"The neat cleanliness, the exquisite fineness, the pleasant and delightful furniture in every point for household, wonderfully rejoiced me; their chambers and parlours strawed over with sweet herbs refreshed me; their nosegays finely intermingled with sundry sorts of fragrant flowers in their bedchambers and privy rooms with comfortable smell cheered me up." Parlours were trimmed with green boughs, fresh herbs or vine leaves in summer, with evergreens and box in winter.†

* Rye, p. xxxiv. † Ib., p. 80.

Gardens.

The garden hitherto had been little used except for mediæval herbs and a few vegetables (p. 359). The Harrisons had in their garden of 300 square feet, 300 kinds of simples, but flowers of a more ornamental character now began to be sought. In summer, gentlewomen "will carry in their hands nosegays and posies of flowers to smell at, and which is more, two or three nosegays sticked in their breasts before."* The geometrical arrangement of "knots" was coming into vogue at the great gardens of Nonesuch, Theobalds, Cobham Garden, and also at Hampton Court, where the hedges of rosemary were famous. Bacon condemns the making of knots or figures with divers coloured earths as "but toys: you may see as good signes many times in tarts."

J. COLVILLE. Scotland, 1561-1603.

When Mary Stuart landed at Leith from France (1561), the young Queen and widow of nineteen received a rough but kindly welcome from as turbulent a people as ever sovereign essayed to guide. Four years of vigorous rule, worthy of the active days of her sire and grandsire, were all too soon blighted by her unhappy marriage, followed in quick succession by the Rizzio tragedy, the Darnley murder, the flight with Bothwell, the shame of Carberry and Lochleven, the desperate rally at Langside (1568), and the consequent loss of crown, liberty, and life (1587). Seldom has the finger of History written so much grim romance with pen so swift. The crown was left to a feeble, ricketty child, at play in Stirling Castle, and by-and-by to grow to manhood oblivious of that welter of anarchy and intrigue called the regencies of Murray, Lennox, Arran, and Morton. And when he did come to maturity, easy good-nature, coarse *bonhomie*, infirmity of purpose, indolence, and timidity of temperament, formed a weak close to the centuries of sturdy independence enjoyed by the Scottish Crown.

The national forces at work during these forty years darkened the depressing features of the time. The crown never was feebler, the national spirit of the barons never more corrupt and violent. Justice was openly bought and sold, while private feud, scorning the restraints of either the law

* Stubbes, p. 78.

or the Church, shocked and harassed society. The Reformation increased the confusion, and specially intensified the curse of foreign interference. France countenanced the Catholic lords, but did nothing to save the Queen's party or wreck reform. More insidious and unscrupulous was the policy of Elizabeth, marked as it was by mendacity, selfishness, and trickery. Her numerous agents were the ready tools of Cecil and Walsingham in corrupting national feeling and fomenting disorder. Their activity was limited only by their mistress's strong objection to *charges*. She would do mischief but grudged the expense. The old suzerainty claim still blighted, like a curse, the relationships of the sister kingdoms. The two peoples, as an English traveller of the time observed, differed nowise in language, faith, or practice. Divergence became much more marked after the Union of 1603. The Kirk strove to save society, honestly, though with a narrow zeal characteristic of the age. Scottish Puritanism had its limitations, but it was imbued with the national feeling, and only leant on English support against France and reaction. Unaided it opposed the Episcopal leanings of Morton and the king, but in so doing it materially aided the English Puritans in their constitutional struggle.

Law and Order.

The rapidly shifting scenes of the time exhibit, with dramatic force, the conditions of everyday life. Law and order could hardly be said to exist. The Court of Session sat, but its procedure was often little better than the ordeal of battle. When a Day of Law was appointed, the accused gathered his "fighting tail" around him as witnesses to the power of his name, not the justness of his cause. The object was to overawe the court and thus evade the trial. The people were quarrelsome and litigious. A change of Cabinet usually involved a trial for treason, a charge of intrigue with the enemy, and death at the Mercat Cross for the defeated party. A contemporary says it was hard for any peaceable man, as he rode out on the highway, to profess openly that he was for king or queen; "all the people casten sae lowss, and become of sic dissolute minds and actions that nane was in account but he that could kill or reive his neighbours." The necessity for mutual protection, for lawful or unlawful purposes, gave rise to the *band* or covenant of Manred (homage), a custom peculiar to

the age and country. The legal phraseology of the time, too, is significant, with its quaint charges for *herrschip*, *hame-sucken*, and *stouth* or *stouthrief*. Frightful contempt for human life blunted the sensibilities of all. The king himself, ludicrously timid as he was, treated witches and weak insulters of majesty to short shrift. In 1581 a town-officer in Edinburgh, selling by auction some poinded goods at the Mercat Cross, playfully nailed pictures of the king and queen to the gallows, that stood permanently close by. For this the man was apprehended and hanged. The bodies of doomed victims lay long unburied, and on the gable of every Tolbooth was the spike for the ghastly head. Thus the heads of Morton and the Gowries, as, at a later date, those of Montrose and Argyll, were left to bleach on the Tolbooth of Edinburgh.

The Country Districts.

What must have been the lot of poor husbandmen in such times? Where exposed to the forayers of the Debateable Land, and the caterans of the North, the outer barbarians of Skye and the Lews, farming must have existed only in the swiftly portable form of small black cattle and sturdy garrons. Certainty of tenure or profitable husbandry was alike impossible. A popular poem corroborates the gloomy sketches of Maitland and Charteris. Signs of thrift and prosperity in the homestead excite the cupidity of the laird's wife, and the rack-rents and double services begin. No longer has the carle ability or wish to follow his lord to the wappenschaw "in feir of war." Estienne Perlin, travelling about the middle of the century, finds the country poor in gold and silver (coin), victuals plenty, arable land indifferent, much bad and wild uncultivated land, with here and there small towns and villages. Fife, cut off by the sea from the disorders of North and South, is the most flourishing district. Fynes Moryson (1598) also notes the pleasant prospect here, but adds, "There are no woods at all but only the seats of the squires, shaded with some little groves. *Trees in general are rare.*" He saw Falkland, once in the midst of a royal forest, but he found it old and ready to fall, though built so recently as James V.'s time. Fife must have been a favourable type of prosperity, with its cornlands, seacliffs rich in coals, shores abounding in oysters, but above all in its populous burghs of Flemish and Frisian origin, studding the hem of fruitful seaboard. Upon

the whole, however, Moryson has to remark, "As in the North of England we have small pleasantness, goodness, or abundance of fruits and flowers, in Scotland much less."

Industry and culture were confined to a few small towns. The population rose from about 600,000 in 1556 to a million at the Union. With England there was little intercourse. Only thirty-six Scots were to be found in London in 1567, whereas the Dutch numbered nearly three thousand. Few Southrons travelled across the Border. Moryson found no public inns, but the better citizens brewed ale and entertained on acquaintance or entreaty. Aberdeen and Dumfries, at either extreme, had considerable trade, but their citizens lived as in a camp, exposed to the feuds of the neighbouring gentry. Perth and Dundee were making the most of their favourable natural positions. A merchant of Ayr furnished the king with a fine ship when he romantically set out to fetch home his bride from Denmark. Glasgow was but an obscure village under the shadow of the Bishop's Castle, and did not get full burgh rights till 1636. The flourishing ports of Berwick and St. Andrews declined rapidly with the fall of the old Church that had fostered them. The burgesses of Berwick had been the pioneers of commerce, and when Bishop John of St. Andrews wished to found another such port at his See, the king had given him the services of Mainard, a Fleming and burgess of Berwick. The trade of St. Andrews was at its best just before the storm burst that wrecked the Cathedral.

Towns.

The historic memories and the picturesque humours of the capital, at this romantic epoch, would themselves furnish forth many a chapter of social life. It combined the interest of Elizabethan London and Revolutionary Paris. Always circumscribed, it was, even at the Union, limited to its narrow central ridge. The Canongate, a *faubourg* extending from the Palace to the city port of the Netherbow, was the counterpart of the London Strand. Towards the end of the century it was beginning to be covered with noble mansions, a sign of growing prosperity. Such of the lesser nobles as resided in the capital had their houses on the Castle Hill around the minor court of Mary of Guise. Later in the century nobles and rich burgesses were disposed to leave the noisy High Street to the craftsmen, and retire

Edinburgh.

to the slopes towards the south. There at the foot of narrow lanes, easily defended by closing the strong iron yetts (gates) at the entrance, they looked out upon tiny courtyards and pleasant gardens. This aristocratic quarter of the Cowgate took its tone from the Bishop of Dunkeld's house, and Blackfriars where Cardinal Beaton had lived. Near by was the house of Napier, Master of the Mint, where the Danish nobles were feasted in 1590. The *vivres* were bread and meat with abundance of beer, ale, and wine. The provost provided "naprie and twa dozen greit veschell," the goblets or *skolls* out of which were drunk the rousing pledges that were long known by that name.

The High Street was the scene where the Montagues and Capulets of the time bit thumbs or delivered the assassin's thrust with deadly whinger. The apprentices were equally reckless of life, and mingled sport with bloodshed. On such occasions the broad street was speedily cleared, the booths shut up, and the yetts at the close-heads promptly secured, while from the boles or round apertures, that did duty as windows to light the turnpike stairs, pale faces looked down upon the *mêlée*. In 1584, when there was a king again in the land, an attempt was made to secure order and protect traders from the constant plundering of their booths. The citizens were to take the watch in turn. In 1596, a town-guard of thirty was appointed, but to little purpose. The king was one day walking down the street with two of his nobles, when a feud broke out between them, and he had to seek the shelter of a skinner's booth.

The High Street was devoted to trading. Here was concentrated the business of a population of 30,000, in a space of a quarter of a mile. At its upper end, in front of St. Giles, stood the cross, and beside it the gallows. Here was the 'Change and open-air parliament. The causeway was covered with the trons (weigh-beams) for various markets, besides merchants' booths, specially on Sunday, of old a market-day till the Kirk, after 1560, urged the magistrates to close shops and taverns during divine service. Tanners, brewers, and candle-makers were also allowed to carry on their noisome crafts here. Attempts were made to reduce the mounds of garbage, and prevent swine from being a pest on the street. Citizens were to burn *bowets* or lanterns at certain places, from five till nine o'clock in the evening. Fires were frequent

and destructive, for stacks of fuel were common enough beside the doors. In 1584 a baxter's boy, "no doubt at Satan's prompting" says the chronicler, set fire to his father's heather-stack, to the destruction of his house and the hazard of the town. He was *burnt quick at the Cross*, this *enfant terrible*. The king, reminded by his winter's stay in Denmark (1590) of the shortcomings of his noisy capital, wrote urging his Council to put everything in order, "for a king of Scotland with a new-marid wife will not come home every day." "For God's sake," he also wrote to a city clergyman left in charge of the capital, "take all the pains you can to teach our people weill against our coming, lest we be all ashamed before strangers." This worthy must also press the provost to supply the master of work with good craftsmen "to end the half-perfyted Abbey (the palace) that now lies i' the deid-thraw."

Manners.

Sir Richard Maitland throws much light on the social outlook after 1560. He notes a less kindly feeling between the classes. Among wealthy traders new-fangled notions are spreading with the love of finery and display. All this, however, only marks better notions of comfort as great houses ceased to be fortresses. Sleeping accommodation improved. The poor still lay on heath or rushes covered with skins. Fustian blankets were coming into use with sheets of linen and pillows covered with silk. Some Lowlanders indulged in feather-beds. Archbishop Beaton left at his death twenty-three of these. Like the glass windows, they were laid away when the owner left home for a time. Moryson, at a knight's house in 1598, tells that many servitors in blue caps brought in the meat at dinner. The table was more than half furnished with great trenchers of soup. Each had in it a little piece of sodden meat. The upper mess (above the salt) had a pullet with some prunes in the broth. After the table was laid, each servitor sat down below the salt. Knives for each guest were not used at table till long after this time. Even so late as Adam Smith's day, when he was a Snell Exhibitioner at Balliol, they were chained to the common board. The soup was taken with horn spoons, and the meat was held on a fork. "Formerly," says Coulange, "they dipped their bread and fingers in the fricassée, nowadays everybody eats his soup on the plate; politely one must use both spoon and fork, and,

from time to time, a servant must go to the cupboard to wash them." Sumptuary laws were in vogue. An Act of James VI. enjoins no one under a prelate or an earl to use, at bridals or banquets, drugs or confections brought from abroad. The king himself was as thrifty perforce as Elizabeth was parsimonious from choice. At the baptism of Baby Charles (1600) he writes to the laird of Arniston "to *propyne* with venison, wild meat, Brissel fowls (Brazil turkeys), capons, and siclike," inviting him at the same time to taste part of his own good cheer. A contrast this to the feudal plenty of the Highland barons, as disclosed by the Breadalbane and Cawdor papers, for these had crowds of tenants paying rent in kind. There "it snowed of meat and drink."

Citizens.

The High Street of Edinburgh must have presented a picture, lacking certainly in Chaucer's grace of burghal life, but far richer in contrast and dramatic intensity. Here comes the provost or bailie, bearing the keys of the city, who "misknawis himsell

> "When he gets on a furrit gown;
> Great Lucifer, maister of Hell,
> Is nocht sa helie [haughty] as that loon,
> Wi' his keys clinkand on his arm.
> As he comes brankand [strutting] thro' the toon."

Still more gorgeous is the noble, swaggering in velvet doublet, furred and jewelled; or, if bent on "staying a plea," clad in steel head-piece, acton, jack, and plait sleeves, with sword at hand. Behind follow his retainers with iron knapscull, and harnessed in jacks, and carrying bow in hand. And when the *tulzie* (brawl) begins, they will rush to the booths for forehammers and beams, and smash in the heavy yetts behind which their rivals shelter. All are on foot except on gala-days, such as the Riding of the Parliament, when the barons, on caparisoned steeds led by cadets of the house in richly blazoned cloaks, march up the High Street. It was a novel sight when Anne of Denmark passed to the Abbey (1590) in "ane dame's coach drawn with aucht cursers of her awn."

Wealth.

In 1561 the wife of an Edinburgh citizen had her purse stolen, hanging at her apron while she talked with the shopman who was putting a string to a pennar and inkhorn she had just bought from him. The

purse had in it no fewer than seven gold rings set with precious stones, a surprising display of luxury in a country which Shakespeare's Dromio, playfully likening his kitchen-wench to the globe, "found by the barrenness, hard in the palm of the hand." Yet the close of the century showed marked progress in prosperity. George Heriot received the king in his seven-feet square booth in the Goldsmith's Row in Parliament Close, and on one occasion treated him to a costlier fire than he had ever had in the palace, for the banker flung into the flames a bond for £2,000 which the king owed him. Thomas Foulis, who in 1593 furnished funds for the expedition against the Papist lords, secured a long lease of the gold, silver, and lead mines that the monks of Melrose and Newbattle had first worked on Crawford Muir and in Glengoner.

Sports and Pastimes.

James I. tried to popularise archery, but with little success, as we see from the awkwardness of the peasants in "Peebles to the Play." Weapon-shaws were reserved for barons, bonnet lairds, and rich burgesses, and for these the Bow Butts, still in street names, existed. James Melville, writing of his boyhood at Montrose about 1570, tells how he was taught the bow, golf, and single-stick; also to run, leap, swim, and wrestle. He had not a purse for fives and the tavern, but he now and then practised tennis. The king, who had not the use of his legs till he was nearly seven, played at shovel-board and *Call the guse* ("the royal game of goose"). The capital had neither theatre nor concert or assembly-room till the eighteenth century, yet we read of a list of fourteen musical instruments that were played before Anne of Denmark in her *progress* through the capital. Chroniclers note such exhibitions as that of Marocco, the wonderful horse, supposed to be uncanny: of the juggler, that Birrell tells of in his "Diary," who played supple tricks on a rope stretched between St. Giles's steeple and a stair beneath the Cross.

Public Health.

The most notable plague of the century was that of 1568–69. The weather had been very severe, and the country was much distracted after the Battle of Langside. Hunsdon, waiting at Berwick to conduct Regent Murray from London, complains of the great frosts, varied by such thaws as were then threatening to

sweep away Tweed Bridge. He fears this will affect public health, yet "there is never a physician this side of York, if indeed there be any there." A merchant brought the *pest* to Edinburgh. Infected families had to lodge in wretched booths hastily erected on the Borough Muir. Two close biers, covered with black and showing a white cross, removed the dead. A bell, hung upon the side of each, gave warning. This pest carried off nearly three thousand.

The Kirk.

The Reformation was a social, much more than an ecclesiastical, revolution. The old Church had long lost its hold on society. Its wealth and worldliness excited the cupidity of the nobles; its sloth, ignorance, and apathy alienated the masses. The age that reared the cathedrals and great abbeys had long passed away; and for two centuries nothing but a few collegiate churches had been built. A few hovels, "scant coverit wi' heather," supplied the rural districts. The reformers undertook the spiritual cure of the nation on the scantiest resources. Of the old temporalities two-thirds were retained by the bishops and barons. The Crown doled out a portion of the remainder to the Reformed Church. Its clergy was long poor, few in number, and dependent on the offerings in kind of their people. The Assembly of 1576 allowed a minister or reader to tap ale provided they do it with decorum. The address to the General Assembly of 1572 says that "maintenance of kirk and poor has gone to profane flatterers at Court, ruffians, and hirelings; the poor are oppressed with hunger, the churches decayed for lack of clergy, the schools utterly neglected, the sacred buildings are like sheepcotes."

The Clergy.

The reformed clergy affected an Apostolic simplicity in contrast to the splendour of the old Church. They dressed in plain fabrics, eschewing all gay colours and finery. With much self-denial and stern resolution they set themselves to reform society. Their ideal was a "theocracy saturated with socialism." They took the field against idolaters and fornicators, and especially against the worship of the Mass. The great weapon in the attack was preaching. To the popular leaders in the capital the pulpit filled the place of the modern press. All churches alike in those days sought political power in order to secure, with singular inconsistency, freedom and uniformity. The people

were to be enlightened, too, and so one of the most persistent demands was to have the Bible and the services in the vernacular. When, after long waiting, Arbuthnot's Bible appeared, inspectors were to go into every house to see that a copy was provided for the family. There were now to be regular Sunday exhortations and a mid-week service. Families were to be regularly catechised to ascertain progress in saving knowledge. Even the Catholic lords had to receive certain clergymen into their households. The services were after the Low Church fashion. Few parishes had a clergyman all to themselves; most had only a reader. His place was the lectern below the pulpit, still called the *letterin* or precentor's desk. The Book of Common Order was used, and the singing, kneeling, reading of prayers, and the entire service, were decorously liturgical.

Church Service.

The old Church left a legacy of abounding immorality, with which it had long wrestled in vain. An elaborate code of forbidden degrees had cumbered the marriage laws, which, in a small country where relationships were involved, produced irritating interference. All this bore fruit in the clannishness, long pedigrees, laxity in marriage customs, and illegitimacy which are still the stock humours of English satire when it notices Scottish subjects. The reformed clergy warred against this with the cuk-stool, the ducking-pond, the penance-pillar, excommunication, and fines for behoof of the poor. In the process manners were made rough, and the public taste blunt. For scolds and profane swearers they had equally severe measures, but here the whole spirit of the age was against them. Lindsay and Dunbar show a wonderful variety of oaths, yet the *Three Estates* was acted before the Court. Dunbar's *Dance in the Queen's Chalmer* is but a piece of licentious buffoonery. James VI. was accused by the Kirk of "being blottit wi' bannin' and swearin'."

Morals.

As bright spots amid the gloom of those troublous times one welcomes Edward Tylney's loving picture of Wishart's saintly simplicity, or that of old Lethington, as sketched by his son, the great Secretary. High up among the Moorfoots, in his grim fortalice of Thirlstane, amid the dreary brown moorland, he led a life of cultured retirement, surrounded by his books, writing and versifying

Culture.

in a vein of shrewd observation, pawky humour, or Polonius-like wisdom. Another beautiful character is that of the Edinburgh burgess, good George Bannatyne, retiring to Meigle "in time of pest" (1568), to complete his labour of love, his collection of Scottish poetry. The book clubs which bear the names of Maitland and Bannatyne will ever keep the memory of these men green. Amid still more unfavourable conditions, Hugh Rose, baron of Kilravock, gained singular repute as an improver and planter of trees as well as a translator of the classics. When the king asked him (1587) how he could live amongst such turbulent neighbours as the men of Badenoch, the sage said the position was the best he could have, for it made him thrice a day go to God on his knees when maybe otherwise he would not have gone once. We have even pretty glimpses of child-life, as that of Mary Stuart's baby son, at play with his Jock o' Sclaitts (John Erskine, afterwards Earl of Mar), and looking out from the ramparts of Stirling on as fair a scene as Britain has to show. We see him walking up and down—he was then eight—with James Melville, discoursing on *knowledge* and *ignorance*. The Treasurer's accounts tell of his books, the fitting-up of his study, and the "paper buikis" for themes. He had the services of a whipping-boy, too, though stern pedagogues like Buchanan and Peter Young disapproved of all vicarious punishment. But the most charming of such pictures is that of James Melville as a boy in his father's manse near Montrose. His father would lay him on his back and play with him, and when asked what ailed him that he could not rise, he would answer, "I am sae fat I may not gang." We can sympathise with his efforts to resist "a bairnlie habit of pyking" (pilfering). His sister read to him Davie Lyndsay; and the post-runner brought from Edinburgh Wedderburn's songs ("The Gude and Godly Baliates") and the stirring news of "Seignour Davies slauchter, of the king's murder, of the queen's taking at Carberry and the Langsyde feild." Altogether, the student cannot too much admire the inimitable vernacular of James Melville's diary, the honesty and kindliness of the author, and the lifelike picture it presents of social Scotland in those days.

Child Life.

At an earlier page we noted two disturbing influences as traceable in the history of the period which we are now approaching. The first of these —the religious one—began to be felt immediately after the accession of Elizabeth. During the seventeen years from 1536 to 1553, the State religion of Ireland had been changed three times:—Henry VIII. had made himself head of the Church instead of the Pope; Edward VI. had made a change from Catholic to Protestant; and Mary from Protestant to Catholic. There was now a fourth change: Elizabeth made the religion of the State Protestant once more; and it remained so till the Disestablishment in 1869. But these mutations had no effect on the general body of the people: they remained solidly Catholic all through. The officials in Dublin, and these only, changed with the Government each time. In 1560, the Government began to adopt severe punitive measures to force the Catholic people of the Pale to conform. The two Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity were brought into play. The Act of Supremacy declared that the Queen was spiritual head of the Church; and now officials and clergymen were required to take an oath to that effect on pain of dismissal. The Act of Uniformity commanded all to attend Protestant worship; and heavy fines were inflicted on Catholics who refused to attend. Wherever these laws were enforced, the priests had to leave their churches, which were then handed over to the Protestant clergy. But even in the Pale it was found impossible to enforce them to any extent; and in most other places no attempt at all could be made.

P. W. JOYCE. Ireland.

Within the period covered by this chapter there were two serious rebellions. The first was that of Shane O'Neill—"John the Proud"—the powerful prince of Tyrone in Ulster. His first cause of quarrel was the arrest of his father, the first Earl of Tyrone, by the Government in 1551; and for ten years expedition after expedition was sent northwards by the deputies to reduce him, but he baffled them all. At length he made a friendly visit to London on the Queen's invitation, and peace was made in 1562; but soon after his return, incensed by some unfair treatment he experienced at the hands of the Government

Rebellions: Shane O'Neill.

while he was in their power in London, he broke out again. War and negotiation went on for some years; till at length he was defeated and ruined, not by the Government, but by his neighbours the O'Donnells. He rashly fled for refuge to the Scots of Antrim, whose enmity he had earned some time before by defeating them in battle; and by them he was assassinated at a feast in 1567. As to the manner in which he had, during his active life, governed his principality, the English historian, Campion, bears very favourable testimony.

The Geraldines.

The next was the Geraldine or Desmond Rebellion, which was brought about partly by threatened extensive plantations, and partly by the efforts made to force the Reformation. The Fitzgeralds were the chief leaders in this; and they were joined by most of the principal men of Munster, both of Irish and of English descent, to all of whom the Government had made themselves odious by needless harshness. James Fitzmaurice, the Earl of Desmond's first cousin, was the leader in the first stage, which lasted from 1569 to 1573, when he was forced to surrender. After a lull of six years, the rebellion again broke out in 1579. In that same year Fitzmaurice was killed, when the Earl of Desmond himself, goaded at last into rebellion by the authorities, took the lead; and for four years more Munster was convulsed. The war was carried on all through with great barbarity. Both sides burned and destroyed the districts of their adversaries; and in addition to this the Government troops, as they traversed the country hither and thither, hunted up and killed the unoffending peasantry everywhere, sparing neither age nor sex. In 1580 the insurrection blazed up in Leinster, where the deputy, Lord Grey of Wilton, was badly defeated in a Wicklow defile by Viscount Baltinglass and Fiach MacHugh O'Byrne. Soon after, in the same year, a detachment of 700 Spaniards and Italians landed in Munster to aid the Irish; but they were besieged in their fort and forced to surrender by Lord Grey, who had them all massacred on the spot in cold blood. The sanguinary cruelties of Grey went on till the Queen at last intervened and recalled him. The Earl of Desmond was killed in 1583, and the rebellion, which for some time had been merely flickering, came to an end. It had made Munster a desert; famine and pestilence followed the war, for all food had been destroyed; and nothing can be more appalling than Edmund Spenser's

description of the country, and of the miseries of those of the peasantry who survived.

The Clearances.

During the reign of Queen Mary the plan had for the first time been adopted of clearing off the native tribes from whole districts, by expulsion or extermination, to make room for English and Scotch settlers. But the natives resisted, and defended their homes with desperation; and the settlers had to fight for their lives and for their newly acquired possessions from the beginning, aided, however, in their work of extermination by Government forces. During the twenty years from 1556 to 1576, plantations were attempted in the present Queen's County and County Antrim —this latter by the first Earl of Essex. But though the planters committed frightful atrocities, both attempts in great measure failed. The plantations continued altogether for about a century and a half. Besides incalculable misery and loss of life to both sides, they were the chief cause of the great rebellion of 1641. They left to posterity a legacy of strife and hatred; and their evil effects are felt even to this day.

AUTHORITIES, 1558-1584

GENERAL HISTORY.

Froude, *History of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth;* D'Ewes, Journals of the Parliaments of Queen Elizabeth; Hallam, *Constitutional History of England;* Lingard, *History of England;* Henri Martin, *Histoire de France depuis les temps les plus reculés;* Ranke, *History of England Principally in the Seventeenth Century;* the *Calendar* of the MSS. at Hatfield House.

SPECIAL SUBJECTS.

Religion.—Strype, *Lives* of Parker and Grindal (Oxford ed., 1821), and *Annals of the Reformation;* the publications of the Parker Society (especially Jewell's *Works*, the *Liturgical Services of Elizabeth*, Nowell's *Catechism*, Becon's *Works*, etc.; occasional references in Froude's *History of England;* Blunt, *History of the Reformation*, Vol. II.; Perry, *History of the Church of England*, II., pp. 269-359; the *Homilies* (ed. 1676, or that of the Parker Society).

Architecture and Art.—Loftie, *Inigo Jones and Christopher Wren;* Gotch, *Renaissance of Architecture* (1894); Blomfield, *The Work of Inigo Jones*, in the *Portfolio* for 1888; articles on artists mentioned in the text in the *Dictionary of National Biography;* T. L. Propert, *History of Miniature Art.* See also the list given at the end of c. ix. *Coins*, as in c. ix.

Magic, Astrology, and Alchemy.—A very good notion of popular ideas on alchemy, witchcraft, etc., may be obtained from such sources as Jonson's *Alchemist*, Stow's Chronicles, and collections of tales such as Mrs. Lynn Linton's *Witch Stories.* A student of the subject may, starting from this, go on to the *Malleus Maleficarum*, Scot's *Discoverie of Witchcraft*, and the numerous seventeenth-century treatises on the subject. The works on Alchemy of this period are for the most part in MS., very few works of the kind in English having been printed till after 1650.

Natural Science.—No complete history of English Science separately has

apparently been written. The history of science in Europe generally is treated of in Whewell, *History of the Inductive Sciences* and *Philosophy of the Inductive Sciences*. See also biographies in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* and *Dictionary of National Biography*. Useful information as to the history of scientific ideas may be found in the introduction to Prof. Fowler's edition of Bacon's *Novum Organon*. Students who wish to go further must be referred to the original treatises themselves.

Literature, 1558-1603.—The chapters dealing with the subject in the works on English Literature of Craik, Taine, Arnold, Minto, and Chambers; Morley, *English Writers*, vols. viii.—x.; Saintsbury, *Elizabethan Literature;* A. W. Ward, *English Dramatic Literature;* Symonds, *Predecessors of Shakespeare;* and the works of the several authors named in the text.

Agriculture.—Tusser, *Five Hundred Points of Good Husbandry*, 1573 (best modern ed. Mavor's, 1812). Barnaby Googe translated, with large additions, Heresbach's *Foure Bookes of Husbandry* (1577). In the *Profitable Art of Gardening* (1568), by Thomas Hill, will be found the earliest English treatise on the *Right Ordering of Bees*. Reginald Scot, in his *Perfite Platforme of a Hoppe Garden* (1574), was the first writer on the cultivation of hops. Leonard Mascall laid the foundation of the grazier's art in his *Government of Cattel* (1605). *Modern Books.*—J. E. Thorold Rogers, *History of Agriculture and Prices in England*, and *Six Centuries of Work and Wages;* Sir F. M. Eden, *The State of the Poor;* Drake, *Shakespeare and his Times;* Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce;* R. M. Garnier, *History of the English Landed Interest;* R. E. Prothero, *Pioneers and Progress of English Farming.*

Industry and Commerce.—Hamilton, *Quarter Sessions from Elizabeth to Anne:* Adam Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, Book I., c. x.; Schanz, *Englische Handelspolitik;* Jacob, *History of the Precious Metals;* Harrison, *Description of England:* Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce;* Stow, *Survey of London*, 1598; Camden, *Elizabeth;* Dowell, *History of Taxes and Taxation:* Moens, *The Walloons;* Ruding, *Annals of the Coinage.* See also list appended to c. ix.

Public Health.—As in c. ix.

Elizabethan Society.—The chief separate work is H. Hall's *Society in the Elizabethan Age;* but a great deal is to be found scattered about in the innumerable editions of, and works upon, Shakespeare.

Manners and Costume, 1559-1642.—Harrison, *Description of England*, 1577-1587; Stubbes, *Anatomy of the Abuses in England*, 1583 (both ed. by F. J. Furnivall for the New Shakspere Society, 1877); Harrington, *Nugæ Antiquæ*, ed. Park; Rye, *England as Seen by Foreigners in the Days of Elizabeth and James I.*, 1865; Drake, *Shakespeare and his Times*, 1867; Dekker, *Gull's Horn Book*, 1609 (Arber's reprints); Gosson, *School of Abuse*, ed. Collier (1841); *Pleasant Quips*, 1595; Prynne, *Histriomastix;* *Healthes; Sicknesse; The Unlovelinesse of Lovelocks;* Tracts in the Roxburgh Library and the Harleian Miscellany; Lodge, *Illustrations of British History from Henry VIII. to James I.;* Chamberlain, *Letters* (Camden Soc.): various Satires, *e.g.* Marston, *Scourge of Villainy;* Sir John Davies, *Epigrams;* Donne's *Satires;* George Wither, *Abuses Stript and Whipt;* Rowlands, *Humorous Looking Glass* (Hunterian Club, 1872); Pilkington, *Works*, 1585 (Parker Society's ed.); Babington, *Works*, 1585; Nicholas Ferrar's *Life*, ed. J. E. B. Mayor; Walton, *Lives* of Dr. Donne, Hooker, Wotton, Herbert, and Bishop Sanderson; Winwood, *Memorials of Affairs of State in the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I.* (1725); Rye, *England as Seen by Foreigners in the Days of Elizabeth and James I.*, 1865; Edward Smith, *Foreign Visitors in England*, 1889.—*Dress:* Fairholt, *Costume in England;* Strutt, *Dress and Habits of the People of England* (1796); O'Donoghue, *Descriptive Catalogue of Portraits of Queen Elizabeth;* Stow, *Annales*, ed. Howes, 1631; Catalogues of the Tudor and Stuart Exhibitions.—*Sports:* Strutt, *Sports and Pastimes*, 1838; James I., The *Book of Sports* (Arber's reprints), and *Basilicon Doron* (Roxburghe Club); Drake, *Shakespeare and his Times* (1817); Brand, *Popular Antiquities.*—*Tobacco:* James I., *Counterblast to Tobacco* (Arber's reprints); Fairholt, *Tobacco: its History and Associations.*—*London Life:* Stow, *Survey of London*, 1598, enlarged by Strype, 1720;

H. B. Wheatley, *London Past and Present*; Wilkinson, *Londina Illustrata*; notes to Furnivall's ed. of Harrison (see above).—*Cookery*: Hazlitt, *Old Cookery Books*.—*Ornamental Gardening*: Hazlitt, *Gleanings in Old Garden Literature*; Bacon, *Essay on Gardens*. *The Court*.—Aikin, *Courts of Elizabeth, James I., and Charles I.*; Birch, *Memoirs of the Reigns of Elizabeth, James I., and Charles I.*; Strickland, *Lives of the Queens of England*; Nichols, *Progresses of Elizabeth and James*; Green, *Lives of the Princesses*.

Scotland (1513-1603). *General History*: (a) *Contemporary*: *Acts of the Privy Council*, Thorpe's *Calendar of State Papers*, 1509-1603, Publications of the *Burgh Record Society*, and the *Scottish History Society* during the period. Diarists were numerous during those stirring times; cf., *e.g.*, Sir Ralph Sadleir's *Correspondence*, 1539-1570; Scotstarvet, *Staggering State of Scots Statesmen*, 1550-1650; Bannatyne's *Transactions*, 1570-1573; Moyse's *Memoirs*, 1572-1581; *Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents*, 1573-1575; Birrell, *Diary*; also Buchanan's *History* to 1583. Bellenden's translations of Boece and the histories of Major and Bishop Lesley belong to this period. (b) *Modern*: The general histories of Taylor, Tytler, and Burton. Of the works dealing with Mary Queen of Scots, the chief are—Robertson, *Mary Stuart*, and Skelton, Maitland of Lethington. Malcolm Laing's and Robert Chambers' works on James VI. are important. In Prof. Masson's *Edinburgh Essays* are some picturesque sketches of the time. *Religion*.—Contemporary accounts are Knox's *History of the Reformation*; the anonymous *Book of the Universall Kirk of Scotland*, 1560-1618. Modern: Herkless, *Life of Cardinal Beaton*; McCrie, *Life of Knox*. *Social Life*.—Chambers, *Domestic Annals*, begins with 1561: cf. also Dalyell, *Darker Superstitions of Scotland*; Pitcairn, *Criminal Trials*; Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*, and the *Ledger of Andrew Halyburton* (1494-1503). *Literature* (see also list appended to c. ix.).—The notable collections of *Ancient Scottish Poems* by George Bannatyne and Sir Richard Maitland belong to this time, as also the anonymous *Gude and Godly Ballates*. *Language*.—Jamieson, *Scottish Dictionary*; Murray, *Dialects of the South of Scotland*.

Ireland. See list appended to ch. ix.: also the *Carew Papers*, and Hamilton, *Calendar*; *Annals* of Camden and Ware: histories of Ireland by Moryson and Campion; and O'Sullivan, *Historiæ Catholicæ Iberniæ Compendium* (ed. 1850)

BROOKLEY BRANCH

CHAPTER XII.

THE EXPANSION OF ENGLAND.

A. HASSALL. England and Europe.

With the year 1584 the great crisis of Elizabeth's reign approached, and the struggle with Spain could no longer be postponed. Cecil and the Queen's ablest counsellors had urged her to enter upon that struggle shortly after her accession, but Elizabeth's characteristic caution had prevailed, undoubtedly to the advantage of England. Since 1572 England had found in France a valuable ally, and the Huguenots had failed to gain any vigorous support from the English Government. By aiding to maintain a balance between the Guises and Henry of Navarre, Elizabeth had saved Henry III. from becoming the mere instrument of the League, and had enabled France to remain a counterpoise to the Court of Madrid. In June, 1584, the Duke of Anjou, the last hope of the Valois line, died, and his death produced an important change in the political world.

Henry of Bourbon, the Huguenot King of Navarre, was now the next heir to the Crown, and though Henry III. would willingly have recognised his claim, the Guises and the League were too strong for him, and, supported by Philip, began an agitation for the extirpation of heresy in France and the Netherlands, and for the exclusion of Henry of Navarre from the French throne. A bitter religious war in France became inevitable, and with its outbreak the alliance between Elizabeth and Henry III. was doomed. Elizabeth's relations with Philip had at the same time undergone a serious change. The discovery of Throgmorton's plot had been followed, early in 1584, by the expulsion of Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador, but though that event had not caused the outbreak of war, the murder of William of Orange, on July 10, tended in the direction of hostilities; Elizabeth found herself being forced into the position of defender of the French and Dutch Protestants, and declared antagonist of Spain. Early in 1585 the Dutch appealed to her for assistance, while in France

Henry III., by the compact of Nemours (July), agreed to all the demands of the League, and the country was plunged into its last great war of religion. Elizabeth had thus lost the French alliance, Spain's attitude was threatening, the fate of the Netherlands hung in the balance. The Dutch alliance alone remained, and the Dutch desired to be united to the English Crown and definitely offered Elizabeth the sovereignty of the United Provinces. But Elizabeth refused at first to take any decisive action. She hoped that Philip would, even now, consent to make adequate concessions to the Dutch, and so render unnecessary the English intervention. She made, however, a treaty with the Dutch in 1585, but at the same time entered upon peace negotiations with Parma, which continued till 1588. While Drake was plundering Vigo and the West Indies, Leicester was sent, at the beginning of 1586, to the assistance of the Dutch, and received the powers and title of Governor-General. Though Elizabeth still hoped to induce Philip to agree to a compromise, her open intervention in the Netherlands, coupled with Drake's plundering expedition, destroyed all chance of peace with Spain. Philip's policy was to put down the Dutch rebellion, to neutralise France, and then to conquer England. France was, indeed, neutralised, but though Parma had taken Antwerp, though Leicester's expedition effected little, and though the battle of Zutphen, which resulted in the death of Sir Philip Sidney, was followed by the capture of Zutphen by the Spanish general, Philip determined, in view of the power of the English at sea, to defer the suppression of the Dutch rebellion till after the invasion of England.

The Religious Struggle.

In England the discovery of Babington's plot to assassinate Elizabeth brought home to all Englishmen the danger in which the Queen stood. The plot had the support of Mendoza, now in Paris, and the invasion of England by Parma was expected. Mary Stuart was implicated, and in deference to the opinion of Elizabeth's advisers, the Scottish Queen was executed on February 8th, 1587. Her execution reduced the number of Elizabeth's enemies at home. The majority of the Catholics ceased to work for the restoration of the old religion, and though a small Jesuitical faction might still desire to see Philip king of England, the Catholics as a body rallied round

the Queen, and supported heartily the cause of national independence. Philip II., after Mary's execution, at once claimed the crown of England as the descendant of John of Gaunt, and made elaborate preparations for the invasion of England.

The War with Spain.

With 1687 war with Spain definitely began. In the spring Drake successfully destroyed so many ships and such an amount of stores in the harbours of Cadiz and Corunna that an invasion of England that year was rendered impossible. Philip's object in making his enormous preparations for the conquest of our island was not only to overthrow Protestantism, and to put an end to the assistance given by England to the rebellious Netherlanders, but to check for ever the attacks on his colonies and commerce by the audacious and piratical English adventurers.

W. LAIRD CLOWES. The Armada.

In 1588 Philip completed his preparations for attacking the country which alone seemed to stand in the way of the accomplishment of his ambitions—religious, political, and commercial. He had previously caused to be made and transmitted to him the best charts which had then been constructed of the British coasts and ports; he had collected as many vessels of war as possible from the Mediterranean, and he had taken the precaution of inducing the leading German and Italian shipowners to send away their best craft on long voyages, or to otherwise put them beyond the reach of his foes, in case the nation which he wished to crush should be minded to hire and fit them for defensive purposes. As Coliber observes: "The power of Spain, after the conquest of the Moors of Granada by Ferdinand, who, by his marriage with Isabella, had united the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon, became very considerable. But the Spanish navigation and sea forces were soon prodigiously increased by the acquisition of Naples and the best part of America, which was discovered in his time; after which the noble victory of Lepanto, gained over the Turks by Don Juan of Austria, added much to the power, but more to the reputation, of the Spanish fleets." All this power, backed by all this reputation, was to be hurled against England. Besides a great number of galleys—a type of

war-ship previously unseen save in the Mediterranean—Philip assembled all the available galleons, or large ocean-going vessels, of his extensive dominions, and also all the galleasses. These last corresponded to some extent with the frigates of more modern days, since they occupied a position midway between the galleons, or line-of-battle ships, and the galleys, or fast light craft, and combined some of the advantages of both. They had lofty and formidably armed bows and sterns; but they had also three banks of oars, and at Lepanto they had significantly demonstrated their value.

The fleet which at length made rendezvous in the Tagus in May, 1588, consisted of 132 vessels of these three classes, and about forty transports, tenders, and storeships, the whole manned, according to what appears to be the most trustworthy Spanish account, by upwards of 7,400 seamen, 18,800 soldiers, 500 volunteers, and a number of galley-slaves. The commander-in-chief of this great force was Don Alfonso Perez de Guzman, Duke of Medina Sidonia. The English ships available were more in number, but of much less aggregate tonnage. The Armada sailed on May 29th; but, encountering bad weather, and being badly handled, was scattered, and had to make a new rendezvous at Corunna, so that it did not enter the English Channel until July 19th. Its motions and its fortunes need not be here followed in detail. It will suffice to say that, intelligence of its approach having been carried into Plymouth, it was promptly followed thence on its course up Channel by the English fleet under Charles, Lord Howard of Effingham, and was on July 21st brought to partial and indecisive action. The English continued to chase, and the battle was renewed on the 22nd, when Drake captured the great galleon of Don Pedro de Valdez, freighted with bullion and stores worth 55,000 gold ducats. Another galleon, that of Don Miguel de Oquendo, was burnt, and a third was driven upon the French coast, where she was lost. On the 23rd, off Portland, there was another partial action, in the course of which the English made several prizes. On the 24th English reinforcements from London reached the fleet; but there was only a distant engagement. On the 25th, off the Isle of Wight, there was a furious fight, in which a small English craft, commanded by one Cock, was sunk in the midst of the Spanish ships, many of which suffered badly. The enemy,

thus harried, made for Calais Roads (*cf.* p. 207). There, on the 28th, the English attacked them with fire-ships, and so alarmed them that, although it was blowing a gale, they cut their cables and drove away in great confusion. Some fouled one another; others ran ashore, or upon the Flanders sands. On the 29th there was a final engagement off Gravelines; after which the Spaniards, conscious that the game was up, and that return by the route by which they had come was impossible, made sail into the North Sea, with the intention of rounding Scotland and Ireland, and so getting home. The weather was very bad, and, although the English soon ceased to chase, the flying foe fared so ill that, after suffering terrible vicissitudes, but fifty-three ships of the great Armada ever reached their ports. Spain had experienced a disaster which was fully as destructive to her naval power as Lepanto had been to the Turkish.

A. HASSALL. The Defeat of the Armada and its Results.

After the failure of the Armada Elizabeth's years of triumph begin. The country advanced in wealth and prosperity, manufactures increased, the growing of corn became again profitable. The wealth and prosperity of the nation was due in great measure to the successful war with Spain, which continued till James's accession, as well as to the outburst of energy and enterprise which characterised the reign of Elizabeth. Till the end of the century the Queen, freed from all fear of attack, was enabled to carry on a successful foreign policy, and to insist upon the adoption of the "middle way" in religious matters, though she was forced to recognise the rising importance of the House of Commons.

The destruction of the Armada enormously enhanced the reputation of England in Europe. Henceforward, Englishmen attacked the Spaniards all over the world. In 1592 Drake and Sir John Norris determined to free Portugal from Spain. They sacked part of Corunna, but failed to take Lisbon. Having burnt Vigo and plundered the surrounding country, they returned home with a considerable amount of booty. In 1596 Essex, together with Howard of Effingham and Raleigh, attacked Cadiz, then the principal port of Spain. The town was sacked, a large number of ships burnt, and the

expedition returned, having dealt a very heavy blow at Spain and relieved England from all fears of invasion. The unwieldy Spanish monarchy, assailed thus successfully by the English, found no compensation in the French schemes of Philip II.

Alliance with France.

Henry III. had been murdered in 1589, and Philip had indulged in the wild hope of securing the French crown. Elizabeth, recognising that the cause of Henry IV. was her own, in 1589 and in 1591 sent him men and money; the old alliance between England and France was renewed, and when Henry, in 1593, declared himself a Catholic, Philip was forced to recognise the failure of his plans and to conclude the Peace of Vervins (1598) with the French king. Although she never conquered her scruples about aiding revolted subjects against their sovereign, Elizabeth maintained the treaty of 1585 with the Dutch, and the wars between the United Provinces and Spain continued till 1609. In England a strong war party, headed by Essex and Raleigh, urged that a large expeditionary force should be sent to Central America to contest with Spain the trade of the New World. The peace party, headed by Burghley, opposed these ambitious views, and advocated the thorough re-conquest of Ireland and the resumption of the old commercial intercourse with Spain. Elizabeth adopted the views of neither party. No English army was sent to Panama, but the French alliance was renewed in 1589, the Dutch were supported, and private enterprise was encouraged in its attacks on the Spanish empire.

The Religious Conflict.

With the disappearance of all danger of Spanish invasion Elizabeth was enabled to turn her attention to the task of ending the divisions which weakened the English Church. The Jesuit attacks had strengthened her resolution of enforcing conformity, and in 1583 Grindal had been succeeded in the archbishopric of Canterbury by Whitgift. He at once set to work on the lines of Cecil and Parker, and endeavoured to combine the Catholic, Puritan, and Anglican parties, and to induce them to accept a common form of worship. In 1588 appeared the Marprelate Tracts (p. 439). Danger, too, was also to be found in the existence of a small body of irreconcilable Catholics who opposed the government of Elizabeth. The energetic action of Whitgift, aided by the Court of

High Commission. checked the growth of Separatism and the efforts of the Jesuit faction, and in 1593 an Act of Parliament imposed severe penalties on all who attended private religious assemblies (p. 430). There is much to be said against the system of persecution levelled against a small section of obscure fanatics, who alone were dangerous. It was not sufficiently discriminating, and the army of spies, informers, and priest-hunters had undoubtedly too much power. Penal legislation was distinctly justified by the critical position of affairs between 1570 and 1588. but could not be defended after the crisis was over. The Catholics were, however, regarded as the allies of the Pope and of the King of Spain, their religion was looked upon as a menace to the Church and the Government, and no distinction was made between those who were willing to take an oath to defend the Queen against all enemies and those who refused.

The Penalties of Nonconformity.

Though Elizabeth might favour the Anglican party, she found that many members of the House of Commons did not approve of the oftentimes oppressive character of the Church Courts, and after 1588 she was compelled to give heed to the voice of the Commons on religious as well as on political questions.

As soon as the Armada had been destroyed a new spirit was visible among the members of the Lower House, and 1588 may be regarded as the beginning of that struggle between the Crown and Parliament which lasted for a hundred years, and was not concluded till William III. ascended the English throne. The growth of wealth and the increase of prosperity produced a spirit of independence among the country gentry —who were for the most part moderate Churchmen, and whose sons formed the bulk of the Puritan party during the Civil War period. Puritanism itself developed independence of character among the younger generation, already stirred up by the struggle with Spain. The country gentry, too, trained to business as justices of the peace, were now accustomed to discuss the affairs of the country. The House of Commons, thus strengthened, could speak with authority when the Queen came to them with demands for money. After 1588 Elizabeth's necessities often compelled

Crown and Parliament.

her to appeal to Parliament for assistance, and Parliament, when asked for extra subsidies, grumbled and pleaded poverty. In the famous debate on monopolies in the last Parliament of the reign (1601), which was summoned to grant supplies for the Irish wars, the Commons complained that the prerogative was being exercised with regard to monopolies in a way prejudicial to the public interests. Like some of her predecessors, Elizabeth knew when to yield, and she agreed to stop all such monopolies as were injurious. When the Commons came to express their thanks she made some characteristic remarks. "I have more cause to thank you all than you me," she said; "for had I not received a knowledge from you, I might have fallen into the lap of an error, only for lack of true information. I have ever used to set the last judgment-day before mine eyes, and so to rule as I shall be judged to answer before a higher Judge—to whose judgment-seat I do appeal, that never thought was cherished in my heart that tended not to my people's good. Though you have had, and may have, many princes, more mighty and wise, sitting in this seat, yet you never had, or ever shall have, any that will be more careful and loving." Many of her trusted counsellors died before her. Drake died in 1595, Burghley in 1598. In 1601, Essex, who was found guilty of treason, was executed. In 1603 the Queen herself died, indicating James, King of Scotland, as her successor. She had found England weak and distracted, torn with religious divisions, and unable to defend itself against foreign foes. She left it strong and united. Aided by Burghley and Walsingham in her Council, and by Drake, Frobisher, and Raleigh at sea, she had warded off the attack of the great king of Spain, and launched England on a career of maritime and colonial expansion which is being steadfastly pursued at the present day.

Elizabeth's Work.

AFTER the suppression of the Desmond rebellion a large part of Munster was confiscated; and in 1586 another Plantation was entered on. Extensive tracts were granted to various English "undertakers," who were to import settlers But the settlers

P. W. JOYCE, Ireland.

did not come in sufficient numbers; and after the usual fighting and bloodshed, the general result of this Plantation was to displace nearly half the native gentry, and to substitute English proprietors: the great majority of the people remained undisturbed. Two of the undertakers are well-known—Sir Walter Raleigh, and Edmund Spenser the poet.

The O'Neill Rebellion.

This period is specially distinguished by the O'Neill rebellion. Hugh O'Neill, afterwards Earl of Tyrone, was educated among the English, and began his active life in the Queen's service. For a long time after he had become earl and chief of Tyrone, he retained his command in the English army, and continued friendly to the Government, without any designs of rebellion; but partly on account of the measures taken to repress Catholic worship, and partly through his efforts to regain all the ancestral power of his family in Ulster, his relations with the Government became gradually less friendly. The bitter and exasperating hostility of Sir Henry Bagenal, Marshal of Ireland, whose sister he had married, greatly helped to precipitate matters; till at length, in 1595, he broke out into open rebellion. A short time before this, the O'Donnells of Tirconnell, who had long been on the side of the Government, were turned into bitter enemies by a dishonourable act of the deputy, Sir John Perrott. Without any justification, but merely to secure a hostage, he treacherously seized young Hugh Roe (Red Hugh) O'Donnell, the chieftain's son, and incarcerated him in Dublin Castle. Four years afterwards O'Donnell escaped, entered at once into active rebellion, and subsequently became O'Neill's ablest lieutenant. It should be remarked that, notwithstanding this piece of foul play, Perrott generally treated the Irish fairly.

O'Neill, even in rebellion, was still anxious for peace; and there were truces and conferences in which he always insisted, as a primary condition, on freedom of worship for the Catholics; but this was persistently refused. The war went on; and in several minor engagements he defeated the Government forces. At length, in 1598, Marshal Bagenal marched north from Dublin with an army of over 4,000 men, determined to crush O'Neill, and release the English garrison, at that time closely beleaguered in the fort of Portmore. O'Neill resolved to intercept him, and placed his army, which

was about equal in number to that of Bagenal, right in the way from Armagh to Portmore, at a spot called the Yellow Ford. Here the Government forces sustained a disastrous defeat by O'Neill. The brave marshal, leading on his men, fell shot through the brain; two thousand of the English army were killed, including nearly all the chief officers: and the whole of the arms and stores fell into the hands of the victors. This was the greatest overthrow the English ever sustained in Ireland. Almost the whole country was now in successful revolt; and in 1599 the Queen took vigorous measures, sending over the Earl of Essex with an army of 20,000 men. But he totally mismanaged the war, dissipated his fine army, and after a disastrous campaign of half a year, left the country rather worse than he found it.

Mountjoy and Carew.

After the arrival, in 1600, of Lord Mountjoy as deputy, and of Sir George Carew as President of Munster—two very able men—the Irish began to lose ground. Carew directed all his energies against the Munster rebels, taking their castles one after another, and executing the defenders; and by measures equally vigorous and relentless, he crushed the southern rebellion. Mountjoy was not less active in the north. While he himself drew off the attention of O'Neill and O'Donnell by an expedition from Dublin, Sir Henry Docwra, with a powerful armament and abundant stores, landed on the shores of Lough Foyle, where he succeeded in building forts and planting garrisons. And O'Neill and O'Donnell, attacked front and rear, had enough to do to defend themselves.

But now the war blazed up again in Munster; for in September, 1601, a Spanish fleet with 3,400 troops, under the command of Don Juan del Aguila, landed in the south to aid the Irish Catholics, and took possession of Kinsale. Mountjoy and Carew, hastily collecting an army, laid siege to the town with 12,000 men; and on the other side O'Neill and O'Donnell marched southwards in mid-winter to aid the Spaniards, and encamped near the English lines. The English were now themselves invested, and unable to procure provisions; and in about three months 6,000 of them perished of cold, hardship, and sickness. At last a combined attack by Irish and Spaniards was secretly arranged, against the better judgment of O'Neill, who was for the surer process of

letting the English army melt away. But of this design Mountjoy got timely information from a traitor in the Irish camp; the Spaniards, through some misunderstanding, failed to come forth; and the Irish, attacking at a disadvantage, were utterly defeated. Immediately after this, in the spring of 1602, the Northern leaders retreated to Ulster, and Del Aguila surrendered the town.

The Devastation of the Land.

A characteristic and cruel feature of these Elizabethan wars was the wholesale and systematic destruction of crops and food of every kind all over the country by the Government troops in order to exterminate the peasantry by famine. Carew followed this practice from the beginning; and again was Munster brought to a state almost as dreadful as after the Geraldine rebellion, twenty years before. Mountjoy, on his part, continued to employ his officers and men for two whole years in Leinster and Ulster burning homesteads and haggards, and destroying crops, cattle, and all the poor people's means of subsistence. The famine so carefully planned came in good time, and swept over the whole country, with sickness in its wake; and Ulster was if possible in worse case than Munster. For the most vivid descriptions of the appalling results of this policy we are indebted to Mountjoy himself, and to his secretary, Fynes Moryson. By these means, combined with vigorous military operations of a less uncivilised character, the country was ultimately reduced, and the great O'Neill rebellion came to an end in 1603. The Irish chiefs made submission; and in fulfilment of the conditions of peace, O'Neill was restored by the Queen to his title and estates.

J. BROWN. Puritanism and Nonconformity.

CAMDEN assigns the rise of Puritanism in England to the year 1568, a date which may be accepted if we take it as simply marking the time when the leaders of the movement came into open conflict with the Government, and when Puritanism began to make itself felt as a force which must henceforth be reckoned with. Its real origin, however, was much earlier. Indeed, that desire for a more scriptural worship, and that spirit of resistance to sacerdotalism and church

ceremonies which constituted the very essence of Puritanism, may be traced back even for centuries before the Reformation. As early as 1165 the Council of Oxford was summoned mainly to deal with thirty weavers in the diocese of Worcester, whose heretical opinions were substantially those of the Puritans of a later time. And it would not be difficult to show that such opinions continued to prevail more or less on to the time of Wycliffe and the Lollards, and thence to the sixteenth century, when the Reformation became an accomplished fact. But while the spirit of Puritanism was the very soul of Protestantism, the name, as the badge of a party, only took its rise in the earlier years of Elizabeth's reign. At first it was applied merely as a nickname for precisianists, but, as in some other cases, this nickname acquired respect from the sterling qualities associated with it, and eventually was accepted as the designation of a party in the country which numbered eminent divines, lawyers, statesmen, soldiers, and even orators and poets in its ranks; which made itself powerfully felt in the great struggle for constitutional freedom, and furnished substantial and important elements to the national life.

The Puritans and Elizabeth.

On the accession of Elizabeth, the Puritans, relying on her Protestant reputation, were hopeful that she would give weight to their views in the national settlement of religion. But while breaking with the Papacy as completely as her father had done before her, so far as legislation was concerned, in other respects she showed herself averse to their views and to such changes as they desired in the ceremonial of the Church. Though no theologian and despising disputation, she was an uncompromising disciplinarian. She regarded the Church of England as her own Church, over which her personal authority was supreme, and she cared for order, pomp, and appearance in religion as in other things. It is certain she was the formative power in matters ecclesiastical. The most prominent bishops and divines were, in the early part of her reign, in close sympathy and friendly intercourse with the Swiss Reformers, by whom many of them had been hospitably received in the days of exile under the Marian persecution, and they would willingly have made concessions to the Puritans at home. Jewell, who may be taken as a representative bishop during this earlier period, wrote to his friend Bullinger at

Zurich, in 1566, saying: "I wish that all, even the slightest vestiges of Popery might be removed from our Church, and above all from our minds. But the Queen at this time is unable to endure the least alteration in matters of religion."

Differences between Elizabeth and the Puritans came to open conflict on the promulgation of the orders known as Advertisements (1566 : p. 316). These specified the minimum of ceremonial which would be tolerated in the services of the Church. Uniformity was to begin at a given date, deprivation of benefice to follow after three months' refusal of compliance. Proceedings commenced with the London clergy, who were summoned to appear at Lambeth before the Archbishop, the Bishop of London, with others of the Ecclesiastical Commission. The controversy deepened in seriousness as it proceeded, but at first the wearing of the clerical vestments was one of the things most objected to on the part of the Puritans. As those who were summoned entered the court they observed Robert Cole, a clergyman who had refused at first but had afterwards complied, standing dressed in full canonicals. The Bishop's chancellor, pointing to this man, said to them: "The Council's pleasure is that strictly ye keep the unity of apparel like to this man. Ye that will subscribe write *volo ;* ye that will not, write *nolo.*" No explanation was permitted, and many who refused were sequestered and afterwards deposed and deprived.

The deposition of so many ministers left several of the London churches unsupplied with preachers. Meantime, they continued to conduct services with such congregations as gathered to them in secret, both in London and the provinces. Many of their adherents were arrested and sent to prison, but in spite of all attempts at suppression the Puritan revolt grew in strength and determination. A centre was established at Wandsworth, the Presbyterian discipline was elaborately organised both in London and the Midlands, a literature was created which assailed with more and more of vehemence the existing Establishment (p. 445), till at length the hostility, directed at first merely against the use of the vestments and such ceremonial observances as kneeling at the communion and making the sign of the cross at baptism, widened its range and extended itself to the entire episcopal system.

The Puritan Resistance.

Open conflict having fairly begun, Puritanism took different

directions. The main body of the Puritan ministers still remained conformist, still held Calvinistic opinions, and using only such ceremonial as they were compelled, still claimed to be faithful members and representatives of the Church. They remained in her communion, not for what she was but for what they believed she was capable of being made. They submitted to many things they did not approve in the hope that better days might dawn, and a simpler and more scriptural system come to prevail. Their desire for ecclesiastical freedom naturally allied them with the party of liberty in Parliament: and the men who succeeded them, inheriting their position and principles, were the men who carried on that struggle with Charles I. and Archbishop Laud, which came to decisive issue at Naseby and on Marston Moor.

Presbyterians.

Beside these who were Conformists, there were Puritans who were Presbyterians and Puritans who were Independents. These, again, differed from each other in important respects. Those who were Presbyterians sought to organise the Genevan discipline within the pale of the Church itself; and there came a time when it seemed for a moment as if they might even have some chance of success. In 1571 Thomas Cartwright (p. 432), Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, who, through the influence of Whitgift, then Vice-Chancellor, had been expelled the university for his Presbyterian opinions, issued, in conjunction with others, two addresses to Parliament, under the title of "A First" and "A Second Admonition." These addresses were elaborate attacks upon the episcopal system and vigorous assertions of the divine right of the Genevan discipline. Having first exercised that discipline privately for a time, they then took a bolder step. They proceeded to set up their system openly in the parish churches of Northamptonshire and Warwickshire, not, however, without some disturbances arising in consequence. In 1580 Cartwright and his friend Travers published the "Book of Discipline," in which the system of Presbyterian government in use at Geneva was adapted to English life, and so introduced as to be in two or three years in working order. The Puritan clergy of a given district were formed into a *classis* or conference, these *classes* to be consolidated into a National

Their Ecclesiastical Organisation.

Assembly, which was to meet in London at the same time that Parliament was in session. There was to be a consistory in each parish, including lay elders elected for the purpose, but the actual direction of affairs was to be in the hands of the *classis*, which was to decide all points of ceremonial, and determine who were fit candidates for the ministry, giving them the necessary call. The real Presbyterian orders were thus conferred upon the candidate by the *classis*, and he was then to apply to the bishop for the legal rite merely as a matter of form. Thus the Presbyterian system was to work under episcopalian arrangements until such time as it was strong enough to supersede them. These men asked, not merely for the toleration of their opinions but for their endowment. Cartwright contended that the existing clergy ought to be reduced to the primitive form, that presbyters only should remain to preach the Word of God, and deacons to care for the poor; that every church ought to be governed only by its own ministers and elders, and that ministers should be openly and freely chosen by the people. "To effect this reformation," he says, "everyone ought to labour in his calling—the magistrate by his authority, the minister by the Word, and all by their prayers."

Thus the demand of the men acting with Cartwright was for a National Church framed on the Presbyterian model, and endowed with tithes and ecclesiastical emoluments, while at the same time they rejected the spiritual headship of the sovereign as inconsistent with the teachings of the New Testament. The Presbyterians were the first to contend that their system existed by Divine right. Cartwright assumed that everything was as precisely ordered of God in the Christian Church as in the worship of the Jewish temple. "Is it likely," he asks, "that He who appointed not only the tabernacle and the temple, but their very ornaments, would neglect the very essentials of the Church? Shall we conclude that He who remembered the bars there hath forgotten the pillars here?" His fundamental position, therefore, was that all details of Church government not having express Divine sanction are to be condemned; that whatever is not written is erroneous, and that the practice of the New Testament Church is as binding in matters of discipline as its teaching is in matters of doctrine.

Those among the Puritans who were known as Independents or Separatists, while agreeing with the Presbyterians in their opposition to Episcopacy and in their desire to return to the primitive model of Church government as laid down in the New Testament, differed widely from them in other respects. Their starting-point in Church polity was the existence of spiritual life, the personal relation of the individual soul to God; and a church with them was a community made up exclusively of spiritual men. The Presbyterians, while desiring to have government of the Church by presbytery, that is, by the body of ministers and elders in synod and assembly, instead of by diocesan bishops, and while desiring to substitute the Book of the Genevan Discipline for the Book of Common Prayer were, in other respects, as has been seen, in agreement with the main features of the Episcopal system. That is to say, they were in favour of a State Church, and the Church in a given parish ought, in their view, to embrace all the baptised people of that parish whether they were spiritual persons or not. The Independents, on the contrary, strenuously maintained that a Christian Church should be composed exclusively of Christian men. "The kingdom of God," said they, "is not to be begun by whole parishes, but rather of the worthiest, were they never so fewe." Henry Barrowe, writing from the Fleet Prison, in 1590, raises his protest against the unspirituality of the Elizabethan State Church in such words as these: "Never hath all kind of sinne and wickedness more universally raigned in any nation at any time, yet all are received into the Church, all made members of Christ. All these people with all these manners were in one daye, with the blast of Queen Elizabeth's trumpet, of ignorant papistes and grosse idolaters, made faithful Christians and true professors." He protests as earnestly against what he describes as the rash and disorderly proceedings of John Calvin's Presbyterian Church at Geneva as against the mixed constitution of the Episcopal Church at home, for the reason that "at the first dash Calvin made no scruple to receive all the whole State, even all the profane, ignorant people into the bosom of the Church," a method of procedure which, he contends, could not possibly

The Independents.

The Separatist Theory and Church and State.

"fit with Christ's heavenly government." Taking thus as their fundamental position that the Church visible consists of a company and fellowship of faithful and holy people gathered in the name of Christ, they went on to maintain that a Church so composed is competent for self-government. None were so fit to govern a spiritual community, they held, as spiritual men, who themselves have the guidance and enlightening influence of the Spirit of God. This self-governing power they further regarded not so much as a privilege to be enjoyed, as a sacred trust to be discharged. They went to prison and into exile, and even to the scaffold for these principles, not merely to contend for supposed rights and privileges, but because they believed that Christ had trusted His truth and His laws to the fidelity of all who loved Him; that no Christian man could escape the responsibility which this trust imposed; and that at whatever cost and in the face of whatever peril the responsibility must be discharged.

The period when these men actively promulgated their views during the reign of Elizabeth may be roughly stated as between 1570 and 1593. Their leaders during the first half of this period were Richard Fitz, the pastor of a London church, and Robert Browne, and Robert Harrison, who formed a Congregational Church in Norwich in 1580; and the most active promoters of their principles in the second half of this period were Henry Barrowe and John Greenwood, with whom was associated John Penry, the Welsh martyr (p. 447), all of whom suffered death for their opinions in 1593. Robert Browne has often been regarded as the founder of Independency in England, and hence arose the name of Brownists (p. 432). But these people persistently maintained that they were "falsely called Brownists," that while this man at one time forcibly expressed their convictions, he was not their founder. In support of this view there are official documents among the State Papers showing that a Congregational Church was in existence in 1571, and had been for some time, whereas in that year Robert Browne was a mere undergraduate at Cambridge.

The penal laws against Nonconformity, severe before, were made still more severe by the Conventicle Act of 1593, by which it was provided that all persons above sixteen years of age, being present at unlawful conventicles, should on

conviction be committed to prison, there to remain without bail or mainprise, until they made open submission and declaration of conformity at some church or chapel, or usual place of common prayer. The offender who refused to make such public submission within three months of conviction should be compelled "to abjure this realm of England, and all other the Queen's Majesty's dominions for ever." This sternly repressive Act of 35th Elizabeth explains why during the ten years previous to the accession of James I. so many Nonconformists languished in prison, while many were banished, and many more went into voluntary exile.

The Persecution of Nonconformists.

So far as this branch of Puritanism is concerned, the centre of interest for several years to come lies in the Low Countries, where they were permitted the free exercise of their religion, rather than in their own land, where liberty of conscience was denied them.

With the death of Grindal in 1583, and the appointment of Whitgift as his successor in the primacy (1583–1604), the conditions of English religion undergo a change. It is with the new archbishop that the Church of England begins clearly to work on an independent system of her own—"midway between Rome and Geneva": it is now that the persecution of the Extremists starts afresh—the systematic, continuous repression of Puritan Nonconformity within, and Puritan Separatism without, the Church: the High Church party, in the seventeenth century sense, makes its first appearance, or reappearance, in these last few years of the age of Elizabeth: the Erastian conception of Church and State, which had been so dominant throughout the Tudor period from the beginning of the Reformation Parliament, begins to be altered into the Stuart notion of an alliance between two friendly powers, each indispensable to the other.

C. RAYMOND BEAZLEY. The Religious Struggle.

The Development of Anglicanism.

Whitgift himself, however, hardly represents the new movement. His churchmanship is more of a repressive than of a constructive kind. He is the enforcer of conformity—not the thinker or leader who

Whitgift.

brings a young party to the front; and the choice of him as primate after Grindal rather emphasised the Elizabethan Erastianism than showed the beginning of a new era, a new school in English religion. Bancroft, Hooker, and Andrewes were the real chiefs of Anglo-Catholic reaction. In Whitgift, Elizabeth's Government simply meant to have a loyalist archbishop, who would give no trouble with Puritanising scruples like his predecessor, who would carry out the Established system vigorously, and who would support the cause of Anglicanism with a decent show of learning and controversial force.

He had long been the foremost man in Cambridge as Vice-Chancellor and Master of Trinity—where he had borne a prominent part in promoting the expulsion of Cartwright* from the Margaret Professorship (1571). In the same year the Queen made him Dean of Lincoln; in 1572, Convocation of Canterbury elected him their Speaker or "Prolocutor": he had been chosen by Parker to answer the Puritan Admonition to Parliament: in 1577 he had become Bishop of Worcester: now—on August 24, 1583, under the Crown's direction—the Chapter of Canterbury elected him primate.

He at once devoted himself afresh to the main work of his life—the suppression of Nonconformity, the establishment of the Elizabethan settlement—with the increased vigour given by increased power, but with the same spirit that he had shown at Cambridge and at Worcester.

Puritans and Nonconformists.

The opposition was of two kinds: first, the avowed Separatism of the Brownists† or Early Independents (p. 429), of the Family of Love, and of the Anabaptists, whose alarming civil doctrines provoked the Government in 1575 and 1579 to burn three of

* The "man of genius," according to Mr. Froude, whose "apparition" was then "troubling" the University. Perhaps Cartwright's opinions, more even than his genius, may account for some of the opposition to him. 'Heretics," said he—and to him heretics were simply those who did not accept the Geneva platform—"ought to be put to death *now* (in answer to those who alleged that a time of grace should be given). If this be bloody and extreme I am content to be so counted with the Holy Ghost."

† Their supposed founder, Robert Brown, or Browne (p. 430), a Norfolk clergyman, related to Lord Burleigh, who had published a "Treatise of Reformation without tarrying for any, and of the wickedness of those preachers that will not reform themselves because they will tarry till the magistrate command and compel them."

them; secondly, the Nonconformity of the Puritans within the Church, who were determined to reduce the religious Establishment to their own model; who, beginning in 1563–7 by formal and organised resistance to the clerical habits, had gone on, in 1572, by the Admonition, to object to the whole of the Prayer Book ceremonial; and now, in 1580, by adopting as their own the Geneva discipline, had openly declared war against the Episcopal government and Catholic framework of the Church and Liturgy. The new Book of Discipline, as drawn up by Cartwright and Travers, was threatening to supersede the Book of Common Prayer within the Church of England itself.

The struggle which had raged under Parker, and was now re-opened with far greater sharpness by Whitgift, continued throughout the whole of the seventeenth century down to the Revolution of 1689, and even after this was revived for a short time under Anne. It turned upon the idea of a State-Church in which the whole nation was to be included, for whose good the State as such was to care, outside which no section of the people was to lie, and which was in all respects to represent the nation in its religious aspect. And the great bulk of the Puritan party were just as much committed to this view as the Anglican. Tolerated Nonconformity was not a solution that occurred as even conceivable to the minds of most Englishmen till some time after the Restoration. Toleration, except as a matter of personal indulgence, was as far from nearly all the Parliamentary and Liberal chiefs of the Early Stuart time, and of the Great Rebellion, as it was from Charles I., from Strafford, or from Laud.

The Idea of a State-Church.

The power-holding cause, or school, or party, regularly and consistently tried—under Elizabeth, under James and Charles, under the Great Rebellion, in America as in England—to bend all other parties to its will, to produce a uniformity in religion that should answer to the Uniformity in the State, and should reflect the mind of the Government for the time being. This was why "new presbyter was but old priest writ large": this was why, as Matthew Arnold pointed out in "St. Paul and Protestantism," every one of the Stuart attempts at compromise between Anglican and Puritan was such a hopeless failure: this was why every revision of the Prayer Book failed

to satisfy. For the opposition was one which aimed, not at broadening the Church into something that might include an expanding national life, but at narrowing it, forcing it into the strappings of some particular discipline, just as the giant in the old Greek fable fitted all passers-by into his bed.

The only solution—where one side could not permanently conquer and suppress the other—was a policy of live and let live: but when Whitgift entered upon the struggle, eighty years of desperate fruitless endeavour, first on one side, then on the other, to enforce an impossible conformity, were still ahead. And the loyalism, the statesmanship of the Tudor time was passing into the dogmatism, the fierce sectarian misunderstandings of the early seventeenth century—when the sectarian spirit, no longer fully controlled by political ideas, by the State, was thrusting its way into politics, producing division within the body of the State itself, and breaking up for a while that unity which had seemed in thought and action so complete and perfect in the glory of the Elizabethan age, where men like Bacon seemed to themselves to see truth and to see it whole.

Whitgift opened the battle with the Fifteen Articles of 1583,* the sixth of which enforced subscription from all the clergy to three main positions of the Elizabethan settlement in religion—the Royal Supremacy, the use of the Liturgy, the soundness of the Thirty-Nine Articles.

To secure assent and consent to these clauses, the Ecclesiastical Commission † was now put upon a permanent footing, with fuller powers than before (December, 1583); and the primate himself drew up a series of Twenty-four Articles of Enquiry, on which any one accused of Nonconformity before the Commission was required to purge himself on oath (1584). The excitement thus aroused reached even to Lord Burleigh—the

* Strype's Whitgift, Book iii. 2.

† Through which, though intermittently, the Royal Supremacy in things ecclesiastical was normally exercised from the beginning of the reign, when by the Act of Supremacy (1559) the Queen was empowered to exercise her religious authority through commissioners. The High Commission Court, as constituted in 1583, consisted of 44 commissioners, including 12 bishops, with privy councillors, clergymen, and civilians; and their commission, after reciting the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity with two others, directs them to enquire from time to time, by the oaths of 12 good and lawful men, by witnesses and all other means they can devise, of all offences committed contrary to the tenor of the said several Acts and Statutes. (Hallam.)

one steady Churchman on the Council of State, who yet "found the Articles so curiously penned, that I think the Inquisition in Spain use not so many questions to comprehend and to trap their prey";—it seemed to him a "kind of proceeding too much savouring of the Roman Inquisition, and rather a device to seek for offenders than to reform any." The archbishop's carefully tabulated questions and the method of asking them he thought "scarcely charitable."* He had "cause to pity the poor men who should have to reply." From the poor men in question came a perfect outcry. The ministers of Kent and of Suffolk professed in general terms their belief in the Book of Common Prayer, but complained of certain things needing reformation: were they to be suspended for details of such a kind? The Privy Council, always anti-clerical at this time, was inclined to listen to the complaints of "high-priestly tyranny" that came pouring in. They summoned Whitgift before them. He declined to be catechised on a "matter not incident to that honourable board," and insisted on the aggrieved ministers appealing to himself. He would save himself as much as he could from Parker's troubles. "It was impossible," he declared, "for him to perform the duty her Majesty looked for at his hands if he might not proceed without interruption."

The archbishop now found himself engaged in a fight with a three-headed enemy; the Council, added to the Separatists and the Puritan Nonconformists, employed the weapons of pamphleteering, libel, and personal intrigue against what, by some of them at least, was believed to be a most dangerous revival of ecclesiastical pretensions. "Came all this about," says the "Practice of Prelates" (written and published at this time), "from the rigour of one man? Satan himself had also his finger herein, without all doubt. For what more pernicious counsel could hell itself devise?" As for Whitgift's Articles of Enquiry, what could be the good of them "but for his exercising tyranny upon his fellow ministers, upon a mere ambition, with the starving of many thousands of souls, by depriving them, and discouraging others . . . all because they could not agree to his Popish opinions"? Leicester, Sir Francis Knollys, and Beale (the Clerk of the Council) attacked Whitgift's policy with

* Strype's Whitgift, iii. 8, gives the archbishop's defence.

especial bitterness; Knollys, thinking the "superiority claimed for bishops could by no means consist with the Queen's Sovereignty," demanded that the primate should "retract his claim of superiority from God's own ordinance, without which retractation her Majesty's Supreme Government could neither be salved nor preserved, as he thought."

With the opposition of the Council about to be reflected with greater force in the Parliament summoned for 1584, with old friends like Burleigh alienated, the libellers in full cry, the Queen anxious for answers to Puritan objections, and the great danger from Spain and the Catholic reaction still hanging over England and seeming to forbid that open division in English Protestantism which was only excused by the national deliverance of the Armada year, Whitgift offered conciliation, and while justifying himself to Elizabeth, summoned a conference of divines to Lambeth in the autumn of 1584, one of the earliest of a long series of hopeless attempts at compromise, which at least did something to prepare the English mind for the necessity of toleration.

The Lambeth Conference.

The main support of Nonconformity, Whitgift complained to the Queen, came from the Court: the "greatest number, the most ancient, and the wisest of the clergy," he declared, were conformable enough; the unmanageable were mostly young and foolish.* In the Lambeth conference, where disputations were held before Leicester, Gray, Walsingham, and others, both sides, according to their account, as so often happened later, were pathetically certain that the "honourable personages" were highly satisfied with their arguments, and that the opponent had been utterly reduced to silence—it only remained for him to abjure.

In the Parliament which met in November, 1584, the Puritan attack upon Anglicanism found a voice. Some hoped that this session might see the Book of Discipline substituted for the Prayer Book. The Commons were first approached by petitions: then a member, directed by the Council of Ministers outside, was to bring in a Bill for Reformation of the Church, at the same time offering for

* Of ten dioceses, there were returned to him the names of 835 preachers: of these 786 were conformable, and only 49 not. Many of the latter also yielded after "admonition." (Strype's Whitgift, App. iii., No. viii.)

ratification and statutory approval the Book of the Godly Ministers.*

Now, still more than in 1586, the temper of the House was on the whole plainly favourable to the "further reform" desired by the Puritans, and the progress of the Bill was only stopped by the veto of the Government; the main points of it were urged by the Commons upon the Lords, who were asked to lay the matter before the Queen. The Upper House politely evaded the unpleasant duty.

The Canons.

On the other hand, the Primate, besides doing his best as a peer to defeat the consideration of the Commons' petition, now passed a series of canons through Convocation, which received the royal assent on March 23, 1585, and dealt with points insufficiently noticed in the canons of 1576. But though planned on the lines of the Enquiry Articles of 1583, they dealt mainly with practical abuses; one of the most glaring of all—the manner in which the Queen kept sees vacant and pocketed the revenues,† they could not touch. Other Puritan Bills brought into the Commons during this session rather annoyed and frightened the Anglican party than seriously threatened them.‡ The Queen took advantage of the dissolution to delight both parties (each deeply conscious of the other's imperfections) by some stinging remarks upon their opponents. "There were some fault-finders," she began, "with the Order of the Clergy, which so might make a slander to herself and the Church, whose overlooker God had made her, and her negligence thereof could not be excused if schisms or errors heretical were suffered. Some faults might grow, as in other great charges it happened—and what vocation without?" Then, turning upon the Lords of the Clergy, "If they did not amend," she went on, "she was minded to depose them; she bade them henceforth look to their charges. She would not animate Romanism, but neither would she tolerate

* Strype's Whitgift, iii., c. 10.

† Five were being thus treated in September, 1584.

‡ One of these, aimed at pluralities, was complained of by the clergy in Convocation as one that "impeacheth the prerogative Royal, impaireth the resources of the Crown, overthroweth the study of Divinity, depriveth men of the livings they do lawfully possess, beggareth the clergy, bringeth in a base unlearned ministry, taketh away all hope of a succession in learning." *Cf.* Strype, Whitgift, iii. 11.

newfangledness. She meant to guide both by God's true rule." *

On the whole the conservative or Anglican church party weathered the first storm of the new primacy pretty successfully; and by relaxing the subscription test for all but the newly instituted or newly ordained, Whitgift not only gained some credit for conciliation, but a "great increase of ease and quietness." In February, 1586, while Leicester, the Puritan figure-head, was absent in the Low Countries masquerading as general of the Netherland insurrection against Philip II. and Alexander of Parma, the archbishop gained admission to the Privy Council, and at the same time the lay element in the same friendly to the Church was strengthened.

The Conflict Renewed.

The second struggle of Whitgift's government between the Church and Puritanism, or rather between Anglicanism and Puritanism within the same Church, opened with the reassembling of Parliament in October, 1586. It began with the Supplication presented to the Commons against the bishops—their neglect of what they ought to have done, their harshness in insisting upon what ought not to be done.

Next, it was moved in the Lower House (February 27, 1587), that all laws then in force touching the ecclesiastical settlement might be repealed, and that the Book (of discipline) might be adopted as the legal settlement of discipline and public worship. But the House was less pliable than in 1584; it refused to allow the Bill embodying the advice of the Supplication to be introduced, and the Queen told the malcontents that their "platform she accounted most prejudicial to the Religion established, to her crown, her government, and her subjects."

Defeated in the Council and in Parliament, driven from their position of constitutional resistance, the Puritan Extremists now fell back upon the secret nonconformity of the *classis-*

* After the prorogation of Parliament, Convocation continued at work, passing Whitgift's new canons, and ordering systematic study on the part of the clergy. Weekly and quarterly exercises were to be composed by all ministers and submitted to the ordinary. (Strype's Whitgift, iii. 12.) The primate at the same time was resisting successfully a project for the revaluation of clerical incomes, which he looked on as a plot for forcing more money from the clergy by raising the value of the tenths and first-fruits paid to the Crown.

system (p. 427), upon the evasions or grudging obedience of earlier times, and upon the literary warfare of scurrilous pamphleteering, which is known to us by the name of Martin Marprelate (p. 445), the *nom de guerre* of a number of the most fanatical of the "nonconformable" ministers, who "for Sion's sake could not hold their peace."

But the ungoverned violence* of their attacks did not really advance their cause among the mass of moderate and sensible men, from whom alone a great Puritan party could be built up; an "undoubted reaction against Puritanism marked the end of the sixteenth century,"† as a generation arose which, except in books of controversy, knew nothing of any religion which differed from that of the Church of England; and with the triumph over the Armada, with the breaking up of the thunder-clouds which threatened England with the vengeance of the Catholic reaction, Anglicanism grew less and less inclined to compromise, took in hand more steadily and more successfully the repression of at least the more open and extreme Nonconformity, and began to work out her own distinctive system.

The Marprelate libels, the sign that the advanced Puritans had been beaten out of the open field, began in 1588; in 1590 (September 1) Cartwright and sixteen others were committed

* As Heylin remarks, "They could find no other title for the archbishop than Beelzebub of Canterbury. Pope of Rome, the Canterbury Caiaphas, Esau, a monstrous antichrist, a most bloody opposer of God's saints, a very antichristian beast, most bloody tyrant. The bishops are unlawful, unnatural, false and bastardly governors of the Church, the ordinances of the devil, petty popes, petty antichrists, incarnate devils, bishops of the devil, cogging, cozening knaves, who will lie like dogs: proud, popish, profane, presumptuous, paltry, pestilent, pernicious prelates and usurpers, enemies of God and the State. The clergy are popish priests, monks, and friars, alehaunters, drunkards, dolts, hogs, dogs, wolves, foxes, simoniacs, usurpers, proctors of antichrist, popish chapmen, greedy dogs to fill their paunches, desperate and forlorn atheists, a cursed uncircumcised murdering generation, a crew of bloody soul murderers, sacrilegious church robbers, and followers of antichrist." Nothing excited the Marprelate controversialists more than the clerical Parliament in Convocation. "Right puissant, poisoned, persecuting, and terrible priests, masters of the Confocation House, and the holy league of subscription, the crew of monstrous and ungodly wretches that mingle heaven and earth together; horned monsters of the Conspiration House, an antichristian swinish rabble, enemies of the Gospel, most covetous, wretched, popish priests; the Confocation House of devils, and of Beelzebub of Canterbury, the chief of the devils."

† Gardiner, "History of England." i. 156.

for nonconformity and seditious disturbance; in 1593 the Commons united cordially in carrying out the Queen's request "to compel by some sharp means to a more due obedience those who neglected the service of God."* More important still, on February 9th, 1589, Bancroft, in a famous sermon, declared the divine right and office of bishops, rejecting or ignoring all lower or more political claim, and thus put forth the first clear manifesto of the new High Church party.

Nonconformity Punished.

The statute of 1593 threw the burden, though not the odium, of the repression of Nonconformity upon the common-law judges and courts; and by permitting the inflexible to abjure the country it provided an outlet so effectual that the last years of Elizabeth were hardly troubled by religious division on the surface. Most of the advanced dissentients went into Holland; some of the Brownists now even thought of emigrating to Canada, where "they might worship God according to their conscience and do Her Majesty good service against the persecuting Spaniards."†

The real movement of this time in English religion seemed to lie in the practical improvement brought about in the Establishment, in the gradual fixing and elaboration of the Anglican school and its principles. The unconscious Anglo-Catholicism of Parker was now passing into a definite form of creed, which from that time was more and more widely believed to represent most clearly and most historically the real position of the Church of England, the real spirit of her religious compromise, the real mind of the Prayer Book.

The Definition of Anglican Doctrine.

* Those avoiding church for a month together, or attacking the Established religion in writing, were to be "committed to prison without bail or mainprize," and, if they did not submit within three months, to be banished; if they returned without leave, to die without benefit of clergy. (35 Elizabeth, c. i.)

† They complained bitterly of the earlier state of things, when they were neither tolerated nor allowed to emigrate: "Some of us they have kept in close prison four or five years with miserable usage; others they have cast into Newgate and laden with as many irons as they could bear; others into dangerous and loathsome gaols among the most facinorous and vile persons, where it is lamentable to relate how many of these innocents have perished within these five years, where so many as the infection hath spared lie in woeful distress: and these have been grievously beaten with cudgels and cast into Little Ease for refusing to come to their chapel service."

Hooker and Bilson, Bancroft and Saravia, Andrewes and Baro, revolutionised the state of English religion by putting a living soul, an independent life and meaning, into the body of that Church which had lately seemed to be the mere creature of the State, an automaton directed by the political power.

The Work of Convocation.

Convocation was kept steadily at work during these years: Whitgift, as the Lambeth Articles showed, did not understand the new shape in which the Catholic Reaction had taken root in England —in the very heart of a Church which he with most men still supposed to be dogmatically Calvinist; but, at any rate, he was resolute in perfecting the machinery of Church government. Like Laud, he wished before all else to see an ordered uniformity, to have a discipline which his conservative instincts could recognise as such. So, after ratifying the Canons of 1585, and passing the new rules about clerical study, "order was taken" for regular preaching. Every licensed preacher was to give twelve sermons every year in the diocese where his benefice lay, and the archdeacon was to appoint six or seven to minister "by course" Sunday by Sunday in the parishes where no licensed preacher was. The sanction of Convocation was given to four books of staunch Protestant character, and their public or private use on certain occasions and within limits was authorised. One would not have thought a Puritan could have suspected of Popery the Church assembly which recommended Bullinger's "Decades," Foxe's "Martyrs," Jewell's "Apology," and Nowell's "Catechism."

In 1589 the primate took some measures against non-residence and pluralities; but neither he nor Convocation looked upon these abuses as anything like so serious as the poverty of the clergy, and up to a certain point were inclined to excuse such irregularities as necessary for the support of a learned ministry.

The Abuses of the Ecclesiastical Courts.

The Church Courts—now, as before the Reformation, the Church's own worst enemy—were bitterly attacked in the Parliaments of 1593 and 1597. Their immorality, their cost, their delays, their numberless abuses, were the theme of endless tirades; and so serious did the scandal become, that both in 1597 and in 1601 Whitgift passed

canons and rules through Convocation for the better regulation of these Courts.* Still later, in an encyclical of January 7, 1602, the primate warned the bishops that it was a case of mending or ending for the spiritual jurisdiction. Prohibitions from the common law were now constantly issued to stop the procedure in ecclesiastical cases; and the hatred and suspicion of Canon Law, even as reformed and safeguarded, continued to deepen in the mind of the laity till the storm of the Great Rebellion swept away the whole sand castle.

Yet, in spite of some very terrible weaknesses, the Church's growth towards the self-conscious and vigorous Anglicanism of the seventeenth century was the great religious fact of Elizabeth's last years. Into the literary controversies upon dogmatic points we cannot enter here, more than to notice that as Bancroft in 1589 denied the whole divine claim of the Presbyterian Church government and re-asserted the old Catholic theory of Apostolical succession,† so Bilson in his Perpetual Government of Christ's Church, Bancroft in his Survey of the Holy Discipline, Saravia in his treatise On the Various Orders of Ministers, Barret‡ and Baro in their Cambridge sermons on Predestination, and, above all, Hooker (p. 447) in his great attempt to re-combine politics and religion in a single view as the mediæval theorists of the highest order had combined them—all took their part in founding a new school of religious philosophy.

But while this movement was progressing under the very

* Cardwell, "Synodalia," i. 147–163; ii. 583.

† In a region where for many years the Episcopalian defence had been of a most weak and halting nature, only objecting, as Whitgift himself was content to do, to the absolute necessity and indispensableness of the Geneva discipline.

‡ It was Barret's attack on the Calvinistic Theology that produced the Lambeth Articles of 1596: among which the ninth is the most representative: "It is not placed in the will or power of every man to be saved." They set out with the ordinary Calvinistic axioms, "God from eternity hath predestinated some to life, some he hath reprobated to death," and the "moving" or efficient cause of predestination to life is "only the will of the good pleasure of God." (Strype, Whitgift, iv., c. xvii.) The Queen disliked the articles from the first, and through this, through the knowledge that the Puritans were also attacking Barret from the same dogmatic platform, and through the persuasions of Andrewes or Overall, Whitgift was brought to change his attitude. (Ibid., c. xviii.) By Elizabeth's order the articles were recalled and suppressed.

shelter of his action and his policy, Whitgift himself, as he showed by his Lambeth Articles in 1596, had not in any way consciously separated himself from doctrinal Calvinism: he was a disciplinarian rather than a dogmatist; and though towards the end of his life he began to realise more clearly the direction in which the Anglicanism he had fought for so practically was travelling, he belonged, like Parker, like Jewell, like Nowell, like all the earlier Elizabethans, to the school of divines who took their religion as the political sovereign directed. Cartwright was essentially wrong, to his mind, because he was questioning "what the magistrate might lawfully ordain."

From the same point of view he resisted the new Puritan attempts, from 1595, to change the character of the English Sunday* by "more than either kingly or popely directions for the observation of the Lord's Day."

But in English society at large "those† to whom comely forms and decent order were attractive qualities gathered round the institutions which had been established in the Church under Elizabeth. In the place of her first bishops, who were content to admit these institutions as a matter of necessity, a body of prelates grew up who were ready to defend them for their own sake, and who believed that at least in their main features they were framed in accordance with the will of God."

W. H. HUTTON. Religion and Literature.

THE period of English History which begins with the defeat of the Armada and ends with the death of Elizabeth is in all our annals the richest in works of undying literature. It was the age of the great dramatists: it saw the publication of Bacon's Essays; it marked the first fame and the progress towards maturity of Shakespeare. It would have been impossible that this literary awakening should not have been felt in the sphere where men's hearts are most nearly touched. The literary genius of the age was expressed to the full in religion. The difficulties of Whitgift, the rise of a Puritan party, were reflected not

* *Cf.* Rogers, "On the Articles" (a reply to the Puritan book which began the controversy: "Dr. Bound's Plea for Stricter Observance").

† Gardiner, "History of England," i. 158.

only in ecclesiastical and political life but in literature. What men thought, that they wrote; and though the religious interest of the time was far narrower than the dramatic, it was quite as intense.

The primacy of Whitgift was marked by an union of sectarianism in all its divergent phases against episcopal government and the historic order of the Church. This union, since the "prophesyings" were suppressed, found its easiest outlet in literature. Travers and Cartwright had already published their "Book of Discipline," and Whitgift had met it by exacting an enlarged form of subscription. Cartwright had embodied the spirit of antagonism to prelacy in a famous prayer—"Because the bishops, which ought to be pillars in the Church, combine themselves against Christ and His Truth, therefore, O Lord, give us grace and power, all, as one man, to set ourselves against them." It was this spirit which now displayed itself in a series of popular attacks upon the episcopate, which for violence of language and grossness of conception are almost unparalleled in English literature.

Attacks on the Episcopate.

The way for such writing had not been unprepared. The famous work of Foxe, which was in every man's hands, and had received something of a sanction from Convocation, "had not spared direct personal allusions, and had attributed in many cases the basest motives to those in authority." Much harm, too, had been done by the incautious language of Bishop Hooper, and the coarseness of Bishop Bale. Since 1570 the series of Puritan tracts had been increasing, and their violence had grown with their number. Dr. John Bridges, Dean of Salisbury, wrote a large quarto in 1587 in answer to many of them—"A Defence of the Government of the Church of England." In 1588 Udall, a Calvinist minister, wrote "A Conference on the State of the Church of England," published in April, and a "Demonstration of Discipline," which appeared later in the year. The object of the one was destructive—a denunciation of the system of the English Church—that of the other constructive. Its latest editor (Mr. Edward Arber) has clearly described it. "The intention of the writer of this 'Demonstration' was that it should be a kind of ecclesiastical

Foxe's Book of Martyrs.

Pamphlet Warfare.

Euclid of Church management: and nowhere else do we get, in so short a space, such a clear tracing of the precise rift, in matters of public worship and church order, between the two systems of the episcopacy and the eldership as they subsisted in Elizabeth's reign. Dr. Bridges in his 'Defence' describes the Presbyterian government as a Tetrarchy of Doctor, Pastor, Elders and Deacons: but, according to this scheme, the deacons had no share in the eldership. Udall's process herein is that of rigid logic. He asserts for the eldership a prescription in all times and places until the end of the world." This, indeed, is the contention of the whole series of the "Martin Marprelate Tracts," to which these two pamphlets of Udall were in effect, though apparently not in intention, an introduction.

"Martin Marprelate."

About Michaelmas, 1588, "The Epistle of Martin Marprelate" was secretly printed in a private house in East Moulsey. It was followed by "The Epitome." In these two works the thesis maintained is the unchangeable prescription of Church government by presbyters, which is declared to be laid down in the New Testament. The distinctive feature, however, of these writings is the unsparing use of personal accusation. Every charge, from inconsistency, weakness, ignorance, to grosser accusation of simony and evil living, is brought against each of the episcopal bench in turn. The Bishop of St. David's had, it is said, two wives, and "the Devil is not better practised in bowling and swearing than John of London be."

Violent as is his attack on Whitgift, Martin Marprelate seems to have been even more enraged with Aylmer, the Bishop of London, who in 1559 had written an answer to John Knox's "First Blast of the Trumpet," called "An Harbour for Faithful and True Subjects," in which he had taken up a position not far removed from that of the Puritans whom he afterwards endeavoured to suppress. It cannot be denied that the Marprelates did but carry out the rules that had been given them in former days by those who had afterwards accepted the full teaching of the Church and enjoyed preferment, and those whom many regarded as ornaments of the Anglican communion. Tyndale, half a century before, had declared "that bishops were antichrists, inasmuch as in their doctrines and doings they are directly against the Word," and

that "it is not possible there should be any honest lord bishops." Thus, with foes within and without, there was no slight expectation that episcopacy would be overthrown. There was actual discussion, indeed, "how, when all the Church revenues should be converted to maintain their presbyteries, the Queen should be recompensed for her first-fruits and tenths"; and the "conditions of peace," which are set forth in the "Epistle," give evidence of a strange confidence of victory.

Replies.

The ground was hotly contested in continuous literary skirmishes. The Martinists were answered at first by Cooper, Bishop of Winchester, in a serious style. If allowance be made for occasional eccentricities of argument and illustration, it must be admitted that the reply is conclusive as far as the personal accusations are concerned. It cannot, however, be said to have been successful. The method had the weakness which always attends any attempt to limit the legitimate weapons of defence to those which are used in attack. All appeal to antiquity was avoided, and the arguments were drawn, in Puritan fashion, either from the Bible or from the writings of Peter Martyr, Bucer, Calvin, and Beza—in the hope, no doubt, that the Sectaries would be hoist with their own petard. Thus the dispute was narrowed to a ground which the Puritans had already occupied; and it might seem as if the foreign Protestant writers were accepted as the ablest interpreters of the Holy Scriptures. In fact, Bishop Cooper's "Admonition" made the Puritan tracts better known, and gave a distinct advantage to the Martinists: while every one of the innumerable personal accusations that had not been specifically noticed was now proclaimed to be admitted. "Ha' y' any work for a cooper?" was Martin's reply to the Bishop. The Queen issued a Proclamation against the tracts: many suspected persons were arrested and examined. The secret presses were seized in May and August (1589); but the activity of the writers was not checked till a champion arose on the part of the Church to meet them in their own style. "An Almond for a Parrot," "Pap with a Hatchet," "The Countercuffe," followed one another as quickly as the Martinists replied. "The Return of Pasquil," "Plain Percival," "Anti-Martinus," and many more came in the later months of the controversy.

The principle of the whole Martinist attack may be summed up in a sentence from "Ha' y' any work for a cooper?"—"Our church government is an unlawful government, and not allowed in the sight of God." How far the leaders of the Puritan party were responsible for the tracts remains an open question. Cartwright, Paget, and Travers were credited at the time with approving them, and there is no repudiation of the charge to be found in their writings.

The Results of the Controversy.

Such was the attack. For the time at least it completely failed. The reasons for this failure are not far to seek. The very violence of the writings, no less than the style in which they were met by Nash and others, discredited them. The legislation of 1593 placed the Puritans within the power of the common-law judges, who had no scruples; and the High Commission took action in the imprisonment of the more vehement of their champions, and the execution of Penry (p. 430). The accusation of treason which had been brought against the Presbyterians had received some countenance from their own violence. The frenzied plot of Hacket, who was a ridiculous caricature of John of Leiden, was also connected in the popular mind with the views of the Sectaries. The stage, too (*cf.* the Proclamation of 1589), had pursued them with ridicule and satire in every species of dramatic composition. But the controversy turned to a nobler field when the great work of Hooker appeared.

A new departure in controversy was the sermon of Dr. Bancroft at Paul's Cross, on February 9th, 1589. Here the low ground on which the tracts had been hitherto met was decisively abandoned. Episcopacy was now formally asserted to be of Divine right and of Scriptural origin. "There is no man living, as I suppose," said Bancroft boldly, "that is able to show where there was any church planted ever since the apostles' time, but the bishop had authority over the rest of the ministry." Bancroft was the precursor of Laud; but he was more immediately followed by Richard Hooker.

Hooker.

Hooker, the greatest master of English prose whom the great age of Elizabeth produced, was born in 1554. Through the patronage of Jewell, of Sandys, and of Whitgift, he had risen to preferment in the Church, and in 1585 he became Master of the Temple. He

at once came into controversy with the Reader, Travers, an extreme Calvinist. "The forenoon sermon spake Canterbury, the afternoon Geneva." The dispute begun in the pulpit was continued (on Travers' suspension) in print. Travers published an appeal to the Privy Council; Hooker replied. From this time he gave himself to the vindication of the Anglican position. In 1594 appeared the first four books of his "Ecclesiastical Polity." The fifth book was published by itself in 1597. The rest of the work was not issued until after its author's death. Hooker's only aim and object seems to be to inculcate a "sweet reasonableness" in the treatment of ecclesiastical problems. As to the question of the necessity of Episcopacy he will not decide. Like Burke in later times, he will not discuss whether you have not a right to govern your people ill—he will declare only that it is your interest to rule them well. There are great branches of religious life, he insists, for which no fundamental rules are laid down in the New Testament. There are laws of the Church, as there are laws of man, which expediency dictates, but which have still a binding force on all who would be governed by reason or constrained by law at all. Much may become requisite which was not at first ordained; something, too, may be abandoned which was at first required. The fixed rule of Rome and the fixed rule of Geneva have overstepped the limits which the enlightened and reasonable conscience allows. The ecclesiastical polity of England is that which most nearly satisfies Scripture, reason, and the times. Yet he will not insist that it is immutable, or declare that it is of universal obligation. He is not so unhesitating as Bancroft, yet in him a clear advance on others of his predecessors is to be traced. The earlier opponents of the Puritans had contented themselves with supporting the episcopal system by natural reason and ecclesiastical history. Hooker is both historical and reasonable—but he says, "Let us not fear to be herein bold and peremptory, that, if anything in the Church's government, surely the first institution of Bishops was from Heaven, was even of God; the Holy Ghost was the author of it." In spite of his dislike of dogmatism, his own opinions are clear. He gives a list of authorities from whose opinion of the equality of bishops and

His "Ecclesiastical Polity."

presbyters he specifies his dissent. Each of these stands for a school of thought, and they range from the Waldenses and Wycliffe to Calvin and Jewell. He thus takes his place on the side of primitive or Catholic Christianity, opposed to mediæval perversions or modern contradictions.

His Political Theories.

But Hooker was by no means only a theologian. He was a scientific student of politics. As he met Cartwright and Travers on the battle-ground of Church questions, so he met Machiavelli and the Renaissance school of statecraft on the ground of the organisation of the State. Society as organised rested, in his conception, upon contract.

He looked at political as well as religious questions from the point of view of the scholar. He was the first of our writers who had any considerable acquaintance with Greek philosophy. He was deeply read in St. Thomas Aquinas. Thus his political theories show the influence both of Aristotle and of the schoolmen. The State and the Church were alike to him not ends, but means to make man good. Government and positive law find their sanction in the consent of the society subject to them. Religion and politics touch at every turn. To Hooker—in complete opposition to Machiavelli, whose views it was supposed that Thomas Cromwell had endeavoured to put into practice in England—religion was the mainstay of states, and their ecclesiastical polity was thus the most important of their institutions. The supreme end of government is the benefit of the people; and it is religion which inspires men to do good. "So natural," he says, "is the union of Religion with Justice that we may boldly deem that there is neither where both are not." In the wide scope of his survey, and in his instinctive appreciation of the unity of truth, he regarded mankind with the view at once of the moral philosopher and the Christian priest.

His Services to English.

But Hooker is famous not only as a theologian and a political theorist: he is the first master of English prose whose style is not only characteristic of his own age, but expressive of the purest genius of the English tongue. The rich and dignified vocabulary, the stately and majestic periods, which mark his best passages, are instinct with the power and the enthusiasm which made the greatness of Elizabeth's England.

He does not scorn any of the arts of the rhetorician: he does not even avoid an intentional quaintness of expression which might seem at times out of keeping with the solemnity of his theme. As in thought so in utterance, he aims at comprehensiveness rather than clarity. There are passages of his which, it is not bold to say, will live as models so long as the English language is written or read.

His Followers.

Hooker was the greatest of his school: but he had many imitators. Indeed, the historical interest of his work chiefly lies in the influence that it exercised on the succeeding generations. Hooker in his learning and his tolerance was the forerunner of the school of Andrewes and Laud. And in his own time Bishop Bilson's "Perpetual Government of Christ's Church" stood side by side with the "Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity" in winning a victory for the Church in the literary war. Bilson's attitude was uncompromising; and to him more than to any other writer of the time the Caroline divines were indebted for the clearness and decision of their attitude on the question of the historic episcopate.

Anti-Puritan Reaction.

The religious contests of the later years of Elizabeth's reign were on different subjects, particularly on the observance of Sunday and the doctrine of predestination. A reaction against Puritanism marked the last years of the great Queen's life. Heylin notices that by a strange irony Udall's son was as zealous for the Church as his father had been against it, and suffered many things in after years from the Long Parliament. But the reaction was, no doubt, in a measure due to repression and to the exercise of the enlarged powers of the Court of High Commission; and there was in many quarters a feeling as if men held their breath till the old Queen should die, and the settlement which she seemed to personify, as well as to enforce, should expire with her.

C. OMAN. The Art of War, 1558-1603.

From the military point of view, the reign of Elizabeth is the period of the completion of that transformation of the whole character and organisation of the armed forces of England which we have seen commencing under

Henry VIII. and developing in the times of Edward VI. and Mary.

The forty-five years of Elizabeth's reign were full of wars, and wars many of which were most important, politically Yet there are few salient features or points of interest in the military details of the fighting. In the whole period we do not find one first-class pitched battle. The war of 1559–60 in Scotland, the expedition to Havre and Harfleur in 1563, the campaign of Essex in the Netherlands in 1585, the "Journey of Portugal" in 1589, the descent on Cadiz in 1596, were all alike in this. We discover in their annals skirmishes and sieges in plenty, but not a single important engagement. The nearest approach to such a thing is to be found in the two considerable fights in Ireland, the defeat of Bagenal on the Blackwater in 1598, and the victory of Mountjoy at Kinsale in 1601. But both these engagements were fought with a savage foe, and throw comparatively little light on the changes in English tactics and organisation which were in progress at the time. The very considerable armies which were on several occasions raised in the Queen's name for service both within and beyond the four seas never had an opportunity of trying their efficiency against any civilised enemy. There were 20,000 men in arms in 1569 to suppress the Rising in the North, and more than twice that number ready to receive the Spaniards in 1588, when the great Armada was threatening our southern coast. But these great armies had no opportunity of showing their metal. The best tests which the English had of trying their efficiency against a really formidable foe were in comparatively small engagements—such as the skirmishes at Zutphen, and elsewhere, when the English troops in Holland tried their metal on Parma's veterans, the rout at Vigo during the "Journey of Portugal," and some small fights during the French wars of religion, where English auxiliaries were serving in company with the Huguenots.

The New Military Authority.

When Elizabeth came to the throne the military organisation of England had just been modified by the creation of the Lords Lieutenant in each county by the law of Philip and Mary. This ordinance had relieved the sheriffs from the duty of taking command of the shire levies, which had formed part of their

functions ever since the times of William the Conqueror. From 1557 onward the Lord Lieutenant became the military authority in each county: it was he who appointed the officers, assessed the number of men to be supplied from each hundred and parish, and was supposed to take command of the whole in the case of war. But the full force of England was only called out on the occasion of the Armada. It was, as a rule, only a small proportion of the levies of each county that was summoned under arms. When the Queen wished to send out an army, it was now procured by drawing on each shire for a definite contingent. The men were procured by volunteering, so far as possible; but as this never sufficed, the full number had always to be filled up by forcible impressment. When the men were mustered, they were officered by local commanders chosen by the Lord Lieutenant of the shire, and approved by the Government. No conception of any large military unit having been yet formed, the troops were divided into "bands" of about 150 or 200 men under captains, each of whom was assisted by a lieutenant and an ancient. It was only at a much later date that the custom of forming four or five of these bands into a regiment was introduced. In an army of 6,000 or 8,000 men, comprising forty or fifty "bands," there was no unit of organisation beyond the small band and the old triple divisions of "vaward, main-battle, and rearward," into which the bands were told off.

The Unit of Organisation.

On taking the field, these select shire levies were supposed to pass into the charge of the Government, and to receive their food, pay, and clothing from the royal hands. But Elizabeth's habitual parsimony made the soldier's lot a hard one: the pay was always in arrears, the food was bad, the clothing scandalously neglected. Whether the army was in Scotland, Ireland, or Holland, we find the same invariable complaint that the men were deserting on account of the privations they had to endure, and that the captains, while trying to draw pay for their whole "band," could generally show no more than two-thirds of it when called to a muster.

In the matter of clothing there was now a fixed custom of putting all the men belonging to the same band in a fixed uniform. But each shire might select a different colour for the men that it equipped, and we find no attempt on

the part of the Government to enforce any normal and regular costume. The only feature common to the whole army was the red St. George's cross worn on cassock or jerkin by the whole army. The levies of different years and different shires are noted as having worn very different equipment. In the early years of the reign we often hear of white coats with the ordinary cross on them. A little later we read of a Lancashire levy in dark blue. Red was not uncommon: an ordinance of 1584 for raising troops for Ireland orders the men to be dressed in "some motley or other sad green colour or russet" —a sufficiently vague definition. Over the coat the archer now wore, for the most part, a buckskin jerkin. The pikemen had heavier arms—a back- and breast-plate, often fitted with short tassets to cover the upper thighs. The harquebusiers also seem to have been wont to wear a certain amount of plate armour—which one would think must have tended to cumber them and render the play of their arms in the musket exercise less effective. On their heads all foot-soldiers, almost without exception, wore the peaked and pointed morion: very occasionally we hear of the archers with felt caps instead of the steel headpiece.

The Beginnings of Uniform.

The cavalry was still very heavily armed, though a tendency to lighten the equipment was now becoming visible. Not even the "pistol-proof" mail, of which we often hear, could really resist the musket ball; and as firearms grew more and more usual, and the bow less common, the long contest between the penetrative power of the missile and the resisting strength of the armour was practically settled in favour of the former. By the end of Elizabeth's reign the leg-armour of the heavy horseman below the knee had, for the most part, been replaced by long leather boots. The thighs were still protected by tassets, often curved out to a monstrous size to cover the enormous breeches of the period. But these cumbrous devices of riveted plate were not worn by everyone. Every reader will remember that Sir Philip Sidney's lamentable death at Zutphen was attributed to the fact that he had gone forth to the skirmish only in breast- and back-plate, so that the shot that struck him below the hip met no resistance from armour. The closed helmet and the brassarts for the arms

Arms and Armour.

were still, however, worn by every fully equipped horseman, so that the "lances" of Elizabeth's time still bore the general appearance of their forefathers of the fifteenth century. The "demi-lances," or light cavalry, contented themselves with less—an open morion that did not cover the face, and a plain breast- and back-plate. Such was the appearance of the many thousand Northern moss-troopers who used to swarm to the royal standard whenever trouble on the borders of Scotland was afoot.

The Displacement of the Bow.

But the great feature of the military history of Elizabeth's reign is the gradual disappearance of the long-bow—the cherished weapon of the English yeomanry for the last 300 years. In the '60's it was still the usual weapon of the bulk of the host: in the '80's it was used by only one man in three. By 1600 it was almost obsolete.

The first indications of the fact that public opinion was at last beginning to run in favour of the harquebus may be found as early as the second year of Elizabeth. In a muster of the select train-bands of London, held before the Queen as early as 1559, we read that there was—probably for the first time on record—not a single archer in the array. The men exercised before the Queen were the picked corps of the city, not its whole levy: in the total of 1,400 men there were 800 pikes in morions and plate, 400 "shot" in shirts of mail with morions, and 200 halberdiers in almain rivets, *i.e.* riveted plate-armour of German fashion. If the whole of London's force had been out in arms we should have found several thousand archers, but the choicest companies included "shot," *i.e.* harquebusiers only. Outside London the harquebus was still rare: there are several statutes of the early times of Elizabeth promising municipal privileges to practised marksmen in country towns, which show that they were still scarce and much esteemed. In 1567 the Queen, in spite of her parsimony, offered a retaining fee of £4 a year for harquebusiers with competent weapons and good skill, on condition of their being ready to turn out if wanted in case of invasion. In 1569 the Earl of Sussex, watching Scotland, writes to London that he would prefer archers to the "so ill-furnished harquebusiers" that have been put at his disposal. It was, in fact, difficult to accustom the nation to turn from the old national

weapon to one that was still hardly understood: again and again we hear complaints of the uncertainty and unskilfulness of the English practice with firearms.

The change from bow to musket, however, was inevitable: the superior penetrating power of bullet over arrow was an argument that grew more and more cogent as the make of firearms improved and the rapidity of their discharge was quickened. We are told that in the beginning of the Queen's reign a skilled harquebusier could fire but ten or twelve shots an hour, while at the end the pace had quickened up to thirty-five or forty. The archer could still let fly a much larger number of arrows in that time—but the rate was no longer so infinitely quicker than that of the harquebus. Moreover, the rapid discharge exhausted his sheaf so quickly that he soon required a fresh supply; and arrows were a bulky commodity for quick forwarding to the front line of battle.

The New Arm and the Old.

We are fortunately in possession of a full discussion as to the relative merits of bow and harquebus, conducted by men who had seen them employed together, in the wars of the Netherlands. This controversy produced, indeed, the first considerable instalment of technical military writing in the English language. The disputants were Sir John Smythe on the side of the bow, and Sir Roger Williams and Humphrey Barwick on the side of the harquebus. Smythe states his preference for archers to rest (1) on their better aim, for the harquebusier can only take true aim at point-blank, and shoots wildly at anything over a hundred yards; (2) on the liability of the fire-arm to get out of order—wet weather spoils the powder, windy or rainy weather blows out or extinguishes the match, the piece fouls and clogs easily, it is difficult to repair; (3) on the liability of the soldier to mishandle his weapon in the excitement of the battle—in his haste he forgets to put wadding between the powder and the ball, or lets the bullet drop out of the mouth of his piece by holding it with muzzle depressed; (4) harquebusiers cannot stand more than two deep, archers easily eight or ten deep, and the latter are much better able to defend themselves against cavalry than the former; (5) the extreme heaviness of the musket and harquebus tire out the soldier on the march, and render his aim unsteady after a half-hour's engagement; (6) last comes the old and most

effective argument as to rapidity of fire. The only advantage that he allows to firearms is for use "in bulwarks, ramparts, and mounts of a fortress," when the harquebusier, shooting from a steady rest without exposing himself much, may be of good service.

Barwick, in replying to Smythe, controverts most of his propositions. (1) He denies the impossibility of aiming at long distances; (2) in bad weather bow-strings grow slack or break, and arrow-feathers flake off, so that the archer is as much in danger of mishap as the gunner; (3) archers in battle are just as liable to accidents from nervous hurry as harquebusiers—they stoop to shield themselves, do not draw the arrow full to its head, and let fly when only half drawn—they are actually, he asserts, scared at the smoke and noise of opponents furnished with fire-arms; (4) when archers are drawn up more than two or three deep, the rear rank shoot at a venture over the front, without any power of taking aim; (5) the bowman is far more dependent on being unfatigued and in full possession of his bodily powers than the harquebusier—"if he get not his three meales every daye, as his custome is to have at home, neither his body to lie warme at nights, he presently waxeth benumbed," and cannot draw his bow to any good effect; (6) a good harquebusier can now discharge forty shots an hour with steady and sure aim, so that the greater pace of the bow is no longer what it was.

The celebrated Sir Roger Williams also appears in the controversy on the side of the harquebus. He would rather have with him in the field 500 good muskets than 1,500 bows. Archers, he says, are of such mixed quality that out of 5,000 only some 1,500 can "shoote strong shootes," and he then proceeds to back up Barwick's fifth contention by the statement that after three months in the field, in winter or bad weather, not one man in ten can keep up his full bodily strength to the pitch at which he started. "Few or none will do any great hurt at twelve or fourteen score off" (240 or 280 yards). The harquebus, on the other hand, will shoot as strongly as ever, so long as the soldier has strength enough to touch off his piece.

While the controversy was in progress, and all through the years 1570-1595, bow and musket were seen side by side in every English levy. A band was often composed on some such scale as eighty harquebuses, forty bows, forty halberts,

eighty pikes, as in the instructions for the Lancashire levy of 1584. When such a mixed body was drawn up in battle order, the halberts took post in the centre to guard the standard of the company, the pikes stood on each side of them, then came the bowmen in two halves, flanking the pikemen, and finally the men with callivers or harquebuses formed up at the two extreme ends of the line.*

The tactics of the English were, of course, greatly modified by the increasing use of the musket. The harquebusier does not seem to have been expected to drop his weapon and join in the *mêlée* with sword or axe, as the old bowmen had been wont to do. When close fighting occurred, and the opposing lines came "to push of pike," the musketeer was expected to slip to the rear of the line of pikes and cover himself behind them, or at best to keep up a sidelong fire on the attacking force. But this last would be impossible if the enemy's flanks were furnished with horse, to whom the musketeer would have to expose himself in the open field.

Last Days of the Bow.

The muster-rolls of the army that was drawn together to oppose the Armada give excellent data for the balance between the two weapons in 1588. In most parts of England all the trained men of the regular militia were now furnished with firearms. In some counties, such as Somerset, Wilts, Cambridge, Huntingdon, no archers at all appear. In London out of 6,000 train-bands not one carried bows, but of 4,000 untrained men 800 kept the old weapon. In central and northern England the proportion of bows to harquebuses in the whole array was from one-fifth to one-third; only in the two counties of Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire were the archers more numerous than the men carrying firearms.

Only seven years later [1595] the Privy Council finally decreed that the bow should never be placed in the hands of any member of regular train-bands, but that all without exception should be armed with callivers, harquebuses, or muskets. Such was the death-knell of the old English weapon that had done such good service all through the Middle Ages.

* *Cf.* "Ballad of Brave Lord Willoughby" (*c.* 1588):

"'Stand to it, noble pikemen,
And look you round about!
And shoot you right, you bowmen,
And we will keep them out;
You musket and calliver men
Do you prove true to me,
And I'll be foremost in the fight,'
Says brave Lord Willoughby."

W. LAIRD CLOWES. The Elizabethan Navy.

Until well on in the reign of Queen Elizabeth the sixteenth century witnessed comparatively few improvements in the art of shipbuilding for the Navy; but then came many considerable changes. Sir Walter Raleigh informs us that in his time the shape of English ships had been greatly bettered; that the striking of top-masts, "a wonderful ease to great ships, both at sea and in the harbour," was of new invention; and that another novel device was the chain pump, "which taketh up twice as much water as the ordinary one did." He also notes the addition to the courses of the bonnet and the drabbler, the introduction of studding-sails, and the practice of weighing the anchor by means of a capstan. "We have fallen," he continues, "into consideration of the length of cables, and by it we resist the malice of the greatest winds that can blow. Witness the Hollanders, that were wont to ride before Dunkirk with the wind at north-east, making a lee shore in all weathers: for true it is that the length of the cable is the life of the ship in all extremities; and the reason is that it makes so many bendings and waves, as the ship, riding at that length, is not able to stretch it; and nothing breaks that is not stretched." He further mentions that ships had in his day been rendered more seaworthy by a principle of so constructing them as to raise the sills of the lower ports well out of the water.

The device of jointed masts, alluded to by Sir Walter, is attributed to that great man and indefatigable reformer, Sir John Hawkins, who, from 1573 until the day of his death, was Treasurer of the Navy; yet in the Elizabethan era but one joint seems to have been ever used, the mast consisting only of lower-mast and top-mast, and the bowsprit being, apparently, still always a pole. The chain pump needs no explanation here. The bonnet was an additional part, made to fasten with latchings to the foot of a sail so as to increase its area for fine weather work. Though it may have been revived in Raleigh's time, it was not then really of recent invention. The drabbler was an addition to the bonnet; and so, by latching on bonnet and drabbler, the Elizabethan seaman attained the object which his descendants have attained by letting out reefs. As for studding-sails, they are still, of

course, in common use. Sprit-sails and topgallant-sails were other Elizabethan innovations. The raising of the sills of the lower ports was, no doubt, a valuable improvement; but it was not carried far enough, and few Elizabethan ships could, in even a very moderate sea, fight their lower deck, or, in other words, their heaviest guns, with either safety or comfort.

Ships of War.

The Queen came to the throne five years after the Navy had suffered the disaster of the accidental burning of the *Henri Grace à Dieu* at Woolwich on August 27th, 1553. The disappearance of that notable craft left the *Jesus*, a vessel of only 700 tons, to figure as the largest ship of the fleet. But the *Triumph*, in which some of Sir John Hawkins' improvements are believed to have been embodied, and which may be accepted as a typical Elizabethan man-of-war, marked a distinct advance upon all that had gone before her; and, indeed, she remained the largest and finest British-built vessel in the Navy until the launching of the *Prince Royal* in 1610. A *St. Matthew*, mentioned in a list of 1599, was as large and, perhaps, finer; but she is understood to have been a Spanish prize; and the *Bear*, or *White Bear*, which served, captained by Edmund, Lord Sheffield, against the Armada, and which was a British-built ship, was no better than, if as good as, the craft which flew Sir Martin Frobisher's pennant on the same glorious occasion.

The *Triumph* was of either 1,000 or 1,100 tons burthen, and had four masts; but no trustworthy account of her dimensions survives. A manuscript dated 1578, when she was nearly new, tells us that she then carried 700 men, of whom 450 were mariners, or seamen, 50 gunners, and 200 soldiers, the first being for working the ship, the second for manning the heavy ordnance, and the third for managing the lighter guns and small arms, and probably for service as boarders. Her "furniture," or, as we should now say, her gunner's and armourer's stores, included 250 harquebuses, 50 bows, 100 sheaves of arrows, 200 pikes, and 100 corslets. Other ships of her day were in addition furnished with bills, or axes, but she is not mentioned as having been supplied with these. Her heavy guns, as shown by a manuscript of 1599, were 4 cannon (8 in. 60-prs., weighing 6,000 lb.), 3 demi-cannon (6¾ in. 33-prs., weighing 4,000 lbs.), 17 culverins (5½ in.

18-prs., weighing 4,500 lb.), 8 demi-culverins (4 in. 9-prs., weighing 3,400 lb.), 6 sakers (3½ in. 5½-prs., weighing 1,400 lb.), and 30 smaller pieces, such as falconets (2 in. 1½-prs., weighing 500 lb.), serpentines (1½ in. ¾-prs., weighing 400 lb.), and rabinets (1 in. ½-prs., weighing 300 lb.). The armament was therefore considerably more powerful than that of the *Henri Grace à Dieu*. Omitting the smaller pieces, the total weight of guns carried was, in the old ship, 83,720 lb., and in the new, 148,100; and the weight of broadside was 275 lb. and 374 lb. respectively. This comparative statement alone is sufficient to indicate how vast an improvement had, within a period not exceeding about two generations, been made in the offensive force of first-class men-of-war. It is granted that only two or three English ships of the time approached the *Triumph*, either in force or in size; but the commonly received opinion as to the inferiority, all round, of the English ships to those of the Spanish Armada, and the popular belief that we fought at an immense disadvantage, is greatly exaggerated. In 1588, of vessels of 1,000 tons and upwards, the Spanish fleet included only the flagship of Don Pedro de Valdez (1,550 tons), the *Ragazone* (1,294 tons), the *Santa Anna* (1,200 tons), the *Grangrina* (1,160 tons), the *San Juan* (1,050 tons), and the *Trinidad Valencera* and *San Martino* (each 1,000 tons), or seven in all; and, although we had but two of this large class, we had, on the other hand, no fewer than 197 craft to oppose to the Spanish 132 all told: and the greater handiness of our ships is undoubted. Most of the contemporary accounts of the Spanish fleet were written by those who were neither seamen nor men capable of forming just views on such subjects. They represent Philip's ships as "so huge that the ocean groaned beneath their weight"; "so lofty that they resembled rather castles or fortresses"; "so numerous that the sea was invisible"; but Captain Fenner, who must have been a competent judge, wrote to Sir Francis Drake that "twelve of Her Majesty's ships were a match for all the galleys in the King of Spain's dominions." "There is no doubt, however," says Professor J. K. Laughton, R.N., "that the Spanish ships looked larger. Their poops and forecastles, rising tier above tier to a great height, towered far above the lower-built English. Not that the large English ships were by any means flush-decked: but they were not so

high charged as the Spanish. The difference offered a great advantage to the Spaniards in hand-to-hand fighting"—a species of combat which the English for the most part successfully avoided on the occasion—"but it told terribly against them when their enemy refused to close; it made their ships leewardly and unmanageable in even a moderate breeze; and, added to the Spanish neglect of recent improvements in rig—notably the introduction of the bowline—it rendered them very inferior to the English in the open sea."

Still more important than the inferiority of the Spanish ships and of the Spanish seamen, who were neither as experienced nor relatively as numerous as the British, was the inferiority of the Spanish guns and gunners. Professor Laughton has well brought out this. The following comparisons are based upon information much of which has been supplied by him; and, as they deal with typical ships of the close of the fifteenth century, they should be conclusive:—

Naval Ordnance.

SHIPS.	TONS.	MEN.	No. OF GUNS.	WEIGHT OF BROADSIDE.	DESCRIPTION OF HEAVY GUNS. (POUNDERS.)							No. OF SMALL GUNS.
(SPANISH.)				lbs.	60	33	24	18	12	9	5½	
San Lorenzo ...	?	386	50	370	4	8	—	6	—	6	10	16
N. S. de Rosario	1,150	422	41	195	—	3	7	4	—	1	—	26
Anunciada ...	703	275	24	67	—	—	—	3	—	3	—	18
S. Maria de Visn	666	307	18	54	—	—	—	—	6	—	—	12
(ENGLISH.)												
Triumph ...	1,100	500	68	402	4	3	—	17	—	8	6	30
Ark Royal ...	800	425	55	377	4	4	—	12	—	12	6	17
Mer Honour ...	800	400	41	281	—	4	—	15	—	16	4	2
Nonpareil ...	500	250	56	264	2	3	—	7	—	8	12	24
Foresight ...	300	160	37	102	—	—	—	—	—	14	8	15

Here we have a typical English ship of 800 tons which was both more numerously manned and more powerfully armed than a typical Spanish ship of 1,150 tons; and an English ship of 300 tons which in weight of broadside was about twice as strong as a Spanish ship of more than twice her size. Moreover, according to Duro, "the cannon was considered by the Spaniards to be but an ignoble weapon, good merely for the opening of the fray, and for trifling with until the arrival of the moment for engaging hand to hand. With these views, the officers directed their gunners to aim high, so as to disable the enemy and prevent his escape; but as upright sticks are hard things to hit, the result was that shot flew harmlessly

into the water, or, at best, made holes in the sails or cut away a few ropes of no account." On the other hand, the English found that the high Spanish hulls made excellent targets. The Spaniards themselves, too, estimated the English fire to be three times as rapid as their own. They were further prejudiced by the fact that in their ships the ports, perhaps in order to keep out as much small-arm fire as possible, had been made so small that the guns behind them could not be properly trained, depressed, or elevated. All ports were unduly small in those days, but those of the Spanish Navy were the smallest of any.

The larger English ships of the period probably carried their guns much as the *Ark Royal* (or *Ark Raleigh*), Lord Howard of Effingham's flagship in 1588, carried hers. So far as is indicated in a most interesting print that is preserved in the British Museum, her guns, particulars of which have been already given, were carried as follows:—On the lower deck, 4 60-prs., 4 33-prs., and 8 18-prs.; on the main deck, 4 18-prs., 12 9-prs., and 2 5½-prs.; under the poop, 4 5½-prs., and 6 small guns; under the forecastle, 6 small guns; and in the barricade, waist and tops, the remaining 5 small pieces. We know that the gallant *Revenge*, of 500 tons and 250 men, at the time of her capture by the Spaniards in 1591, carried 20, out of her total of 43, brass guns on her lower deck, and that these, weighing from 4,000 to 6,000 lb. apiece, were 18-prs., 33-prs., and 60-prs.; and that on her upper deck—for she had but one complete covered deck—she mounted the remaining 23, which in no case exceeded in weight the weight of a bastard-culverin or 5-pr. She was built in 1579, apparently from the designs of Sir John Hawkins, who was also before 1583 the designer or modifier of, besides the *Triumph*, the *White Bear*, *Elizabeth Jonas*, *Ark Royal*, and *Victory*. In addition to such improvements as have been already noticed, these ships had lower poops and forecastles than usual, longer keels in proportion to their length, and finer and sharper lines. All of them were engaged against the Armada in 1588. Where the ships of the time were built it is now, save in a few cases, impossible to discover. We know, however, that members of the great family of naval constructors, the Petts, were concerned in the building of many of them, especially in the River Thames. That family supplied nearly all the

most distinguished shipbuilders to England for a period of more than a century.

The Cost of Naval Stores.

Of the current prices of certain naval stores in the year of the Armada, a curious record is preserved in one of the Sloane MSS. The cost of anchors for the Navy was then 33s. 4d. per cwt.; black oakum was 7s. per cwt.; boat oars cost 2s. 8d. apiece, and long pinnace oars 4s. 4d.; compasses suitable for the Queen's ships could be had for 3s. 4d. each, and "running glasses," or hour glasses, for 10d.; sounding leads were 12s. per cwt.; and a sum of £15 in all was paid for a boat 33 ft. long by 8 ft. broad for H.M.S. *Swiftsure*. Another MS. gives some particulars of the price of arms and gunners' stores. A harquebus cost 30s.; a musket complete 26s. 8d.; a caliver complete 18s.; a long pike 4s.; a short pike 3s. 4d.; a "black bill," or long-handled axe, 3s.; a bow with its due allowance of arrows 6s. 8d.; a hundredweight of lead for casting small shot 12s.; and so on. Of victuals for ships, biscuit was 10s. 3d. per cwt.; beer 30s. 8d. per tun of 4 hogsheads: beef 15s. per cwt.; stock-fish (salt cod) 26s. per cwt.; cheese 2¼d. per lb.; salt, for salting beef, 8d. per bushel, and butter 3d. per lb. These last were the prices in 1556, but the prices of produce increased very little during the following half-century. In 1570 bacon for the fleet was 3d. per lb., and peas were 24s. per quarter.

The Navy as a Profession.

In the reign of Elizabeth the Royal Navy began to take form, as it had never done before, as a regular and permanent organisation. It became, for the first time, a profession. Many officers entered it as youngsters, and remained in it all their active lives. Previously, nearly all had flitted backwards and forwards between it and the merchant marine, between it and such army as there was, or even between it and civil life on shore. One of the earliest examples of the professional naval officer was Sir William Monson, who, as boy or man, served at sea in every rank, and at pretty frequent intervals, from 1585 to 1635. He is also memorable as the author of the "Naval Tracts," which, published after his death in 1643, preserve to us a very complete picture of the English Navy as it was in his day. Concerning the importance of having trained officers, he wrote "The best ships of war in the known

world have been commanded by captains bred seamen; and merchants put their whole confidence in the fidelity and ability of seamen to carry their ships through the hazard of pirates, men-of-war, and the dangers of rocks and sands, be they of never so much value: which they would never do under the charge of a gentleman, or an experienced soldier, for his valour only"; and again:

"The sea language is not soon learnt, much less understood, being only proper to him that has served his apprenticeship; besides that a boisterous sea and stormy weather will make a man not bred to it so sick that it bereaves him of legs, stomach, and courage, so much as to fight with his meat. And in such weather, when he hears the seamen cry 'starboard' or 'port,' or to 'bide alooff,' or 'flat a sheet,' or 'haul home a clue-line,' he thinks he hears a barbarous speech which he conceives not the meaning of. Suppose the best and ablest-bred seamen should buckle on armour, and mount a courageous great horse, and so undertake the leading of a troop of horse, he would no doubt be accounted very indiscreet, and men would judge he could perform but very weak service; neither could his soldiers hope of good security, being under an ignorant captain that knows not scarce how to rein his horse, much less to take advantage for execution or retreat. And yet it is apparent to be far more easy to attain experience for land service than on the sea."

The passage is, by the way, interesting as showing that the use of "port" instead of "larboard" is not, as some suspect, a modern habit, and as indicating the origin of the expression "to luff." Monson had had to complain of the Navy being partially officered by men who were unfit for their duties, because they had had no proper training. His views took root, and after his time the non-professional naval officer became yearly rarer and rarer, until, at the end of the seventeenth century, he disappeared entirely, to the great advantage of the service.

The rise of the Royal Navy as a professional career was naturally accompanied by the framing for both men and officers of regulations more precise and explicit than had previously been in force. In some Instructions and Articles which were drawn up while Lord Howard of Effingham was Lord High Admiral, we have, in rudimentary form, the Articles of War of the present day, combined with The Queen's Regulations and the Admiralty Instructions. In these, swearing, brawling, dicing, contentions and disorders were forbidden; picking and stealing were threatened with

punishment under martial law; the preservation and husbanding of victuals were enjoined; precautions against fire were recommended; waste of powder was deprecated; cleanliness was insisted on; sanitary measures were prescribed; distribution of prize-money was provided for, and much more. The practices and the traditions of the service were rapidly crystallising. Dating from this era comes to us the earliest record of a regular naval court-martial.

The First Recorded Court Martial.

This interesting court was held in the course of Drake's Cadiz Expedition in 1587 for the "singeing of the King of Spain's beard," and the account of it is preserved in the Cæsar Papers in the British Museum. It arose out of a mutiny in the *Golden Lion*, the captain of which (William Burroughs) had, owing to misconduct, been superseded by Captain Marchaunt—Drake taking upon himself the responsibility. Dr. Julius Cæsar styles the proceedings "an excellent forme of a Sessions kept by Sir Francis Drake and other captains on boarde of one of the Queen Elizabeth's ships;" but the minute of the inquiry calls it "a general Courte holden for the service of Her Majesty aboarde the *Elizabethe Bonaventure*." All the captains and masters of the fleet were formally summoned, and, in their presence, "the Generall," Sir Francis Drake, "called in question and judiciallye demanded of Captayne Marchaunt howe he colde discharge himselfe and answere the departure of Her Majestie's Shippe the *Golden Lyon* which he latelye gave him in charge." Captain Marchaunt spoke in his defence, explaining that upon the first symptom of mutiny in his ship, he had ordered her master to keep her close to the General (the flagship); but that immediately afterwards a quartermaster had handed to him, on behalf of the crew, a letter, complaining that the people were short of food and drink, and were not properly treated, and declaring that they intended to at once carry the vessel home again. The men then refused to obey orders, although Marchaunt himself expostulated with them. Only fifteen or sixteen sided with him. He demanded to be set on board the *Queen's Pinnace;* and, after some discussion, this was agreed to. Captain Clifford, of the *Queen's Pinnace*, who took Marchaunt on board, testified that he, too, had remonstrated with the mutineers. They called him, howeve , "Arrante Villaine." Drake's sentence upon the

contumacious mutineers lends to the proceedings the character of a court-martial, although the court had really been originally summoned rather as a court of inquiry. The great seaman's words, divested of Dr. Cæsar's erratic spelling of them, were:—"Although I am not doubtful what to do in this case, nor yet want any authority, but myself have from her Majesty sufficient jurisdiction to correct and punish with all severity as to be in discretion shall be meet, according to the quality of the offences, all those seditious persons which shall be in the whole fleet, yet, for the confidence I have in your discretions, as also to witness our agreement in judgment in all matters, I pray you let me have your several opinions touching this fact which hath been declared in your hearing this day." Possibly after the other officers had spoken, Sir Francis continued :—"In my judgment, it was as foul and intolerable a mutiny as ever I have known. Captain Marchaunt hath discharged his duty faithfully as a true servitor unto her Majesty. All the rest of that ship, excepting only those twelve or sixteen which held up their hands to witness their willingness to return to our company, have deserved a shameful death, in that they have forsaken her Majesty's standard and commission, and forsaken her Majesty's ships royal, being distressed, and, as much as in them lieth, hindered the service in hand for the honour and safety of her Majesty's realms and dominions. And, therefore, my final and definite sentence is this—that the master of the said ship, the boatswain, and Mr. Burroughs and Crow, the principal contrivers and workers of this mutiny, shall, as soon I come by them, wheresoever I find them within my power, abide the pains of death. If not, they shall remain as dead men in law. All the rest shall remain also at her Majesty's mercy as accessories to this treacherous defection. And, though it shall please her Majesty to look upon them with mercy, yet my sentence is: They shall all come to the court-gate with halters about their necks, for an example to all such offenders." The whole court, it is declared, approved this sentence. From that time the naval court-martial seems to have become a common institution, and not long afterwards it was recognised and regularised. If Drake had any precedents to guide him, beyond the terms of his commission, he kept them to himself.

As the practice of the sea crystallised, so did the language

Nautical Terms.

The Elizabethan seaman's vocabulary contained a very large proportion, indeed, of the terms which are even now in common use in sailing-ships. Among the many technical words and expressions which, bearing their present meaning, one finds with some surprise in maritime letters and papers of three hundred years ago are: armings, awnings, to belay, bitts, to bowse, breechings, bulkheads, cambers, caps, carlings, case-shot, clew-garnets, coamings, davits, "dead-men's-eyes" (deadeyes), fenders, "foot-hooks" (futtocks), gratings, grommets, "gunwalls" (gunwales), hatchways, "ham-acos" (hammocks), heaving the log, junk, "keel-son" (kelson), lashings, marling-spikes, moorings, nettings, peak, purchases, quarters, scuttles, seizings, to serve, shackles, sheers, shrouds, skiffs, scuppers, spun-yarn, in stays, stern-sheets, steerage, tarpaulin, yaw, and scores of others.

Science and Seamanship.

Very important in their bearing upon the development of the Navy were many of the scientific discoveries and improvements of the Elizabethan period. In one passage, Monson regrets the general introduction of the spyglass, because it would have the effect of rendering useless one of his numerous "stratagems" for the deception of an enemy—namely, the mounting of dummy guns so as to give an exaggerated idea of a ship's force. Originally contrived in 1560, or thereabouts, by Porta, the telescope was brought into practical use before the close of the century by Janssen of Middelburg, and presently became part of the equipment of every seaman. The cross-staff had been devised before Elizabeth's time. It was during her reign almost superseded by the back-staff, the invention of John Davis, the navigator. The variation of the compass had been observed by Columbus and Cabot; but it was not until the Elizabethan age, and by English seamen and scientists, that anything definite and useful was established concerning terrestrial magnetism. The completion in 1569 of Mercator's famous chart of the world was a significant event of the same period. The art of navigation was still more particularly furthered by the publication in English form of Martin Cortes's "Brief Compendium of the Sphere" in 1561, of Guevara's Treatise in 1578, and of Medina's "Rules of Navigation" in 1581. Meanwhile, Bourne had issued the first original English work on the subject—the "Regiment of the Sea"—in 1573;

and Thomas Blundeville followed in 1594 with his "Exercises." William Burrough, by his "Discourses of the Magnet and Loadstone" (1581); Robert Norman, by his "New Attractive"; and Dr. Gilbert of Colchester, who, in 1600, first propounded the theory that the earth itself is a magnet, rendered valuable ancillary service; and Edward Wright, by his explanation, or rather by his scientific discovery, of the principles of Mercator's projection, made himself the father of modern marine cartography. But perhaps as really useful as the labours of any of these was the work of the aforesaid John Davis, the navigator, entitled "The Seaman's Secrets," and first published in 1594. The hydrography of the period was surprisingly good. Before the end of the sixteenth century all the harbours and estuaries of England had been fairly well surveyed, and the information obtained had been embodied in charts which were both detailed and accurate. Activity in this direction was, no doubt, furthered by the influence and example of the Corporation of Trinity House—a guild which had become powerful in the time of Henry VIII., and which, after having at first undertaken many other duties, settled down, under an Act of Elizabeth, as the responsible authority on certain questions of pilotage, and as the conservator of the buoys and beacons of the coast.

Naval Pay and Pensions.

The pay of the officers and men of the Navy was still small. In 1575 the Lord High Admiral himself received but £200 a year; the Vice-Admiral £100; a captain £30; a gunner from 4d. to 1s. a day; a carpenter 8d. a day; the Pilot to the Navy £20 a year; the Surveyor of Naval Ordnance £40 a year; the Treasurer of the Navy £66 13s. 4d. a year; the Victualler of the Navy £58 a year; the Clerk of the Navy £33 6s. 8d.; the Clerk of the Storehouse at Deptford £32 16s. 4d.; and the Master of Naval Ordnance £66 13s. 4d. (100 marks). Nor was there for officers any scheme of half-pay or regular pensions. As for the seamen, they fared little better in the matter of wages than they had fared in earlier periods, and they did not always punctually receive even what was due to them. Their ultimate interests were, however, in some sort provided for by the establishment in 1590 of the benevolent organisation which was known as the Chest at Chatham. Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, then Lord High Admiral, was the prime mover (with Hawkins

and Drake) in this reform, which was dictated by the consideration "that by frequent employment by sea for the defence of this kingdom" . . . divers and sundry "masters, mariners, shipwrights, and seafaring men, by reason of hurts and maims received in the service, are driven into great poverty, extremity, and want, to their great discouragement." It was therefore determined that perpetual relief should be provided for such cases; and, in order to provide it, it was voluntarily arranged that every man and boy in the Navy should regularly forfeit to the fund a small proportion of his monthly wages, such contributions to be from time to time placed "in a strong chest with five locks to that purpose especially provided." The constitution of the Chest was subsequently amended and altered, chiefly in consequence of the manner in which the funds were at one time abused: and, down to a quite recent period, the benefit society, thus set on foot by the seaman who had commanded against the Armada, did its good work in England. The original chest itself remains to this day, carefully preserved in the Museum of the Royal Hospital at Greenwich.

The Honour of the Flag.

It is scarcely to be supposed that under a princess of Elizabeth's temperament any of the pretensions, either of the country or of the Crown, were voluntarily surrendered; and, naturally enough, the proud claim to the honour of the flag was, by her officers, insisted upon with greater determination than ever before. Sir Richard Hawkins tells us how his father, the great Sir John, once enforced this claim. A Spanish fleet was on its way to fetch Anne of Austria, wife of Philip II., from Flanders. Sir John Hawkins, with a small English squadron, lay in Catwater; and the Spanish Admiral, perceiving him there, nevertheless endeavoured to pass into Plymouth Sound without paying the usual salute. Sir John at once ordered the gunner of his own ship to fire at the Spaniard's rigging, and then, no notice being taken, to fire at the Spaniard's hull; whereupon the strangers took in their flags, lowered their topsails, and anchored. The Admiral presently sent an officer of rank to carry his compliments and his remonstrances to Sir John, who, at the gangway, refused either to hear or to admit the messenger, and bid him tell his chief that, having neglected the respect due to the Queen of England in her seas and port, and having so large a fleet at his command, he must

not expect to lie there, but must weigh and be gone in twelve hours; otherwise he would be regarded as an enemy, and so treated, his conduct being already suspicious. Receiving the message, the Spanish Admiral in person went alongside Sir John's flagship, the *Jesus of Lubeck*. Sir John, after some demur, consented to speak to him; and, when he had listened to a long expostulation, informed the Spaniard that he had only himself to blame, and indeed spoke so firmly and convincingly, that the foreigner at last not only admitted his fault, but submitted to a penalty which Sir John imposed upon him. The flag of the period was still the simple red cross of St. George upon a white ground—the flag which, hoisted on board ship at the main, is now used only as an ensign of rank by a British admiral; but Elizabethan ships-of-war, although they always carried the St. George's flag, and generally carried it as well at the fore-topgallant-mast as at the mizzen-top-mast truck, usually wore other flags also. A contemporary print of the *Ark Royal*, flagship in 1558 of Charles, Lord Howard of Effingham, shows her with four masts—the fore-mast and after-mast having the St. George's flag at their trucks, the mainmast having the Royal Standard (as flag of the Lord High Admiral), and the third mast having a flag bearing a Tudor Rose. In addition, from one end of the fore-topgallant-yard flies a pennant-shaped streamer, bearing a lion rampant (perhaps for Fitzalan); from the foretop flies a similarly-shaped streamer bearing an anchor; from the maintop flies a third pennant of a striped pattern; and from the spritsail-yard flies another striped pennant, surcharged with a St. George's Cross. At the waist appears a large banner, having on it the Lord High Admiral's private arms.

The Mismanagement of the Navy.

It is impossible to read the despatches and official correspondence of the critical Armada year, without being strongly impressed by the fact that the miscarriage of the Spanish attempt was due much more to the devotion of the English officers and seamen afloat than to the forethought of the authorities on shore. The Navy certainly did its duty gloriously; but the administration disgraced itself. And when one speaks of the administration of 1588, one means the Queen. Her personal penuriousness kept the seamen unpaid, the ships ill-victualled, and the magazines inadequately supplied. On the last day of July Hawkins wrote, from the *Victory* at sea, to Walsingham

pointing out the absolute necessity of constant and copious supplies of ammunition, and continuing:—"The men have been long unpaid and need relief. I pray your Lordship that the money which should have gone to Plymouth may now be sent to Dover. August is now coming in, and this coast will spend ground tackle, cordage, canvas, and provisions, all of which should be sent to Dover in good plenty." On the day after Easter Day, Howard wrote to Burleigh:—"I thought good to remind your Lordship how necessary it is to have a better provision of victuals than for one month. . . . I think since ever there were ships in this realm it was never heard of that but a month's victuals was prepared for to victual withal." On May 18th, the Admiral wrote again from Plymouth:—"We have here now but eighteen days' victuals, and there is none to be gotten in all this country; and what that is, to go without to sea, your Lordship may judge." But, he continued, "though we starve, we will push forward to meet the enemy." On June 19th, he wrote a touching appeal to Walsingham. "For the love of God," he said, "do not let her Majesty care for charges;" and, a few days later, he besought the Queen personally, "for the love of Jesus Christ," to rouse herself to the miserable case of the gallant men who were guarding her honour and her throne." When provisions and ammunition did reach the fleet, they appeared only in grudging quantities.* Indeed, the recollection of Elizabeth's treatment of her splendid defenders at that time is enough to make a cool man's blood boil. In that very year she had been considering a proposal whereby she could further diminish the cost to herself of her unpaid and underfed seamen, by giving them fish, oil, and peas instead of meat. She could, she found, in that way cut down the victualling expenses by one half. In that very year, too, she had taunted Sir Francis Drake with having used too much

* Prof. Laughton (Introduction to Vol. I. of the State Papers relating to the defeat of the Armada, p. lvii., Navy Records Society, 1894) says:—"The Queen had nothing to do with the victualling of the fleet. No doubt she insisted on rigid economy in everything; no doubt Burghley and Walsyngham knew that their accounts would be subjected to a strict, probably an unsympathetic scrutiny," etc. But this does not altogether clear Elizabeth. The charge against her is not that she was careful in legitimate matters, but that, knowing of the misery of her seamen, she did not interfere to correct it. A personal sovereign of Elizabeth's type cannot, like a modern constitutional monarch, find shelter behind her ministers. Moreover, she must have known that her previous economies risked the physical efficiency of the men.

powder and shot in "mere practice." If her devoted officers had waited for her to succour them, and if they had not purchased out of their private resources supplies for their ships, the fleet could not, as a whole at least, have proceeded to sea at all. The destitution occasioned by the miserly remissness of her Majesty must have increased, if indeed it did not originate, the pestilence which raged in the squadron; and, to the shame of Elizabeth, it must be recorded that neither the sick nor the wounded—the sufferers in her cause—ever received any proper care or treatment at her charges. Elizabeth's theatrical appearance at Tilbury is a picture that has always filled a large space in the popular eye. The spectacle of the great Queen endeavouring, at a moment of national crisis, to hoard up a few pounds at the sacrifice of the health of 20,000 seamen is a less inspiring one. Yet it should not be forgotten so long as the other is remembered. Greater than even her father, she was meaner than even her grandfather.

England's Naval Power.

Yet, although Elizabeth was, on this and other occasions, parsimonious to the verge of peril, she possessed a large fund of statesmanlike forethought, and she enjoyed the advantage of being served throughout her long reign by men of unrivalled enterprise and ability. To her forethought the country owes the establishment of Chatham Dockyard, which she planted on the site of the present Gunwharf, and the fortification of the Medway. To her servants the country owes a most remarkable extension, especially in the Western world, of English maritime influence. Much of that influence was secured by what, judged by modern canons, must be regarded as illegitimate and piratical methods, and was won at the expense of Spain—a power with which, until the eve of the sailing of the Armada, England was nominally at peace. But the informal wars which, almost continuously, were waged by English adventurers against the Spanish settlements in the new hemisphere, were waged with equal pertinacity by the Spaniards, who thus had little to complain of. The results were all to the disadvantage of Spain, and all to the advantage of England. Apart from the solid gains which we won, and from the prestige acquired, we profited in various minor ways by every one of these expeditions. England had always had a considerable section of the population inclined to a life of adventure and peril. Before Elizabeth's

day the tendencies of that section had, in peace time, generally found scope in the business of smuggling or piracy in home waters; and, in consequence, the narrow seas had been unsafe, and the revenues had suffered greatly. The opening, in South and Central America and in the Pacific, of new fields for restless energy, not only drew away from home numbers of turbulent spirits, but also, in course of time, returned them, infused with discipline, hardened by peril, tempered by experience, and transformed into splendid seamen. Moreover, those of them who came back after having done well for themselves—and they were many—reverted no more to their old irregular courses. They may have been, and sometimes certainly were, unscrupulous fellows enough while at sea in the presence of a Spaniard. On their own Devonshire slopes they were honest and public-spirited citizens. And, if the lust for adventure still inspired them, it was open to them, during the latter part of the reign, to enter the Queen's service, and to fight Spaniards to their heart's content under the sanction of regularly recognised hostilities.

The Chartered Pirates.

The piracies of the Elizabethan sea heroes must, almost from the commencement of the reign, have been excessively galling to Spain, and it is astonishing that so proud and warlike a country should have delayed until 1588 before undertaking official reprisals of any serious kind. During his second voyage, begun in 1564, John Hawkins (p. 490) more than once, at the sword's point, obliged the Spaniards of what is now Venezuela to trade with him upon his own terms, his usual method being to march a hundred of his ruffians, fully armed, into any town that sought to levy duties of which he did not approve. During his third voyage, begun in 1567, he pursued the same violent policy. At Rio de la Hacha, where trade was prohibited, he landed two hundred men, took the town by storm, and had his own way. As San Juan de Ulloa, where he actually took credit to himself for not falling upon and seizing a Spanish treasure fleet, he occupied and fortified an island in Spanish territory, and behaved in so arbitrary a fashion as to induce the Spaniards to attack him. It is possible that the Spaniards behaved badly, and it is certain that they were guilty of many cruelties, but the provocation given was most flagrant. A

Hawkins.

little later, when Queen Elizabeth, on the pretence that it was contraband of war, had seized a large sum of money destined for the Duke of Alva, and when it was generally believed that, in revenge, Alva and the King of Spain were endeavouring to stir up rebellion in England, English cruisers put to sea in such numbers to prey upon Spanish commerce, and did so much damage, that the Queen, fearing to be involved in open war, issued a proclamation in which she forbade, not so much the depredations as the purchase by her subjects of the proceeds of them.

Drake.

Drake's operations against Spain were dictated in the first instance by personal considerations only. He had lost his fortune in Hawkins' third voyage, and, aware of the impossibility, and perhaps of the unreasonableness, of any peaceable arrangement whereby he might obtain compensation, he made the work of securing satisfaction by force the business of his life for many years. He did not take the trouble to pretend that his proceedings were legal. On the other hand, he discreetly kept his projects secret. But he was no worse than many other adventurers of his day. The first craft he met with after his arrival in American waters in 1572 was the pirate bark of James Rawse, who had just captured a Spanish caravel and sloop, and who was glad to join his forces with those of the expedition. It is impossible to defend Drake's descent on Nombre de Dios, his innumerable captures on land and sea, and his various high-handed proceedings; but it is equally impossible not to admire his undaunted boldness and never-failing resource.

Oxenham, Barker.

While Drake was preparing for a new expedition, John Oxenham borrowed the great freebooter's mantle, and in 1575, lying near the Pearl Islands, took two rich plate ships. He might have got away with his prizes, but his own indiscretions led to his capture, and it is not surprising that he and all those of his associates who were taken, except some boys, were condemned as pirates. Andrew Barker was another of those who, while Drake was making ready for more serious operations, harried Spain. He captured several valuable prizes, and would have returned with his gains had not his followers mutinied and allowed him to fall into Spanish hands.

William Cox succeeded to the command, and took the town of Truxillo; but he lost one of his ships in bad weather, and when he returned to England he was not much better off than he had been at his departure. Drake, in his voyage of circumnavigation, was more tyrannical than he had ever been before. He seized Portuguese as well as Spanish vessels, he sacked towns, he robbed private individuals, he despoiled churches. He made himself master of more gold and silver than sufficed to ballast his ship, and when he reached England he was favoured by the Queen. But there were not a few personages of consequence who, regarding Drake as little better than a common cut-throat, declined to countenance him; and even the Queen was constrained to make some kind of reparation when Drake's enormities were formally brought to her notice by the Spanish Ambassador, although in her public language she defended him.

Cox.

Edward Fenton, in 1582–83, headed another expedition which was essentially piratical. Drake's expedition of 1585–86 was less so, for although he went mainly for his own profit, and although there was then as yet no war between England and Spain, the great seaman carried with him regular letters of reprisals. George, Duke of Cumberland, and Raleigh, in 1586, were, however, as frank pirates at heart as had ever set sail from English harbours, and of all these worthies it may be said that with them personal gain and love of excitement provided stronger promptings than patriotism or a sense of right. But, while we condemn their motives and many of their actions, we must not forget that they trained a splendid set of fighting seamen for the country, and established traditions of steadfast courage which have ever since inspired the British Navy. Nor were their exploits often tainted with deliberate cruelty.

Fenton.

The naval resources of the kingdom became the subject of two very interesting inquiries in the years immediately preceding the attempt of the Armada. One, made in 1583, was, in effect, a census of the seafaring population of England, exclusive of Wales. It showed that there were then 1,484 masters, 11,515 mariners, 2,299 fishermen, and 957 Thames wherrymen, or in all 16,255 persons who were, in some sort, accustomed to the sea. The other, made in 1587–88, was a computation

England's Naval Resources.

compiled by means of certificates, of the number of ships in England. It showed that there were 182 vessels of 100 tons and upwards, 180 of 80 but less than 100 tons, and 1,392 of less than 80 tons, or in all 1,755. London, with 129, headed the list of towns; Norfolk, with 241, the list of counties. The Cinque Ports, it is curious to note, were returned as possessing 220 vessels, not one of which, however, was of 80 tons or upwards.

The charges of the navy at the most critical period of its history were, even if full allowance be made for the then relatively high purchasing power of money, astonishingly small. In the year of the Armada the total payments were only £90,837 2s. 2¼d. In the eleven years ending with 1588 they were no more than £248,996 14s. 9d., and at the end of the period the treasurer had a balance in hand of above £4,600.

Proposed Naval Reforms.

The classification of men-of-war into "rates," or their special adaptation for particular duties, was not attempted in Elizabeth's reign; but in the closing years of the sixteenth century Sir Robert Dudley, commonly called Duke of Northumberland, put forward a plan for the reconstruction of the fleet upon principles the general outlines of which were long after his death adopted. He proposed the building of vessels of seven types, of which the first was the galleon, of two complete gun-decks, carrying 80 guns; the second, the rambargo, with one complete covered gun-deck, carrying 58 guns; the third, the galizabra, carrying 48 guns; the fourth, the frigate, carrying 36 guns; the fifth, the galley, to be propelled by sweeps, and to carry only a few heavy guns; the sixth, the galerata; and the seventh, the passa-volante. His first four classes became, roughly speaking, the first four classes of the ships of the Royal Navy of the Commonwealth period. Sir Robert caused to be built for himself a small specimen of his proposed galleon, and made a satisfactory voyage to India in her in 1594; but he did not carry his projected reforms further, and most of his ideas remained in a purely theoretical condition at the day of his death. They no doubt inspired some of the great constructors who followed him, and although it may be admitted that many of his plans were mistaken, it must be confessed that many were also singularly in advance of his age, and that all were well reasoned out and solidly based upon such rude general principles of marine architecture as

were then known. To him certainly belongs the merit of having first publicly advocated the building of war-ships suited for the various services for which experience had already begun to show that war-ships were required. He first grasped the ideas which to-day give us vessels with the characteristic qualities of battleships, cruisers, gun-vessels, and despatch-vessels.

C. RAYMOND BEAZLEY. Exploration.

English exploration in the age of Elizabeth is one of the main lines of national progress. It is no longer a by-path of our history; it is more and more plainly connected with that essential development of English life on which our empire depended and depends. For it was in the latter half of the sixteenth century that the New World in East and West, by sea and land, was fully revealed to our countrymen, as it had been disclosed to Italians and Portuguese, to Frenchmen and Spaniards in the earlier years of the same century; the excitement, the hopes and fears, the boundless expectations, the astonishing achievements which had gone to inspire the heroic age of the countrymen of Columbus and Cortez, of Da Gama and Magellan, were all realised over again by the islanders of the Protestant North. Under Elizabeth our forefathers entered into the fulness of the national Renaissance, for which they had been slowly educated since the Tudor dynasty began.

To follow Hakluyt's own divisions as we have followed them before, we have to look at the expansion of England in three directions—to S. and S.E., to N. and N.E., and to West. On all these sides the advance made under Elizabeth is so great as to dwarf all earlier efforts, though it is on the American or Western side that the development is most striking, novel, and suggestive. Yet we cannot forget that results hardly less tremendous were involved in the Eastern ventures of the reign: if between 1578 and 1585 the first steps were taken towards the settlement of those English colonies which at last became the United States of America, the charter of 1600 granted to the East India Company is no less clearly the beginning of the English empire in India.

The first English voyages round the globe, the discovery

of the North Cape of Europe, of the White Sea, and of the empire of Muscovy or of Russia, the opening of Persia, Tartary, and Malabar to English trade, the immense extension of English commerce and enterprise on the Mediterranean and African coasts, in the Newfoundland fisheries, and in the Guinea slave-market, the partial successes and daring achievements in the Arctic seas, in the enterprises of a N.E. or N.W. passage to Cathay, are of only less importance than the beginnings of the American colonies and the Indian dominion; and taken together with these, they explain perhaps better than anything else, except our literature, why the age of Elizabeth means more to England than any other epoch. The victory over Spain and the Catholic Reaction, the glory of the Armada year, is itself the outcome of the nation's development upon and over sea, as much as of a healthy, a supremely active life at home. It was at this time that England first saw what it could do—first laid hold of an imperial ambition.

Africa.

I. First, of voyages to S. and S.E., we have that of Robert Baker to Guinea in October, 1562, described in form of a rhyming chronicle,* which tells the story of the negro robberies of the white men's merchandise, and the desperate fight that ensued in some unnamed river of the Guinea coast. In his second voyage (Nov., 1563) Baker reached La Mina, and heard the natives talk Portuguese; but he was separated from his ships, and passed some time in miserable captivity among the negroes.†

Public interest in the profitable gold and blacks of Guinea was not allowed to slacken. On July 11, 1564, there was a

* Which shows the novelty even then of this coast and its negroes to English sailors :—

"And rowing long, at last
A river we espy . . .
And, entering in, we see
A number of black souls,
Whose likeness seemèd men to be,
But all as black as coals.
Their captain came to me
As naked as my nail,
Not having wit or honesty
To cover once his tail."

† Already, in 1561, the veteran seaman John Lok had been ordered by the "Worshipful Company of Merchant Adventurers to Guinea" to "procure to understand what rivers and harbours there be there, and to make a plan thereof, and to learn what commodities belong to the places touched at." But this voyage was put off.

meeting at Sir William Gerard's home "for the setting-forth of a voyage" to that coast, "the success of which," we are told, "in part appeareth by certain relations extracted out of the second voyage of Sir John Hawkins" in 1564. The "success," however, was not without a check, one of the vessels being blown up, and the flagship, the *Minion*, beaten off with loss by the "Portugals."

Passing by the voyages of Fenner and others,* our next memorial, the letter of Thomas Stevens from Goa (1579), mentions English pirates cruising off Madeira and the Canaries, who attacked the Portuguese ship in which Stevens was sailing; describes the great rolling seas off the Cape of Tempests or Good Hope,—"the point so famous and feared of all men"; and distinguishes two routes to India from Natal, —one by the channel of Mozambique "where ships refresh themselves," the other outside Madagascar (St. Lawrence Island) when the season is too advanced for the other course.

Turkey and the Mediterranean.

In the Mediterranean the Turkey trade was steadily pressed forward under Elizabeth, as under Henry VIII. In June, 1580, the Charter of Liberties to English merchants in Turkey is formally issued; a year later, certain disorders committed by English freebooters in the Levant are to be redressed; at the same time occurs the voyage of Lawrence Aldersey to Jerusalem and Tripolis.

Further evidence for this Mediterranean enterprise is given us by Hakluyt's "Notes on the Trade of Algiers and Alexandria." In Algiers, we are told, the surest lodging for a Christian is in a Jew's house: "for if he have any hurt, the Jew shall make it good; so he taketh great care of the Christian."

The East.

Once more, the journeys of Mr. John Newberie tell a story of English intercourse, not only with the Levant, but with lands as far distant as

* The worthy enterprise of John Fox, in delivering 266 Christians out of the captivity of the Turks at Alexandria (Jan. 3, 1577), can only be mentioned here, though it is, as a story, one of the most stirring and brilliant of this time; and in the same way the interesting "Embassage of Edmund Hogan to Morocco" (1577) is only to be noticed for the evidence it gives of Spanish intrigues to prevent any such new openings of English enterprise, and of previous English broils with the Barbary Corsairs and the Emperor of Morocco.

Bengal. Newberie started from Falmouth March 11th, 1583, and reached Syria in May. His chief purpose was trade, and for this he found Aleppo an excellent centre, as he sends word by George Gill, purser of the *Tiger*. But at Babylon he becomes more despondent as to commercial prospects. Beyond Babylon his route lay through Bassora to Ormuz, where he writes "from out of prison, for that, as they say, I brought letters from Don Antonio," the Pretender to the Portuguese Crown, just annexed by Philip II. Sent on to Goa to answer, before the Viceroy, the various charges brought against him, Newberie met Thomas Stevens, now a professed Jesuit, who procured his release through the mediation of the Archbishop, and enabled him to start a flourishing trade in Malabar. With Newberie was also discharged the famous Ralph Fitch, who tells us the whole story of their persecution at the hands of Italian rivals; "for the Italians," he adds, "are our great enemies for this trade."

Newberie and Fitch.

Fitch reappears later: for the present we must return to the Levant voyages, recorded under the year 1586, of Evesham and Aldersey, whose accounts of the wonders of Egypt are especially interesting. Alexandria Evesham found "an old thing decayed and ruinated, all vaulted underneath for provision of fresh water, which cometh once a year out of one of the four rivers of Paradise, called Nilus." The Court of Pharaoh's Castle reminds him of Gresham's New Exchange in London; the Pyramids are one of the *nine* wonders of the world, "built, as it were, like a pointed diamond, four square, and the height of them, to our judgment, doth surmount twice the height of Paul's steeple"; in Cairo itself is "great store of merchandise out of the East India." Aldersey, after giving us his measurements for Pharaoh's needle, and "Pompey his pillar," discourses pleasantly of "Joseph's House, a sumptuous thing yet standing, having a place to walk in of fifty-six mighty pillars, all gilt with gold," and describes with the accuracy of the witness-box the breadth and height of the Pyramids: "Every of the squares as long as a man may shoot a roving arrow, and *as high as a church*."

But the English merchants had to fight for their position in the Mediterranean; as the pirate warfare of Spanish and English mariners deepened into the open and legitimate

struggle of two nations, the passage through the Straits of Gibraltar became more and more hazardous.*

Eldred's Journey to Babylon.

The voyage of John Eldred to Babylon and Bassora brings us back to the story of John Newberie and Ralph Fitch. Starting from London in their company upon "Shrove Monday," he separated from them in Syria, May 1st, 1583, and traded some time in Tripolis, a city "about the bigness of Bristol," where all Englishmen had to "abide in one house with their Consul, as is the use of all other Christians of several nations." From Tripolis, Eldred went (May 21st, 1583) with a caravan over Lebanon to Aleppo, and then embarked (May 31st) upon the Euphrates at Birrah. After a month's journey he "took land" again, and crossed a short desert to New Babylon. The voyage had to be made in flat-bottomed boats for the shallowness of the water.

In the desert, our traveller saw the ruins of the ancient city, with the "Old Tower of Babel, almost as high as the stonework of Paul's steeple in London." New Babylon on the Tigris he found to be a "place of great traffic and a thoroughfare from the East Indies to Aleppo, furnished with victuals from Mosul, called Nineveh in old time, which are brought on rafts borne upon bladders of goats' skins." In 1584 Eldred was in Bassora, "built of sun-dried bricks and having a good port, where come monthly ships from Ormuz, with Indian merchandise, which ships are sewn together with cord made of the bark of date-trees, having no kind of iron-work, save only their anchors."

Here Eldred heard of Newberie's arrest, and after finishing his business in Bassora, struggled up the river for forty-four days to Babylon, and thence made his way back to Aleppo overland, with a caravan of four thousand camels, noticing on his way the "Springs of Tar" or bitumen, near the Euphrates." †

* Thus, in 1586 we have a "true report of a worthy fight lasting five hours, performed in the voyage from Turkey by five ships of London against eleven galleys and two frigates of Spain, at Pantaleria, within the Straits." The English vessels, though "intending only a merchant's voyage," are now armed to the teeth; and their success in the Nearer was now leading to more frequent ventures in the Further East.

† After this, his first return from the Persian Gulf, Eldred not only made two more journeys to Babylon on business, but, "as one desirous to see the

Ralph Fitch and the East Indies.

He returned to England early in the Armada year, but Ralph Fitch, who had left London with him in 1583, did not reappear at home till 1591. Accompanying Newberie from Aleppo to Ormuz, and from Ormuz to Goa, the follower went far beyond his leader, and was one of the first Englishmen who visited for trade or any other object, Bengal, Malacca, and "all the coast of the East India." His account, of no small value in connection with the great exploring movement of his countrymen at this time, and containing some of the earliest English first-hand notices of the further East, is not without some of the spice of quick and humorous observation.*

Reaching Ormuz, "down the Gulf of Persia in a ship made of boards sewed together with thread of the husk of cocoas," Fitch tells us about the great Portuguese emporium—"the dryest island in the world, with nothing growing in it but only salt."

On the way to Goa he notices Diu, near the modern Bombay, then "the strongest town that the Portugals have in these parts," and passing by Chaul, still on the same journey, he relates in a half-bewildered manner the strange customs of the natives: the veneration of the cow, the horror of killing any living thing, the practice of suttee, the burning of the dead.

At Goa, "the most principal city that the Portugals have in India," Fitch found things, in spite of the kind offices of Father Stephens, so dangerous that he "determined presently to seek liberty rather than for ever to be a slave," and so, on the 5th April, 1585, plunged into the heart of the Deccan, and made his way by Golconda, "where be the Diamonds of the Old Water," to Agra and the Court of the Great Mogul at Futtehpur. Both these cities he thought "much greater than

country," travelled to Antioch, Joppa, Jerusalem, and the Sea of Sodom, "of which places, because others have published large discourses, I surcease to write."

* Against the Arab thieves of the Euphrates he tells us, "A gun is good, for they do fear it much." He heartily despised the Brahmins of India, "a kind of crafty people worse than the Jews," and their images, "some like beasts, some like men, and some like the Devil"; still more the Fakirs—"prating and dissembling hypocrites" to whom India was much given. One such he saw "sitting upon a horse in the market-place," who "made as though he slept;" the people "took him for a great man, but sure he was a lazy lubber."

London"; they inflamed his desire to see more; and while Newberie started for Lahore, "determining thence to go for Persia," he gladly obeyed his superior's order to visit Bengal and Pegu, and sailed down the Jumna and the Ganges to the mouth of the Hoogly. Merchants from China and Tartary, Fitch tells us, were to be seen in numbers down in the bay of Bengal, the latter "apparelled with woollen clothes and hats, white hosen and boots of Muscovy or Tartaria."

In Pegu we hear of the lake dwellings, the palanquins, the houses built on piles, the boat-huts, and the white elephants of the natives and their king. Travelling inland, Fitch met another concourse of Chinese merchants; but though now so near, he did not go on to the Celestial empire. Turning south to Malacca, he saw there the famous fort built by Albuquerque in 1512–13, and noticed with some surprise the immense energy and vast expenditure of the Portuguese in maintaining their East Indian trade and empire.

On March 29th, 1588, Fitch turned back from Malacca, his furthest point, and slowly made his way first to Pegu and Bengal, then to Ceylon, where he seems to have seen the Portuguese fort at Colombo, and to Malabar, where he tells us "how pepper groweth," and how the Nairs, or fighting caste of Calicut, "have always wars with the Portugals." Thence he retraced his steps to Ormuz, the Euphrates, and Aleppo, making a special journey to visit Mosul, "near to Nineveh, all ruinated and destroyed," and arriving again in England on April 29th, 1591, after eight years of absence.

The last of these voyages to S. and S.E.* which need be noticed here is that of Raymond and Lancaster round the Cape of Good Hope in 1591; and we may add a mention of the naval expeditions to the West

Round the Cape.

* A very large number are recorded in Hakluyt's collection which contain points of interest, but which must be omitted here, as there is only space to notice representative journeys. But *cf.* the narratives of William Huddie's voyage in 1583, of James Welsh's in 1590, of Raynolds' and Daniel's in 1591, of Burrough's in the same year, and of the Earl of Cumberland's fleet in 1594—all to the west coast of Africa. Also the Levantine journeys of Henry Austell in 1586, of Richard Wrag in 1595, with their glowing descriptions of Stamboul, "to be preferred before all the cities of Europe," the patents of 1588 for the Guinea trade, of 1585 for the Barbary commerce, and the embassage of Henry Roberts, with the consequent edicts and documents, to Morocco in the same year, 1585–6.

African coast, and to the "South quarters of the world outside the Straits," especially in 1589, 1590, and 1591, which gave England the heroic episode of the last fight of Richard Grenville in the *Revenge*.

Ralph Fitch had won a name chiefly by overland travel; Raymond and Lancaster's venture was entirely maritime. Leaving Plymouth on April 10th, 1591, they made, like Cabral in 1500, a wide sweep westward to Brazil to avoid the currents of the African coast, doubled the Cape with some difficulty after a meeting with "certain black savages, very brutish, who would not stay," and were then nearly wrecked upon the shoals of Madagascar, but just saved by a bright moonlight night.

After touching at some of the Moorish settlements along the East African coast, the English crew found rest and shelter at Zanzibar, in spite of the treachery, the "false and spiteful dealing of the Portugals," and thence "set forward for the East India," steering for Cape Comorin, "the headland of the Main of Malabar," meaning there to lie off and on for ships from Ceylon, Bengal, Malacca, China, and Japan, "which ships are of exceeding wealth." In May, 1592, they reached the Cape; by June 1 they were close upon Sumatra, when winter came upon them "with much contagious weather," and they had to lie up till the end of August. Then sailing on to Malacca, they took a rich galleon, laden, among other things, with "counterfeit stones from Venice, to deceive the rude Indians withal."

Returning to Ceylon, Lancaster was forced by his men to take advantage of a current "that would set them off to the southward from all known land," and to make a straight course for England by the Cape of Good Hope. Prolonged calms near the line hindered a quick return. To escape the misery of these delays, Lancaster bent away westward to the American "Indies," and it was not till May 24th, 1594, that he landed at Rye in Sussex, bringing the news "from some Portugals which he took" that the Coast of China had been lately discovered to the latitude of 59°, and the sea found still open to the northward, giving great hope of the North-East and North-West passages.

Of the other South Atlantic or West African ventures of this time the voyage of 1591, on which Richard Grenville

fought his last fight, and of which Walter Raleigh wrote the story, is the only one that ought, or is likely, to be remembered. The rest are of purely commercial and military interest; but the stand made by the *Revenge* off the Azores, so well known from Tennyson's famous ballad, is one of the most splendid feats of English seamanship and daring in this age of Elizabeth. The "Revenge."

The great and permanent result of these triumphs of English enterprise and daring, by the overland as well as by the maritime routes to the East and South-East, was the Association for trading with India formed in London in 1599, which, as the East India Company,* received its charter from Queen Elizabeth in 1600, and which was certainly inspired to a great extent by the corresponding successes of the Dutch in these last years of the century. Whenever and wherever *they* had broken up the exclusive hold of Spaniards and Portuguese in the East Indies, Englishmen might hope to follow; and the heroic age of English exploration, the age of Elizabeth, did not pass before the first step had been taken towards that last and greatest of European dominions in the Indian seas which was foreshadowed in the visits of Newberie and Ralph Fitch, of Drake and Cavendish, of Lancaster and the unlucky adventurers of 1596.

II. Of voyages to the North and North-East, we have already seen the new beginning made under Edward VI. (p. 217), and we have traced the development of this line of enterprise throughout the Tudor period to the end of Mary's reign (p. 227). At that point we had to leave Anthony Jenkinson on his journey "from Moscow to Boghar in Bactria," upon the banks

* £30,000 were subscribed for the Indian Company in 1599, only four years after the Dutch, in 1595, had sent their first fleet to the Spice Islands. The Queen's hesitation about granting a charter for land and trade, claimed in monopoly by Spain (and Portugal), was removed by a list of countries in the East, to which the Spaniards could not pretend: were they to bar Englishmen "from the use of the vast, wide, and infinitely open Ocean Sea?" The E.I.C. Charter of 1600 was for fifteen years. It empowered the Company to trade to all places in India unclaimed by other Christian nations, to buy land for factories, to make bye-laws, etc. Its first fleet was sent out in 1601, under Sir James Lancaster, the commander of the only successful ship of 1591. He made a treaty with the King of Achim in Sumatra, gained permission to build a factory in the island, and, in alliance with the Dutch, attacked the Portuguese.

of the Oxus. Now, while all unknown to him a new reign had begun in England, he was steadily pushing on towards the Tartar capital, which he reached December 23rd, 1558, after a brush with roving brigands.

Jenkinson's Travels in Central Asia.

In Boghar, we are told, a third part of the city was for merchants and markets, "for there is yearly great resort of merchants, which travel in caravans from the countries adjoining, as India, Persia, Balkh, and Russia." In time past, adds Jenkinson, there was trade from Cathay to Boghar, but it was now trifling. Anthony then describes the great commercial routes crossing Bactria, and the commodities brought from and returned to China, India, Persia, and Russia. He was chagrined to find that all the gold, jewels, and spices of the South passed "to the ocean sea," and that "the veins where all such things are gotten" were "in the subjection of the Portugals." The Chinese trade also was not active, as the caravans from Cathay were then in danger from border warfare; "and when the way thither is clear, it is nine months' journey."

So, giving up all idea of reaching the furthest East, Jenkinson now tried to go South into Persia; but he was compelled to turn back, and, in the company of envoys from the Bactrian Soldans to Czar Ivan the Terrible, at last reached "Mare Caspium" (April 23rd, 1559), after more than six weeks' travel over the Steppes. Here he found the bark he came in, but neither anchor, cable, nor sail. "Nevertheless we brought hemp with us and spun a cable ourselves, with the rest of our tackling, and made us a sail of cloth of cotton. And while devising to make an anchor of wood of a cart-wheel" there came a boat from Astrachan with two anchors, which supplied the want, and so, "with the said six ambassadors and twenty-five Russes, which had been slaves a long time in Tartaria," the daring Englishmen set out across the stormy inland sea.*

* He lost his anchor in a tempest, but found it again with the help of the compass, "whereat the Tartars much marvelled." "And note (adds the narrative) that during our navigation, we set up the Red Cross of St. George in our flags for honour of the Christians, which I suppose was never seen in the Caspian Sea before." Jenkinson describes the Caspian very carefully, notes that it is "without any issue to other seas," for "it avoideth not itself,

Reaching Astrachan on the 28th May, after fifteen days' sail, the travellers remained there till June 10th "preparing boats to go up against the stream of Volga." Jenkinson's attempt to do a little quiet trading at this time was a failure, and he seems to have despaired of the overland commerce with Persia altogether. In any case, he thought, the Caspian route was hopeless. On June 10th, 1559, under an escort from the Czar, he started for Moscow with the company committed to his charge, and on September 4th he came before Ivan IV. Jenkinson's venerable beard, which a later story declared he could wind three times round himself, was a special delight to the "English" emperor; he was said to stroke it like a holy relic. However this may be, the Czar's personal favour to the London trader was a mainstay of the alliance of the two courts and countries.

Returning to England to report his discoveries to the company he served—the Merchant Adventurers trading into Russia—Jenkinson started for the East once again on May 14th, 1561, furnished with letters from the Queen to Ivan IV., and to the Shah, or Grand Sophie, of Persia; as well as with a "remembrance" from the Company suggesting certain explorations, as of the North-East passage, with a view to further trading profits.

Reaching Moscow on August 20th, and receiving a cordial welcome from the Czar, he set out for Persia on April 27th, 1562, "by the great river of Volga," crossed the Caspian, reached Derbend on August 4th, and soon after entered Hyrcania and Persia, passing the mythical Alexander's "Wall of Gog-Magog" on the way; thence he was sent on to the Court of the Shah at Casben, by way of Tauris (Tabriz). Endangered here by the rivalry of Turks and Venetians, Jenkinson was not well received—called an unbeliever,* and put in danger of his life. But the King of Hyrcania befriended him steadily, and on March 20th, 1563, he was dismissed unharmed and made his way back

except it be underground," and gives a list of the bordering nations and of the great rivers that fall into it, and especially the Volga, whose source "near Novgorod," and its length, "above 2,000 English miles," are related with wonder.

* "They esteeming all infidels which do not believe in their false filthy prophets, Mahomet and Murtezalli." (Ali, the special hero of the Shiah sect.)

to the Caspian, seizing various chances that occurred on the way of opening up an English commerce in Georgia. He had traded for Ivan as well as for his own company, and on his return to Moscow (August 20th, 1563), he easily gained from the Czar the reward of a new "privilege" for his fellow-countrymen in Russia, as extensive as the charter he had won from the King of Hyrcania. On September 28th, 1564, he was again in London, and he did not return to Russia till the summer of 1566—perhaps his "great and extreme dangers, of loss of ship, goods, and life," may have been in part the cause of this.

Jenkinson is the greatest, perhaps, of all our overland travellers in the Elizabethan age; at any rate he is the unquestioned leader of English enterprise in Russia and the North-East; and the subsequent narratives of his servants and successors in Muscovite, Persian, and "Tartarian" trade and exploration may for the most part be taken as reflections of his own account, only adding unimportant details. No one else goes so far into Central Asia; no one else enjoys an equal experience, or shows the same commanding energy of thought and action, on this side.*

Jenkinson's third journey (1566–67) is mainly of diplomatic interest, its main achievement is the new mercantile privilege gained from Ivan on September 22nd, 1567, and it is to be connected with the Act of 1566 from the English side "for the discovering of new trades," which expressly mentions Media, Persia, Armenia, Hyrcania, and the Caspian Sea among the parts to which the Muscovy Company's monopoly extended.

In the same way Thomas Randolph's Embassage to the Czar in 1568 is mainly concerned with the new trading

* Thus the voyage into Persia of Thomas Alcock, who was killed there, and of Richard Cheinie, who carried on his work (1563-64), is only a version of some of the incidents that followed upon Jenkinson's last journey: it throws fresh light on one point—the "vicious living" of some of the English merchants, which had made them to be "counted worse than the Russes." The travels and letters of Arthur Edwards and Richard Johnson are evidence of a slow but steady extension of English commerce in Persia, and of the growth of English knowledge upon the Asiatic trade routes, but they are nothing more; and the curious account by Sowtham and Sparke of their journey on the waterways in the interior of European Russia from Colmozro to Novgorod, performed with a pilot "none of the perfectest" (1566), cannot be more than barely noticed here.

"privilege," the most interesting clause of which declares that "when the Company send to the discovery of Cathaya (China), they shall be licensed to repair unto this country of Russia, and have such conducts and guides, vessels, men, and victuals as they shall stand in need of." That such an attempt was in preparation at this time we see from a commission given by Randolph in 1568, appointing three persons—James Bassardine, James Woodcock, and Richard Brown—"in a voyage of discovery to be made by them for searching of the sea," from the River Petchora to the Eastwards, but no serious attempt was made to realise this till 1580.

The next group of documents in Hakluyt's collection refers to Arthur Edwards' fourth voyage into Persia, and is full of revelations of difficulties as to the practical working of the Persian* venture—the Shah's letters being often regarded "but as a straw in the wind."

In 1571–72 we come back to Anthony Jenkinson,—restoring the good understanding that had been for a time broken between England and Russia, obtaining the release of English merchants who had offended the Czar, and procuring the renewal of the old mercantile privileges. The evil doings of the Company's agents, he declares, had been the sole cause of the rupture.

This is the last time that Anthony appears prominently in the history of English exploration, and Hakluyt here appends a list of the countries visited by him since his first important journey began on October 2nd, 1546, before the death of Henry VIII. All the western lands of Europe he had "thoroughly travelled"; he had been through the Levant seas and in all the chief islands of the same, in many parts of Greece, through the length and breadth of Syria, in North Africa, in Norway, Lapland, and the Arctic Ocean—while no Western of his day had anything like the same personal knowledge of Russia, Northern Persia, and Turkestan.

* At the same time George Turberville, Randolph's secretary, writes home a bitter complaint of the Russian winter and people:—

> "Wild Irish are as civil as the Russes in their kind,
> Hard choice which is the best of both—each bloody, rude, and blind."

"Live still at home," is his rather commonplace advice to his friends, "and covet not these barbarous coasts to see."

The North-East Passage.

With 1580 we come to a resumption of the serious attempts to find the North-East passage—this time by Arthur Pet and Charles Jackman, who, starting on May 30th, and keeping pretty steadily in latitude 70°, passed between Nova Zembla and the mainland, coasted the island of Vaigats, and were then stopped: "Winds we had at will, but ice and fog against our wills, if it had pleased the Lord God otherwise." The results of the voyage were painfully disappointing. Both as to the North-East and North-West passages the confidence and hopes of students at home were in exactly inverse proportion to the practical chances of success, and even to the amount of discovery realised in these directions.

With the death of Ivan the Terrible (1584) the English traders and travellers in Russia fell under a cloud; Dutch interlopers began to theaten the English monopoly, and in spite of embassies like those of Sir Jerome Bowes, of Jerome Horsey, of Giles Fletcher, the Muscovite empire now ceased for many years to be an English high-road to the further East and a main field of English commerce.*

Voyages Westward.

III. Lastly, of voyages to the West, to America, we have a great and representative collection in Hakluyt himself, with a number of other notices, and it is, of course, in this direction that we must look for the most distinctive and prominent achievements of English exploration and the first movements towards English colonisation in the age of Elizabeth.

Hawkins.

First of all, we have to deal with a series of trading ventures, such as those of John Hawkins, in 1562 and 1564, and of Roger Bodenham in 1564. Hawkins' "third unfortunate voyage" of 1567-68, was the story of an attempt like that of 1564 to force the Spanish settlements in the West Indies to trade with him for negro slaves, in face of King Philip's prohibition. The cheerful insolence of the English captain "forcing to friendly commerce" was not now so completely successful as on the earlier voyages. But, though foiled in his slave-dealing, he ranged the coast of Florida, noticed and described, all too vividly,

* The writings of Horsey and Fletcher bring us to the last of the notices remaining of Elizabethan exploration in this quarter (*cf.* Fletcher's "Russ Commonwealth").

the "sobbing" crocodiles of the Rio de la Hacha, formed the conclusion that "labourers, not loiterers," were necessary to inhabit new countries, and observed the "mystery of tobacco, and the virtue thereof." Not only was gold and silver plentiful in Florida, he reported, but unicorns flourished there most remarkably. To settle and colonise this country would be an "attempt requisite for a prince of power"; the increase from cattle alone, without counting the precious metals, would raise profit sufficient.

Two famous expeditions to Central America, immediately following, are related in Hakluyt, both from English and Spanish accounts—the first voyage of Francis Drake to Nombre de Dios in 1572, and the last voyage of John Oxenham "over the isthmus of Darien" in 1575.

Drake.

Drake, the Spaniards declared, was repulsed in his attack, but gained great plunder by his seizure of the treasure mules on their way from Panama; and by his burning of the "House of Crosses" he was said to have destroyed 200,000 "ducats in merchandise."*

Oxenham.

Oxenham, who met the fate which would infallibly have befallen Drake if he had ever been taken, fell into Spanish hands in trying "that which never any man before enterprised." Hiding his ship under boughs and earth in a little cove on the Atlantic side of the isthmus, he went some twelve leagues inland till he came to the watershed of a river that flowed into the Pacific. Then, making a pinnace 45 feet long, to carry himself and his men, he sailed down into that "Spanish" or "Southern" Sea which few, if any, Englishmen had ever entered before. Here he reaped a rich harvest of plunder, but trying to return by the way he had come, he was pursued, and his route up stream discovered by the "feathers of hens" that came floating down from his boat. Taken prisoner with most of his men, he suffered as a pirate at Lima, while King Philip, in alarm at the new daring of the English buccaneers, "built galleys to keep the seas."

With all this practical energy westwards there was

* This buccaneering of course going on while peace nominally subsisted between the Courts of London and Madrid, Drake and most of the other English adventurers at this time were looked on by the Spaniards simply as pirates.

naturally a good deal of speculation. Before Martin Frobisher resumed Cabot's attempts in the direction of a North-West passage, the feasibility of this scheme had been eagerly discussed, and a national interest was now aroused which had been quite wanting in earlier time, when the project had been broached under the first Tudors by learned men.

Thus we have Humphrey Gilbert's Discourse to prove a passage by the North-West to Cathay and the East Indies, which undertakes to show, first by authority and second by experience, that this passage existed, and that the opening of it had been already made. In this the writer revives arguments alleged for the North-East passage by Anthony Jenkinson, answering them one by one in favour of the less tried, and so more hopeful, Western experiment.*

Frobisher.

From this theorising we come to the most important of those achievements which suggested and supported it. The three voyages of Martin Frobisher, in 1576, 1577, and 1578, "for the search of the North-West passage," though they came far short of their ultimate object, resulted in a great extension of English and European knowledge along the coasts of Labrador, Greenland, and the American side of the Arctic Basin. He first started from Greenwich on June 13th, 1576. Sighting land on the 28th July, "supposed to be Labrador, with great store of ice about," the admiral named it Meta Incognita, and coasted it steadily till the 26th August; on the 19th he had sight of the country people—the Esquimaux of the far North of America and of Greenland. Trusting the natives too much, five of the Englishmen were made prisoners, and all efforts to regain them were futile. Equally disappointing was the "hope of the passage."

The next year (May 31st, 1577) Frobisher started again

* Richard Wilkes also wrote to the same effect. At any rate, (1) the N.E. and N.W. schemes then looked as feasible as the S.E. and S.W. had looked 100 years before. With the successes of Diaz and Da Gama, Columbus and Magellan, in the near past, the plans of Willoughby, of Cabot, of Gilbert, or of Jenkinson did not seem at all impossible; and (2) though the schemes themselves failed, they led to a great deal of incidental gain—*e.g.* the trade with Russia, the Newfoundland Fisheries, and the English discoveries in the N.E. and N.W. Even the American Colonies as first founded were not without reference to the N.W. attempts. Virginia would be a good half-way house, some thought, for Labrador and Frobisher's Straits.

with a larger ship, "for the further discovering of the way to Cathay." On July 4th he sighted the coast, near the landfall of the previous year, mountainous and forbidding, within strong barriers of ice and snow; passing through the strait named after himself, and searching anxiously for traces of gold, he took possession of the country (20th July, 1577) and loaded the ship with stones and earth supposed to contain precious ore. For he and his men expected "a much more benefit out of the bowels of the Septentrional parallels" (or Arctic circle) than had ever been dreamt of. The natives proved quite hopeless, and on the 23rd August, as the "maze" of ice ahead seemed impenetrable, Frobisher turned back for England with the cargo which it was hoped would reward the adventure, but which was only, as Hakluyt sorrowfully admits, to add another to the proofs "that all is not gold that glisteneth."

The third voyage was a more sustained and serious, but not a more successful, attempt. Frobisher had first sailed in 1576 with two tiny barks of twenty-five and twenty tons apiece; now, in 1578, in the new hope of enormous profits from the golden ore of Meta Incognita, a fleet of fifteen sail was prepared. The queen herself bore a share of the expense, the sons of many of the English gentry embarked as volunteers, and 100 men were specially picked to form the colony, with three ships; the other twelve were to take in loads of the ore and to come back at once. The first English vision of a private El Dorado for the nation's peculiar benefit placed it to the north of Labrador.

On June 20th, 1578, Frobisher sighted the high and craggy land of Friesland, covered with snow and "foggy mists," and after great difficulty in entering "his own straits," came at last to the "wished port" in the Countess of Warwick's* Sound. Fogs and icebergs had been very dangerous, however; and the weather continued so rough, and the "distemperature of the country so plainly declared," that in spite of the discovery of a new sound, running into Frobisher's Straits, the North-West passage again proved insoluble. The supposed gold of the islands (to the north of the straits now called Hudson's), turned to bitter disappointment on the final return home; and the belief in this Esquimaux treasure-house grew dim—a significant silence is preserved by all accounts

* Dudley, Earl of Warwick, had been one of his most liberal patrons.

about the use made of the cargo, which at starting had almost superseded the passage itself in men's minds, as the main object of the voyage: finally, the natives returned to their old treacherous tricks. The plan of the colony was given up,* and Frobisher, after building a little house in the Countess of Warwick's island, and "garnishing it with trifles, to allure the people to some familiarity, against other years," sailed for England on August 3rd, still firmly persuaded that his scheme was feasible.

In the early part of the voyage the admiral had hoped that the passage lay through the present Hudson's Straits; and if he had followed his inclinations, he would, at any rate, have discovered the greatest of American bays, the largest inland sea of the New World. But to his duty as a trader he sacrificed his hopes as a discoverer.

We have not space here to do more than notice the sensible suggestions for colonisation given by Richard Hakluyt to gentlemen who went with Frobisher, or the memorials of the Brazil trade which form a transition from the extreme North to the extreme South, from Frobisher's failure in the North-West passage, to Drake's success in the South-West. The greatest and most famous of Elizabethan voyages is certainly that of the *Pelican* or *Golden Hind* "into the South Sea, and thence about the whole globe of the earth," between 1577 and 1580. It was the first English encircling of the world; it brought home more treasure than any other single venture of the time; it was supposed to have explored the Northern Pacific and the Californian coast beyond the furthest of any other nation. The moral effect of Drake's achievement upon the nation was in its way only second to that of the victory over the Most Famous and Invincible Armada of 1588.

Drake.

Leaving Plymouth on December 13th, 1577, with five ships and one hundred and sixty-four gentlemen and sailors the admiral, "giving out his pretended voyage for Alexandria," first hung about the African coast till he reached Cape Verde, then struck across the ocean—fifty-four days without sight of land—to Brazil, and sighted the Western Continent on

* Yet Captain Fenton and other gentlemen had formed a plan of staying behind and wintering. They were prevented by the sinking of the bark *Dionyse*, and the absence of the *Thomas of Ipswich*, with their stores.

April 5th, 1578. Disappointed of finding a good harbour "within the river of Plate," but noticing on the coast foot-marks of "people of great stature," the squadron coasted southward to Port St. Julian, in Patagonia, where was still standing a grim relic of earlier explorers, "the gibbet which we supposed to be where Magellan did execution upon his rebellious company." By a curious fatality, Drake did not leave this gloomy spot without adding another tragedy: Thomas Doughty was here executed for "actions tending to mutiny," and the crews were sworn afresh to obedience and unity, every one receiving the Sacrament upon it.

On August 20th, 1578, the fleet entered Magellan's Straits, and after slowly threading their way through its cold and desolate windings, passed through on September 6th into the Great South Sea, that wonderful Pacific which had first revealed the difference between America and India, the true bulk of the earth, and the proportion and distribution of the Ocean tracts by the side of the terra firma of the world.

Driven south of the straits by storms into latitude 55°,* Drake soon recovered himself, and, running rapidly north, found to his surprise that Peru, instead of lying "as the general maps have described" north-west (of the Straits of Magellan) trended to east north-east, "whereby it appeareth that this part hath not been truly reported by twelve degrees at the least."

Off the coast of Chili, the English took up an Indian in a canoe, who, taking them for Spaniards, told them of the whereabouts of one of the great Peruvian treasure-ships, and piloted them to Valparaiso, where they seized a huge booty. Thence Drake coasted on to Lima, which he found (February 13th, 1579) "most secure, having never been assaulted by enemies," and in rifling the ships in the port [Callao], the buccaneer chief got what was worth more than the plunder of his twelve captive merchantmen—news of the *Cacafuego*, the great treasure-galleon, which had just started for Paita. The English hurried after her—only to find that she had gone on to Panama, "whom our general still pursued," and about "three of the clock" John Drake sighted her from the masthead. By six the

* Where they saw an eclipse of the moon (September 15th), about which the English noticed, sarcastically, that it "did neither impair our state nor her clearing amend us a whit."

Pelican was up with her. Three guns brought down her mizen, and she struck with all her riches—"thirteen chests full of Royals of plate, eighty pounds weight of gold, and twenty-six tons of silver." The cargo was carefully transferred, and then the English admiral "cast off this *Cacafuego*," and putting into shore, lightened several passing ships of a good deal of their inconvenient wealth; then, thinking "Her Majesty would rest contented with this service," he began to think of return—not by Magellan's Straits for fear both of Spanish reprisals and stormy weather, but by the Moluccas and the Cape of Good Hope.

But to get to the Moluccas, Drake conceived that he must take a "Spanish course" by the far North, across the Pacific. Accordingly, from the 16th of April to the 3rd of June he kept on till he was "in 42° towards the Arctic Pole," and his men, "grieviously pinched with the cold, complained of the extremity thereof." Finding the land "covered with snow" he dropped down into 38°, "in which height it pleased God to send us into a fair and good bay." The people of the country showed themselves, and being "courteously entreated" by the English, who "bestowed on them necessary things to cover their nakedness, supposed them to be gods, and would not be persuaded to the contrary"—a curious case of invincible ignorance. They went so far in this that their king resigned his crown and kingdom into Drake's hands—"which thing he thought not meet to reject," and so received "to the use of Her Majesty." The country—the California of our maps—he called New Albion, and at his departure set up a monument of his visit and overlordship, being convinced the Spaniards had never been there, "neither did ever discover by many degrees to the Southwards."

From this point the *Pelican* struck across the open sea till the 13th October, 1579—"which day we fell with certain islands," in 8° North—and so threading her way among the islands of the West Pacific, reached the Moluccas on November 14th. Here, like the Californian King, the Prince of Ternate offered, or was supposed to offer, himself and his kingdom to the service of the Queen of England. The Indian Chief came in person to see Drake, with a barbaric pomp that greatly impressed the strangers, and the visit was returned by English envoys sent by the Admiral, who were emboldened to

hope for great things in the future for national enterprise with such allies in the East Indies—"enemies to the Portugals, sovereigns over seventy islands, and chief of all the Moluccas."

Between Ternate and Java, while steering his way among the dangerous shoals and reefs of the Archipelago, Drake ran upon a rock (January 9th, 1580), but got off again after eight hours of terrible suspense, the wind changing from starboard to larboard, "as it were, in a moment, by the special grace of God." In Java the Greater he was well received, but learning that not far off there were "such great ships as ours," resolved to hasten forward to the Cape "of the Portugals," "of Tempests," or "of Good Hope," which was the first land sighted after leaving "India." Even here Drake would not land, but only noted "the report most false that it is the most dangerous Cape of the World," though in truth it was "a most stately thing, the fairest we saw in the whole circumference of the earth."

On the 3rd November he was again in England: the first English, the third European, captain who had

> "—— circled ocean's plain profound,
> And girdled earth in one continuous round."

The *Pelican* became, like Nelson's *Victory* in after days, a sacred and historic vessel, preserved at Deptford for the wondering admiration of sightseers. Drake himself was knighted, and became the undisputed leader of English navigators, explorers, and dare-devils in the deepening struggle with Spain and the Catholic Reaction. For by his voyage he had claimed an absolutely world-wide expansion for his people. He had asserted, as well as one man and one fleet could assert, the empire of the seas for England, or at least her right to struggle for such empire—the right of great and unique success. He had thrown down the gauge to Magellan's Southerners. For his island, for the Teutonic North, for the men who were struggling against Spain and against Rome, he had been the first

> "—— to open up those wastes of tide
> No generation openèd before."

The spirit Drake had roused, and the impulse he had given, is to be seen in the next voyage, reported by Hakluyt

of Edward Fenton and Luke Ward in 1582, and in a number of subsequent attempts to reach the Indies, not by the Northern, but by the Southern routes, as well as in the new schemes for definite colonisation in the New World.

First Signs of English Colonisation.

The first signs of this last development may be traced back to 1578, to the patent granted for six years to Sir Humphrey Gilbert for the "planting of our people in America"; but no serious result followed upon these till 1583, when Gilbert himself sailed with five ships and 260 men (June 11th).*

Here we enter upon the second period of English intercourse with the New World—the age of settlement and conquest, following that of discovering voyages and pirate raids. The disastrous result of this first venture ought not to blind us to its significance as the first step towards the possession of North America by the English race.

On the 3rd August the fleet anchored off the coast of Newfoundland, and after taking possession for Queen Elizabeth (August 5th, 1583), sailed forward to Cape Breton "on a fair evening, yet not without token of storm."

On the 29th the tempest broke on them with dense fog; the flagship ran aground, and perished: and so frightful was the outlook that even Gilbert was prepared to have compassion on his men and to turn back for England.

The wind was "large" for home, but high and rough, so that Gilbert's frigate, the *Squirrel*, of ten tons, was almost swallowed up; but he would not change into his "great ship," the *Golden Hind*, of 40 tons—this would be to forsake his little company, with whom he had passed through so many perils. And so came the end, with its most pathetic picture; of all the Elizabethan sagas, there is none with the peculiar charm of Gilbert's death.

North of the Azores he met with terrible seas, breaking short and high, "pyramid wise; men which all their life had occupied the sea never saw more outrageous" billows; and on the 9th September, in the afternoon, the frigate was "near

* Every requisite was on board, even "music in good variety, for solace of our people, and allurement of the savages, not omitting the least toys, as Morris-dancers, hobby-horses, and May-like conceits to delight the savage people: and to that end we were indifferently furnished of haberdashery wares to barter with those simple people."

cast away; yet at that time recovered." Joyful signals were exchanged, and the "General, sitting abaft with a book in his hand, cried out to us in the *Hind*: 'We are as near Heaven by sea as by land'; but the same Monday night, about twelve, the frigate being ahead of us in the *Golden Hind*, suddenly her lights were out, and in that moment she was swallowed up." The "great ship" of forty tons reached Plymouth alone on September 22nd, 1583.*

Virginia.

But the ill-fated expedition had been the outcome of a really national interest in "Western planting." The loss of Gilbert hardly checked this at all; Raleigh stepped into his place; and the voyage of 1584 to Virginia, made at his "charge and direction," led to the first English exploration and possession of this part. Next year Sir Richard Grenville, at the head of a fleet largely equipped by Raleigh, founded the first English settlement in the New World—the "new fort in Virginia"—in the "goodliest soil under the cope of Heaven," of which Ralph Lane was put in charge.

And although this was not a permanent colony, yet its importance is scarcely less than that of the successful venture of 1608. The later years of Elizabeth saw the exploring and colonising movement setting more and more steadily westward, till the decisive victory of 1588 secured England's foothold upon the high seas as it had never been secured before.

With the failure of Spain to crush her Northern enemies —English and Hollanders—practically ended the attempts of the same Power to shut up the new-discovered seas and lands from all other nations. Thomas Cavendish, by successfully repeating Drake's achievement, proved that a "venture around the whole globe of the earth" was open to any resolute English captain, even without the exceptional genius and fortune of Sir Francis, and the enterprises of the Virginia colony, of the "trial of Guiana," and of the North-West passage showed how universal was the interest taken in the new

* *Cf.* "The relation of Richard Clarke of Weymouth"; Sir George Knight's true report of the late discoveries from Edward Hayes' account; Thomas Aldworth's letter to Walsingham (March 27th, 1583) concerning a western voyage; Carlile's brief and summary discourse of April, 1583, upon the intended voyage in the same direction, and the letters patent granted to Walter Raleigh similar to those before given to Gilbert.

movements, even by the highest classes of English society. The ambition of the buccaneers and sea-dogs, of the merchants and factors of earlier times, had now reached upward to the most stationary and least impulsive part of the nation.

Out of the immense number of accounts which illustrate the expansion of England in these last years of the sixteenth century, we have only space to notice some four or five, which best represent the main lines of the national Outgoing.

Cavendish.

1. And the first of these is the voyage of Cavendish, the only successful follower of Drake, up to 1603, on the path of his greatest exploit. Thomas Candish, as Hakluyt calls him, started on July 21st, 1586, upon his "admirable and prosperous journey into the South Sea and thence round about the whole earth," and returned on September 9th, 1588, just after the "overthrowing of the Spanish fleet"; but this, the second English circumnavigation, was, for the most part, a less eventful repetition of the first. One of its chief novelties was its discovery of King Philip's City, which had been built to command the Straits of Magellan, but the life of which, by Cavendish's account, had been one ghastly story of misery and mutiny during its two years of struggle against the soil and climate of Patagonia.

Coasting along Chili the admiral captured some prisoners; "one Fleming and three Spaniards" he "tortured for news" especially of the treasure galleons; then, guided by their directions, after storming and sacking Paita, he found and took his prize, the *Great St. Anne*, off Cape Lucar, in California, "between 7 and 8 in the morning." She yielded 122,000 pezos of gold, and with this Cavendish set off for home "about 3 in the afternoon" (November 19th, 1587) by the way that Drake had first opened to his countrymen—the "course of the Portugals," through the East Indies and round Africa.

On January 3rd, 1588, he "had sight" of the Ladrones, and passing on to the Philippines, the new-comers noticed with wonder the meeting of trade at Manilla from South America on one side and from China on the other, the elaborate tattooing of the chiefs, and the pleasantly familiar intercourse of the natives with the devil, "whom they wholly worship."

After hanging the Spanish pilot for his intended treachery,

and making some of the islanders pay him tribute, Cavendish "sent commendations" to the Spaniards of Manilla, "willing them to provide good store of gold, for he meant to visit them again within four years," and so left them to their own reflections. Passing between the Greater and Lesser Java (Java and Sumatra) on March 1st, the English heard from some Portuguese they met on this coast that Philip of Spain, in spite of his conquest of the home kingdom, might not be recognised by the successors of Albuquerque in the East Indies,—another opening for our interference and possible empire. Like Drake, Cavendish made a straight course from Java for the South of Africa, and from March 16th to May 16th was traversing that "mighty and vast sea"; on the 8th June he landed in the "marvellous fair and pleasant valleys" of St. Helena, so long used for the "refreshing of the Portugals," on their way to India; on September 3rd, soon after passing the Azores, he heard from a Flemish hulk the news of the Armada, "to the singular comfort of us all," and on the 9th of the same month he was safe again in Plymouth Harbour.

Davis' Arctic Voyages.

2. As Cavendish's voyage represents the mid-ocean enterprise of our explorers, traders, and warriors in the latter years of Elizabeth, so Davis' attempts to follow Frobisher in 1585, 1586, and 1587 represent the continued struggle for the North-West passage, which English enterprise was not yet prepared to give up; in connection with which the earliest American colonies were planned and supported, at least from some quarters; and which no failures seemed able to stop.*

On the 7th June, 1585, he started from Dartmouth with the *Sunshine* and *Moonshine*, of fifty and thirty-five tons respectively; on the 19th July he heard the rolling of the drift ice through the fog; on the 20th he sighted land—"the most deformed, rocky, and mountainous that ever we saw." The first glimpse of it "showed as it had been in form of a sugar-loaf," the snow mountains appearing over the fog and clouds, "like a white list in the sky"; the shore was beset with ice, "making such irksome noise that it seemed to be the

* John Davis, like Frobisher, was the agent of an important syndicate—consisting of "certain honourable personages, gentlemen of the court and country, with divers merchants of *London* and the *West Country*."

true pattern of desolation, and so our captain named it 'the Land of Desolation.'"

Coasting along this uninviting country, they had drift-wood floating by every day, in the "black and thick water, like to a filthy standing pool," and soon Davis came in sight of the people of the country, who were no friendlier to him than they had been to Frobisher, though his men for some time trafficked with them busily enough.

On the 31st July the ships started again to follow up the North-West track, and on the 6th August discovered land "altogether void of the pester of ice," and anchored in a "fair road, under a brave mount, with a sound compassing the mount and a foreland," which they named Cape Walsingham, Exeter Sound, Mount Raleigh, and Totnes Road. On the 11th August Davis came to the most southerly cape of the island, and in spite of foggy weather his hopes of the passage rose high; but on the 24th the signs of approaching storms warned him to turn back, and he repassed the Land of Desolation on the 10th September, reappearing in Dartmouth on the 30th.

With perverse ingenuity, comfort was extracted out of the most adverse facts; the "way by the North-West" was declared to be practically opened, and Davis set out again in 1586 (May 7th) with four ships, in the greatest show of confidence that could be. Sighting land on June 15th and 29th, where he had touched the year before, he struggled through enormous masses of broken ice, and in face of "very stickle and strong currents," till, on July 24th, finding all the shrouds, ropes, and sails frozen, and the seas, which last year were navigable, "now encompassed with ice and gross fog," all "hope was banished of proceeding." The Esquimaux, too, were now found to be enchanters—"though to small purpose, thanks be to God"—and what was even worse, "marvellous thievish."*

Altering, therefore, his course to East-South-East, the

* At first Davis declared this only "ministered occasion of laughter" to him, and he ordered his men to treat them gently, "supposing it to be hard in so short time to make them know their evils"; but afterwards he got as angry as his men. From the first, he let the Esquimaux know plainly that he "did contemn their sorcery," which, at any rate, would clear their minds. The worst thing about them was their way of "practising their devilish nature" with slings and stones.

admiral was able by the 2nd of August to harbour his ships in 66°; and thence to keep a North-West course for 50 leagues, with great hope of a "through passage" by Davis Straits. Till the 28th he continued coasting from 67° to 57°, and noticed that the country was well stocked with birds and woodland; on the 4th of September, "among great store of isles," he had a "perfect hope of the passage, finding a mighty sea passing between two lands west."

But the wind stood obstinately against further progress; the brutish people of the country attacked the sailors: and on the 6th of September "it pleased God further to increase our sorrows with a mighty storm." It was only His "as mighty mercy" that "gave succour," said the English captain, and with tempests blowing right in his teeth, he had nothing left but to shape his course for England (September 11th).

"I have now brought the passage," he reported at home with a proud and pathetic hoping against hope, "to that certainty as that I am sure it must be in one of four places, or not at all." *

Davis' third and last attempt was in 1587. On the 19th of May he sailed from Dartmouth with "two boats and a clincher," which proved at sea like a "cart drawn with oxen." Sighting land, of the "Desolation" type, at five in the morning of June 14th, the English soon fell in with the natives, who were not long in getting to their old tricks, stripping the iron off the pinnace, hurling stones, and afterwards trying to barter, offering "birds for bracelets," and showing pieces of "Unicorn's horn" (narwhal?). On the 30th of June, Davis was off the "land called London coast," in 72°, with the sea all open to the West and North. Naming the furthest point of this Hope Sanderson,† the admiral pressed on till he fell in with a "mighty bank of ice to the westward" (on the 2nd of July), and found the wind would not let him "double out to the North."

On the 19th he "had sight" of his old friend Mount

* On the outward course (second voyage) Davis had divided his fleet, sending two ships to seek the passage between Greenland and Iceland up to the latitude of 80° if possible. These vessels performed the first part of their task, and then fell to desperate fighting with the Esquimaux.

† After one of the chief merchant patrons of these ventures.

Raleigh, and by the same evening was "athwart of the straits discovered the first year"; but with stormy weather and "frisking gales" at the North-West preventing any further progress, he was at last forced to turn back (on August 15th), naming the fresh-discovered places after his friends.* He noticed "forcible currents westward" in 61°, and still believed as implicitly as ever that only accident prevented his full success †—"having been in 73°, and finding the sea all open, and 40 leagues between land and land."

3. By the side of an Arctic failure we have also to remember two others in tropical or semi-tropical quarters of the world. The Virginia Colony and the "trial of Guiana" did not come to any permanent success under Elizabeth. And yet those ventures did as much for England at this time as any single enterprise. For then, as at other times—in exploration, as elsewhere—it was largely by means of the failures that the great successes were won, that the men of England were trained to hold their own in every country and on every sea.

The Virginia Colony.

We have seen (p. 499) how in 1585 a settlement had been made in Virginia, and Ralph Lane and Hariot left in charge. Here they soon made one of the most fruitful of English discoveries—that in this continent, of unknown greatness, there was a natural wealth such that "no realm in Christendom were comparable to it," and that "what commodities soever Spain, France, Italy, or the East parts do yield to us, these parts do abound with them all." The settlement was at first in Roanoke Island; but a site of such goodness was found on the mainland, that Lane‡ thought of moving there. Unhappily, the savages began to plot against the colonists, who thus soon came "to their dogs' porridge, that they had bespoken for themselves if that befel them which did." Lane had to

* Earl of Cumberland's Isles, Lumley's Inlet, Warwick's Foreland, Chidlie's Cape, Darcie's Island.

† Thus he found hope in Lumley's Inlet, etc., in the "great ruts of the water, whirling and overfalling, as it were the fall of some great water through a bridge"—proving, he thought, an open sea beyond.

‡ Lane and Hariot were the two keenest observers of the colony. Hariot combined something of the missionary, the botanist, and the farmer, with the foresight and breadth of a statesman's view.

outmatch the savages at their own treacherous weapons—"our watchword was Christ our Victory"—and the relief was universal when (June 1st, 1586) twenty-three ships under Francis Drake were sighted off the coast. He was on his way back from the West Indies, and came to supply the colony's necessities. But a storm prevented his revictualling ship from entering the harbour; and the colonists, who had at first only thought of sending home the weak and unfit, became eager to escape in a body.* Drake agreed to take them home, but in embarking "most of all they had, with their cards, books, and writings," was cast overboard. And so ended the first English Colony in Virginia.†

But immediately after their "departing out of this paradise of the world," a third expedition, equipped by Raleigh, arrived there, spent some time in vainly searching for Lane's settlers, and returned; and a fortnight later Grenville himself, as Governor of Virginia, brought the long-promised succour. Finding the colony gone, yet unwilling to lose the possession of the country, he left behind fifteen men in Roanoke, with provisions for two years, "to retain it."

The next step was also due to Raleigh. In 1587 he sent over John White and one hundred and fifty men, giving them a charter of incorporation as founders of the City of Raleigh in Virginia. Starting on the 8th of May, they were off the American coast on the 22nd of July; and White landed at Roanoke, only to find Lane's old fort razed, the houses overgrown with melons, and deer within them feeding "on these melons." Hostilities soon began with the savages, who murdered an Englishman they found straying, and beat his head in pieces with their wooden swords; but on the 18th of August, a child (Virginia Dare) was born in the settlement, who was named "Virginia, as being the first Christian born there." Soon after this, White, the Governor, after "extreme entreating," consented to return home for fresh supplies—some ninety men, seventeen women, and eleven children "remaining to inhabit."

The last of these Virginian expeditions under Elizabeth is

* One argument was: "Seeing our hope for supply with Sir Richard Grenville, so undoubtedly promised before Easter, not yet come, neither likely."

† The failure of the colony is imputed by Hariot to the "nice bringing-up" of some colonists.

that of 1590. Starting on the 20th March of that year, on his fifth American voyage, White landed in Roanoke on the 16th August, near where the colony had been left in 1587. But finding nothing—"no man nor sign"—he searched high and low till he came upon the message, carved on tree trunks, that the settlers had moved away. White wished to stay and help the fugitives, if he could; but the rest of the company, terrified by the weather and the dangers of the coast, forced him to make for England.

The remarkable voyage of Bartholomew Gosnold in 1602, which resulted in the discovery of Cape Cod and Buzzard's Bay (Gosnold's Hope), and the erection of a fort and store-house on Cuttyhunk, was the venture of a man of genius, who revived the old direct route of the Cabots to the nearest shores of North America, and who unsuccessfully tried to found our first New England colony. It was not of a piece with the Virginia enterprises; it was, and was meant to be, an improvement upon them.

4. The "discovery of Guiana" was the last, the most mistaken, and the most fruitless of the great enterprises of Elizabethan explorers and colonisers. Raleigh, like many others, had been deeply bitten with the delusive hope of finding that richer Peru called Guiana, El Dorado, or the empire of Manoa, which adventurers of the time declared they had discovered, and which one tradition traced back to the invasion of the Pizarros, and a migration of the Inca's subjects from the Pacific towards the Atlantic coasts of South America. Captain Whiddon had been sent out in 1594 to reconnoitre the approach to Guiana; and on Thursday, the 6th of February, 1595, Raleigh himself started with the main force, supposed "to be bound only for the relief" of the English in Virginia. Arrived off Trinidad, he first explored the entrances to the great waterways which he hoped would lead him into the heart of Manoa; but the pilots proved incompetent,—"if God had not sent us another help, we might have wandered a whole year in that labyrinth of rivers,"—and after pushing 400 miles into the country, describing all he saw in a "Chart of Discovery," and marvelling at the tropical beauty of the riverside—the grass, the trees, the birds, the deer, all so splendid that it was a "good passing of the time" only to see them—Raleigh's 'heart grew cold to behold the great

rage and increase of the Orinoco," and he gave over the enterprise for the time, but without losing his hope. Like the adventurers in the North-West, failure only seemed to make his certainty of ultimate success more sure. He was convinced that the "sun covered not more riches in any part of the earth." He had yet to learn that his pleasant prospects were not bound to be anywhere out of fairyland because "every child affirms the same." El Dorado remained inaccessible in spite of the repeated attempts of Raleigh and Keymis in 1596–97: because, like the ideal city of philosophers, it was not to be found anywhere on earth.

These four illustrations of English exploring and colonising energy at the end of the sixteenth century must end this short account of Elizabethan enterprise: of the voyages* to Cape Breton and the St. Lawrence, to Brazil and the "River of Plate," to the West Indies, to Newfoundland, the Cape Verde Islands, and other outlying parts of the ocean that English seamen had now made their home; of the various attempts to reach the South Sea, or Pacific, which got no further than Magellan's Straits, or some point on the coast of South America; of disastrous failures, such as those of the Earl of Cumberland and of Cavendish on his last voyage, it

* *Cf.* (1) Of voyages to the St. Lawrence, etc.: John James' account in letter to Burleigh, Sept. 14th, 1591, of the discovery of the Isle of Ramea, from St. Malo; the voyages of M. Hill, of Redrife, to Cape Breton with the *Marigold* in 1593; of George Drake, of Apsham, to Ramea in 1593; of Rice Jones in the *Grace*, of Bristol, to the St. Lawrence in 1594; of Charles Leigh to Cape Breton and Ramea in 1597. (2) Of voyages to South America: James Lancaster's journey to Brazil 1594; Thomas Cavendish's last voyage, in 1591–93, to Magellan's Straits; the Earl of Cumberland's expedition in 1586, "intended for the South Sea, but performed but little further than the River of Plate": and the same earl's attempt in 1594, which stopped short at the Azores. (3) Of voyages to the West Indies: those of Sir Robert Duddeley in 1594–95; of Sir Amyas Preston in 1595; of Sir Anthony Sherley in 1596–97: and the last one of the great sea kings, Drake and Hawkins, in 1595. (4) Of other voyages: Those of Richard Rainolds and Thomas Daniel in 1591; of Sir John Burrough in 1592; and of the *Tobie* in 1593, which all stopped at or came to grief upon the west coast of Africa. Among these enterprises, Preston's "entered Jamaica" in 1595; Lancaster's, in 1594, was of purely military interest, but shows the aggressive Protestantism of English sailors in the bitterest manner; Duddeley's, in 1594, is remarkable for its ships' names—the *Bear*, the *Frisking*, and the *Earwig*, like the *Why Not I*, of Cumberland's fleet, in 1594; and the wreck of the *Tobie* near Cape Sprat in 1593, with the dying men singing their metrical psalms ("Help, Lord, for good and godly men"), reads like a chapter of Cromwellian Puritanism.

may be enough to say that they are simply passed by as being less representative of the main lines of national expansion at this time. Though interesting in themselves, they only add detail, for the most part, to the various sides of a movement which has already been sketched in outline; they are subordinate examples of the development of the spirit which is still better shown in those leading and typical achievements of a great epoch, which we have tried to follow; and they can all be read at length in Hakluyt, "the prose epic of the modern English nation, our unrivalled treasure of material for the history of geography, discovery, and colonisation, our best collection of the exploits of the heroes in whom the new era was revealed."*

T. WHITTAKER. Natural Science.

William Gilbert.

THE period here dealt with is signalised in science by the publication of Gilbert's famous treatise on the Magnet (1600). William Gilbert, of Colchester (1540–1603), was physician to Queen Elizabeth, and, even apart from his magnetic researches, was remarkable for his general scientific spirit. He was, for example, one of those who accepted the Copernican astronomy. Here he showed more insight than his younger contemporary, Bacon (1561–1626)—who, indeed, was not usually fortunate in his judgments on the ideas that were to become important in special science. Bacon, though he recognises the value of Gilbert's work, in one place speaks rather slightingly of his theories—classing him with those who would make a philosophy of Nature out of some particular group of natural facts. Thus Gilbert, according to Bacon, would interpret everything as a sort of magnetism.† Galileo was able to appreciate his merits as a thinker more accurately. Gilbert's general observations, as to the mode in which truth

* The spirit of the new enterprise was never better expressed than by Duddeley's confession: "Having ever since I could conceive of anything been delighted with the discoveries of navigation, I fostered in myself that disposition till I was of more years and better ability to undertake such a matter."

† Rousseau has a similar remark on an acquaintance who seems to have had geological ideas. His notion, Rousseau says, was that the whole earth was a sort of "coquillage."

of Nature is to be discovered, are very much in the spirit of Bacon's own.

His principal treatise—"On the Magnet and Magnetic Bodies and the Great Magnet the Earth"—is admitted by modern authorities to contain descriptions of all the fundamental phenomena of the science: so that it is classical to this day. He had collected and verified the observations of the ancients and those that had come to light since the introduction of the compass, and had added others. He also theorised scientifically on his observations. As the title of the book indicates, he saw that the earth itself may be regarded as a magnet; explaining, from its magnetic character, the phenomena of the needle. The starting-point for a theory of the kind had been given by the discovery of the polarity of the magnet. This was a modern discovery—the phenomenon of magnetic polarity having been unknown to the ancients; for although Lucretius had observed that the loadstone occasionally repels as well as attracts, he does not seem to have been aware of the constant conjunction of repulsion and attraction in which polarity consists. Gilbert, by his systematic study of magnetic phenomena, at once experimental and theoretical, definitely constituted a new science. In the theory of the science, the doctrine that the earth is a "great magnet" is still fundamental.

His Contributions to Knowledge.

THE advance in Music, which we have recorded, during the earlier years of the Tudor period, continued, without interruption, until mediæval counterpoint was superseded by the dawn of modern Art.

W. S. ROCKSTRO. Music.

In the *Sixth English School*, contemporary with the "golden age" of Italian art, contrapuntal music reached the highest level it was destined to attain north of the Channel.

The Climax of English Contrapuntal Music.

Its founder was Dr. Christopher Tye (d. 1563), and its brightest ornaments were Thomas Tallys, William Byrd, Robert Whyte, John Ball, Richard Farrant, Orlando Gibbons, and the great madrigalists, Thomas Morley, John Douland, Thomas Weelkes, John Wilbye, John Benet, John Ward,

Michael Este, John Hilton, Thomas Forde, William Cobbold, Thomas Bateson, George Kirbye, and a host of others, scarcely less famous, whose works seem as fresh to-day as they must have seemed to their hearers at the time they were written, and will certainly be remembered in years to come when many later productions are deservedly forgotten.

Dr. Christopher Tye.

Dr. Tye's compositions are characterised by a sober dignity well worthy of the period at which he wrote. He is best known, perhaps, by the beautiful music adopted to his quaint masterpiece, entitled, "*The Actes of the Apostles, translated into Englyshe Metre, with notes to eche Chapter, to synge, and also to play upon the Lute*" (London, 1553). The "Englyshe Metre" is, indeed, little better than doggerel; but the "notes" are beautiful enough to deserve an adaptation to poetry of the highest order.

Thomas Tallys.

Thomas Tallys (d. 1585), best known by his matchless *Responses* and *Litany*, united the most profound learning to a taste so cultivated and refined, that his compositions exceed in sweetness those of any of his colleagues, scarcely excepting even Richard Farrant or Orlando Gibbons, who, at least, are the only two who can be compared with him for graceful conception and delicacy of treatment. His anthems and hymns are equally perfect in technical form and beauty of expression, while his stupendous motet—*Spem in alium non habui*—for eight five-part choirs, in which he employs the immense body of forty independent voices with an amount of ingenuity truly marvellous, is a monument of artistic power and learning.

William Byrd.

William Byrd (d. 1623), Thomas Tallys's illustrious pupil, rivalled his master in contrapuntal skill, though not in graceful expression. His compositions are very numerous, and many of his anthems rank among the finest now sung in our cathedrals; but he is best known by his canon, *Non nobis, Domine*, an ingenious little masterpiece, capable of at least seven distinct solutions, and so wonderfully effective that it is still sung at all our great public banquets as a "grace after meat."

The few works by Richard Farrant (d. 1585) that have been preserved are so full of expressive beauty that they more than make us mourn over the spirit of destruction which,

during the course of the great rebellion, reduced our ecclesiastical libraries to ruin. Of the compositions of Orlando Gibbons (d. 1625), a greater number have been preserved. He was the last great Master of the School, if we except the famous madrigalists, a few of whom survived him; and with him the truest school of contrapuntal art died out in England, to be succeeded by the more modern style, which in the first half of the seventeenth century was rapidly gaining ground throughout the length and breadth of Europe.

Richard Farrant and Orlando Gibbons.

In giving a rapid survey of Elizabethan literature proper—which, it cannot be too often repeated, means the literature of the last twenty years of the Queen's reign—circumscription of space, if the writer keeps his eye and the reader is willing to have his eye kept on the object, is in some respects a gain. There is nothing quite like the period in English or in any other literary history; and the fuller the treatment of it is, the more likely are the chief points of real value and interest to be obscured rather than brought out, unless there is room for an exceedingly copious handling of particulars. At the end of the eighth decade of the sixteenth century—even if we include the remarkable work of which account has been given in the last chapter, and of which most appeared within some twenty or thirty months before and after the close of 1580—it would have been permissible for a by no means hasty critic to say that for the best part of two centuries England had been without a great literature, and that it was very doubtful when she would have one. *Now*, of course, we see what Tottel's "Miscellany," what the contributions of Sackville to the "Mirror for Magistrates," what the younger work of Spenser, and Sidney, and Watson, and Lyly, what even the respectable attempts of the other persons mentioned meant. But flower no more necessarily means fruit in this variety of vegetation than it does elsewhere—perhaps, indeed, it is an even less certain index.

G. SAINTSBURY. Elizabethan Literature.

So, at the end of our present period, while there certainly was none, it would be rather unreasonable to expect that there should have been any critic able to point out that for half a century to come the beauties of English literature would

take no new colour, would simply be a continuation of what the past twenty years had made known. Yet this was so; and to the present day we call, and probably as long as there are persons who take an exact view of the truths as distinguished from the appearances of literature, shall call by the name of "Elizabethan" Literature the work of men, some of whom died seventy years and more after the Queen had gone where Essex and where Mary Stuart had gone before her.

Before attempting to indicate in a few broad lines the general characteristics of this central period of our Letters—this brief time in which they gathered up all their early and pristine force, and developed the germs of all their later and sometimes a little overmature variety—it is imperative to sketch the chief actual figures and products of the time.

The Periods of Greatest Production.

One thing, in pursuance of what has already been said, is specially to be remarked. As we pointed out, that until the remarkable outburst of "vital signs" *circa* 1580, the first half of Elizabeth's reign was not extraordinarily prolific in positively good literature, so we shall find that even in the last half the later years are far more prolific than the earlier. From the eighties of the century we have indeed most of the remarkable work of what is generally called the University group of playwrights, the greatest of whom is Marlowe; we have the singular, and from the literary point of view hitherto rather undervalued, "Martin Marprelate" controversy (p. 439); and we have from the same hands as the plays certainly, and probably if not certainly from the same hands also as the pamphlets, a great body of miscellaneous literature—novels, social sketches, and what not—which, though for the most part hastily and formlessly written, is full of interest and promise, and may indeed be said to contain the germs of most of the matter—including even literary criticism—which fills the modern periodical. But, on the other hand, with the exception of some of Marlowe's work, it can hardly be said that a single one of the great books by which the Elizabethan age is known to posterity dates from this decade. On the contrary, the 'nineties simply swarm with masterpieces. No doubt some of these had been written earlier; but taking actual publication as the criterion, the date of 159– stands as that of the "Faerie Queene" and all Spenser's minor poems, except the "Calendar;" of the "Poems"

and the earlier certain plays of Shakespeare; of the thronging cluster of sonneteers, of whom Spenser and Shakespeare themselves are but the chief; of the earliest historical and other poems of Drayton and Daniel; of the satires of Hall, Lodge, and Marston; of the earliest plays of Jonson, Chapman, and Dekker; of Bacon's "Essays" and Hooker's "Ecclesiastical Polity." There may be another ten years in which it might be possible to point out an equal number of original masterpieces and masters in their respective kinds. But if there is, I confess that I at least do not know where to look for it, either in the history of English or of any other literature with which I am acquainted.

The most complete and accomplished production in either decade is, no doubt, that of Spenser, who died in 1599, who had given a taste of his quality twenty years earlier, as we have seen, but whose work in its perfect charm and flower was wholly published between 1590 and 1600. The "Shepherd's Calendar" is interesting; but it would be absurd to claim for it anything like the interest of the "Amoretti" and the "Hymns," to say nothing of the "Faerie Queene." Indeed, if the "Calendar" had remained uncompleted by any other work, it is possible that Spenser might never have attained, with good judges, even the position of a great poet cut off in his prime; he would certainly never have attained that of being a great poet in truth and in fact.

The "Faerie Queene"—and only half of that half of it which is all that we possess, except the splendid fragment of the "Cantos of Mutability"—was registered, or, in other words, announced for publication in December, 1589. It was published a few months later. It is tempting but impossible to imagine the effect that the reading of it must have produced. We cannot put ourselves in the position of the men of that day. No intellectual gymnastic will avail to shut out the conditions which are present to our view and were absent from theirs; and though a little less difficult in appearance, it is probably not less impossible in reality, to restore the conditions which were present to their minds and have been removed from ours. In English literature itself there was absolutely no writer of the first class in verse or prose except Chaucer; and it is by no means certain that Chaucer was known to or read by a large

The "Faerie Queene."

proportion of the then small "reading public." There was as yet no German vernacular literature of the first class at all; and the language was very little known. French had a magnificent past and a great present, but was in the same stage of struggle and tentative with English, or in one only a little more advanced. The greatest of the Spaniards were writing, or about to write only. Italian, in those examples which it has never surpassed or equalled, was indeed there, and was not neglected; but Italian itself was dominated by the notion which prevailed everywhere, and not least in England, and which might have been thought likely to interpose an insuperable, as it did in fact interpose a very serious, bar to the accomplishment of really great things in the vernacular. That notion was the idea of the unchallengeable, and therefore unchallenged, superiority of the classical tongues, and especially Latin. The Renaissance pretended to be and (though to a much smaller extent than is usually thought) really was a revolt against the Middle Ages. But, practically, it outdid the Middle Ages themselves in the superstitious reverence which it paid to "the tongues." The attitude of Dante towards Virgil and Statius—his inferiors as poets, the one by a great, the other by an almost immeasurable degree—was little, if at all, changed till quite the end of the seventeenth century; and the very philosophers who affected to dethrone Aristotle tried to do it by having recourse to Plato, to the Stoics, to Sextus Empiricus. Bacon himself notoriously held that the vulgar tongues were mere instruments-of-all-work, unsuited for the choicer feats of literature. Spenser himself, as we know, succumbed to the mania for forcing English into classical metres; and was sharply snubbed by his chief literary mentor for devoting himself to the "Faerie Queene" at all.

Nevertheless the "Faerie Queene" came, and in it the second, if not the first, great poem in English. It is not necessary to call or think Spenser a greater poet than Chaucer in order to give the "Faerie Queene," as a great poem, the precedence over the "Canterbury Tales." In some qualities, at least, of the poet, the master had the advantage over the scholar. But in others, the scholar's greatest production has by an even greater interval the precedence over any single work of the master's. It has more unity, a deeper-ingrained and more individual colour, a subtler if less primitive charm,

and, above all, it has the attraction of an individual and original and, to some fancies at any rate, an absolutely unequalled metrical medium. Long romances in verse—especially long romances in verse with an allegorical framework—were nothing new to the age. But how far did the novel qualities of this particular romance strike it?

The Contemporary Estimate.

To this question there is practically no answer. We know that Spenser founded—chiefly, but not wholly, in his own university—a vigorous school of imitators. We know that he had a great and increasing influence over the poets, his successors, from Milton downwards. But what his own age really thought of him, save for a few official and "officious" panegyrics which might be paralled in the case of second- and tenth-rate contemporaries, we do not know. It is true that in his time there existed some curious and careful critics of English literature. But they, too, were distracted by that odd form of "squinting"—if it may be so called—to which reference has already been made. Thus the excellent Webbe—writing, it is true, with only the "Shepherd's Calendar" before him—does indeed do himself immortal honour by calling Spenser "the rightest English poet he ever read." And then he goes on to show the value of this praise by coupling Spenser with Gabriel Harvey; by saying in another place that he is the equal of Virgil and Theocritus, "but for the coarseness of our English tongue"; and by endeavouring, in a third, to translate the Calendar into English sapphics!

In such a mist were the minds even of men of the best intentions and the most unfeigned love for letters, when the "Faerie Queene" appeared. Mr. Hales (Introd. to "Globe" ed., p. 42), it may be, is right in saying that it was "received with the utmost delight and admiration." Let us hope it was, for it certainly deserved both. Such a melodious burst had never sounded in the English tongue before. The wonderful web of imagination, woven so silently and cunningly in its pages, the splendid creations—not merely of poetic fancy but of actual character drawing and ethical construction—which it displays, the consummate skill in language and metre (the former, it may be, like the latter, a little mannered and artificial, but with such an exquisite manner, such a consummate art), the learning, the grasp, the evident reserve of sustained capacity

behind—these were things which had never, or but once, been seen before among us. And these were to be seen whenever Spenser sang again, in the rest of the "Queene," in the sonnets, in the "Epithalamium," in the "Hymns," during the too brief career which was allotted him and which he filled so full.

Marlowe and his Fellow-Dramatists:

The fortunes, like the work, of the next group differ remarkably from Spenser's. Although his end was tragic, and although his life seems to have been saddened by more than one disappointment, yet had his lines been cast in places not unpleasant and in a manner distinguished. He was early introduced to the best society, and not very late to Court; he had pensions and large grants of land, and but for the Irish outbreak would, to all appearances, have finished his days as a sufficiently prosperous country gentleman. The men who, working round Marlowe, did most to launch the English drama on the new and untried seas which were to be its proper home, were for the most part university men. Lyly (who belonged to the group in an outside kind of way, and had made his mark before any of them), Peele, and Lodge were Oxford men; Marlowe, Greene, and Nash were of Cambridge. Of Kyd's education nothing is certainly recorded, but he is much more likely to have been a university man than not. These seven, chiefly in the decade between 1580 and 1590, with a few years of the next, struck out one of the faultiest but one of the most vigorous and original kinds of drama that the world has seen. It is certain that all of them were well acquainted with the works of the tragedian Seneca; and one of them, Kyd, translated one of the chief plays of the continental Senecans—Robert Garnier's "Cornelia." And it has, as we noticed before, been contended that the blood-and-thunder, the ghosts and terrors, the inflated language and stilted verse in which they revelled, were due to the influence of this powerful but rather ill-conditioned dramatist of the Latin silver age. However this may be, it is certain that the general scheme of their drama not only owes little or nothing to Seneca, but is about as direct a revolt against the "regular" tragedy as can be conceived. Nor did they, as has been so often done since, go to some modern literature as a resource against, and an alternative from, the ancients. Indeed, there was none for them to go to, unless anyone chooses to

exaggerate the very faint lead that the old mystery, through more recent interludes and mongrel plays of the kind referred to previously, may have given them. They simply, retaining acts, scenes, and general dramatic arrangements, gave the rein to their imaginations, threw the "unities" to the winds, and cast into theatrical form the substance of chronicles and romances after a fashion of which ancient comedy may have given some slight foretaste, but ancient tragedy certainly none at all. And they did more than this. They broke up the stately stilted decasyllables of *Gorboduc*, they shortened and furbished the lolloping and lumbering fourteeners and doggerels of other plays into verse—the most majestic in Marlowe, the sweetest and softest in Peele, that English had yet known. It is not surprising that such a hurry and whirl of action and interest recounted, occasionally at least, in verse of such unprecedented splendour and charm, should have made, or at least helped to make, the theatre the most popular of all amusements. It is true that the plays—of which Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*, *Tamburlaine*, *Jew of Malta*, and *Edward the Second*; Peele's *Arraignment of Paris*, *Old Wives' Tale*, and *David and Bethsabe*; Greene's *Friar Bacon*; Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*, are the most famous—had almost every fault except tameness that a play can have. The most chaotically improbable action, the least carefully adjusted characters, the wildest rant of dialogue, the most shocking impropriety of incident and phrase meet one at every turn. The poets cannot or will not even take the trouble to keep up their poetry. Lines of incomparable beauty, of such a combination of sonority and poetic suggestion as no modern poets, save Dante and Chaucer, had equalled, are jostled by mean and trumpery doggerel. Except Marlowe, and once or twice Peele, no one of them can keep even a moderately long speech at a high level, and Marlowe himself is by no means to be trusted to do it constantly.

Nothing is more treacherous than the attempt to argue backwards and forwards from a man's life to his works; but in this case there does seem to have been some connection between the irregular life and the irregular work of these men. Lyly, indeed, stands apart from the rest in this as in other ways. Lodge, if he was for a time "Bohemian," which is probable, settled down into a sober physician; and of Kyd

our personal knowledge is an utter blank. But it is pretty certain that Marlowe, Greene, Peele, and Nash all, but especially the first three, lived lives of the greatest irregularity, and it would appear that all these three came to what is familiarly called a bad end. There is certainly some, and may be much, exaggeration in the traditional reports of Peele's Villonesque practices. Nor will a wise man accept without hesitation the stories—compact in the oddest fashion of accusations from enemies and confessions from the parties themselves—of the roistering, the impecuniosity, and the irreligion of Marlowe, of Greene, and in a less degree of Nash. But the testimony as to the general tenor of the life of Marlowe and Greene is too strong to be resisted. It may not have been extremely criminal, but it must have been utterly, to use the word just used, "Bohemian." The habits and ways of a large town, such as London was then becoming, crowded with returned adventurers of all kinds, and most imperfectly policed, are sure to be at all times unedifying; and unless there is an unusual amount of literary exaggeration in the curious series of pamphlets (by Greene, Nash, and Dekker chiefly) which describe the humours of the capital, and in the full and constant references to them in the lighter plays of the dramatists other than Shakespeare, Elizabeth's London must have been at least as unedifying in some of its phases as any capital, whether ancient or modern. Into this kind of life these dramatists seem to have plunged, with a mixture of individual and of professional greediness, for the necessity of "seeing life" is the immemorial excuse of the artist. It is possible that something of the whirl of spirits in which they lived may have helped the rush and recklessness of their genius. But it certainly seems to have left them no time to polish and perfect their work, and its effect upon their lives was, to say the least, not kindly. For Peele was barely forty, Greene but thirty-two, and Marlowe not thirty when they died, while Nash was certainly not a long liver. And, in the case of Greene and Marlowe at least, one or another kind of loose living directly or indirectly brought about the end.

Their Bohemianism.

It is a question of the first interest how far Shakespeare was in relation with these men, and what is the precise position of his work in regard to theirs. The *locus classicus* on the subject is a thousand-times-

Shakespeare.

quoted passage from a pamphlet, which is either what it pretends to be—the last dying speech of Robert Greene—or something put out in his name as such. It contains, besides a lamentable description of, and apology for, the supposed writer's evil life, and an expostulation with his friends and comrades, a violent tirade against a certain "upstart crow beautified with our feathers," who thinks himself "the only Shakescene in the country." Almost every conceivable view and side—with many views and sides which to plain folk seem inconceivable—has been taken about Shakespeare and Shakespeareana; and it is, of course, possible to hold that the allusion here is not certain, that "Shakescene," despite its tempting jingle, is only a contemptuous variant upon "scene-shifter." Still, it must be admitted that the allusion is extremely plausible, and even very likely. If it is one it would date from 1592, when Shakespeare was eight-and-twenty, when he is supposed to have been for about seven years connected with the theatre in one way or another, when he was about to publish "Venus and Adonis," and when, though we do not certainly know that they were, some of his earlier plays must have been put on the boards. If the Greene passage aspersed Shakespeare, Chettle, Greene's editor, promptly apologised for it with a handsome testimonial to the person attacked. And as it happens we have a very curious counterblast in this quarrel of University Wits *v.* "Shakescenes" in the odd series of *Parnassus* plays, which also contain very high eulogies of Shakespeare, both as poet and playwright. It is, however, fair to say that this seems to date a few years later—certainly after 1597.

We have little or no room for minutiæ of this kind here. The *Parnassus* notices, however, are specially valuable, inasmuch as they show us that up to the end of the century Shakespeare, though very highly thought of, was only or chiefly known as the author of love poems and of plays like *Romeo and Juliet*, and, perhaps, some of the lighter comedies and chronicles. This is more valuable than all the endless arguments which have been used to ascertain the exact chronology of a matter impossible to fix to accurate dates. We may, therefore, quite safely assume (as indeed we might in the absence of any evidence whatsoever) that, before Shakespeare's return to Stratford, two or three years before the

century closed, his poems, including some at least of the sonnets and some of the classes of plays above referred to, were his sole productions. And it is quite evident that in these latter he was, like every man of genius in the world, under obligations to his predecessors, both to the group just referred to, and to the crowd of unknown or scarcely known writers. For the mass of play-writing which these years saw and which, never having got into print or out of the actor's hands, has perished, was immense. In some cases, and these not merely chronicle-plays, Shakespeare undoubtedly "wrote up" earlier productions; and even where he did not do this he benefited by the models at his disposal. Sometimes he burlesqued them, sometimes he copied them. I daresay he sometimes "stole their thunder" to an extent sufficient to account for, if not to justify, Greene's indignation.

His Debt to his Predecessors.

Nobody can doubt that Shakespeare, if he had been left entirely to himself, would have elaborated a dramatic machinery equal to any production. But nobody who does not take an altogether unhistorical and inartistic view of literature can doubt that to have had before him such examples as the versification of Marlowe and Peele, and as the dramatic scheme, not merely of these, but of a whole crowd of lesser men, was an inestimable advantage—an advantage such as falls only to the lot of the greatest men of genius, for the simple reason that only the greatest men of genius are ready and able to take advantage of it.

The Elizabethan Drama.

And so in his hands, and in those of that wonderful group of predecessors, of contemporaries, and of successors, whose work on the whole covered some seventy years, though the best of it was done in fifty, there was evolved what we call the Elizabethan drama. Of its accessories and conditions much has been written; but very little need here be said. It is known and certain that at first the companies of players were—as was in those days almost necessary to protect them from interference—in the greater number of cases, if not all, "servants" of some great man, whose protection could give them immunity, or representatives of some public institution, under whose shield their performances could be safely produced. But by degrees, and, indeed, very

early, the passion of the common people for this kind of entertainment secured opportunities for its indulgence, either at these or at other hands. The form of the earliest theatre has been conjectured rather than known, with a sufficient probability, to have been given by the inn-yards of the period with their tiers of galleries (p. 568). These places happened at once to provide the most likely places of exhibition, and the most convenient arrangements for seeing. When independent theatres were built they were on the same plan, which retained its own advantages, and possessed in addition those of requiring the minimum of expense in building, of dispensing with artificial light (which could then only have been supplied at great expense and in insufficient quantity), and of allowing the entertainment to be given in the daytime at a period when hours were early, and the streets anything but safe after nightfall. In other words, the earliest theatre was a structure with the centre or pit open to the sky, and with the galleries only roofed. The stage was relatively of a good size; but it was encroached on by the habit, long prevalent in all European countries, of allowing stools to be placed on it for favoured spectators. The scenery was non-existent, replaced by sign-boards with descriptions of the most rudimentary character, and most of the properties were humble. It would not, however, appear that this poverty always extended to the wardrobes of the actors, who seem to have indulged in a good deal of probably tarnished finery. That the receipts of casual performers were not large, and their life a hard one, is very likely, and that the sums paid to the regularly retained poets of the theatre were small enough we know from positive records. But that there was money to be made by those who were actor-shareholders in a company, and who did not fling away their earnings in careless debauchery, the instances of Shakespeare himself, of Alleyne, of Burbage, and others, show.

The Structure of the Theatre.

In this rough circumstance, with the occasional but, perhaps, not much more stimulating substitution of the halls of great men's houses, Shakespeare, in common with those others who have been and will be mentioned, launched the English drama. As is generally known, practically nothing is known of him. He was born in 1564, and died in 1616 a wealthy

Shakespeare's Life.

householder of Stratford-on-Avon. He was married, and had children; he had debts owed him, and got or endeavoured to get them in; he suffered from literary jealousies, and enjoyed literary compliments. For the rest we know—distinguishing knowledge from futile and idle gossip mostly long after date, from baseless inference, and from the record of perfectly unimportant and to a rational mind uninteresting details—nothing at all about him. It is an almost crucial instance of the extraordinary reluctance to acquiesce in facts which is characteristic of humanity, that even this nescience, when it is admitted, has been twisted into a basket for the reception of fresh figments of the imagination to the effect that he really must have been somebody else. As a matter of fact, our general knowledge of the man of letters of the Elizabethan time is of the scantiest. Of Spenser, a man always in contact with distinguished persons, we know little; of Ben Jonson, a literary patriarch and frequenter of younger men of letters at a time when the man of letters was both a more established and a more respectable character than in Shakespeare's time, we do not know very much. Of Chapman, Drayton, Daniel, and others, who were all gentlemen by birth, and of some standing in the world, our knowledge is shadowy to the last thinness of shadows. Of most of the other Elizabethan dramatists and poets, the dates of their matriculation and degree, when they happened to be university men, of their appointment to offices, when they chanced to be office-holders, and (by no means invariably) of their birth, marriage, and death sum up the most of our knowledge. Of even such a man as Donne, who lived to fill a post more important than many English bishopries, and whose life was written not long after his death by a personal friend, the record is about as definite and substantial as the flickerings of firelight on the wall. How should we expect, save by the merest accident, to know much of Shakespeare, who was born in a very small town of an undistinguished family, went to no university, belonged to no recognised profession, filled no office, was only conjecturally connected with any man of importance, published nothing during his lifetime except a tiny handful of juvenile poems, and passed nearly the last two decades of a by no means long life in the town or rather the village of his nativity?

His work, on the other hand, we have and know; and

very foolish persons must they be who would exchange the worst and most dubious part of it for a Life as copious as those we possess of Byron or of Macaulay. The exact part of that work which belongs to the present chapter, and the exact part of that part which belongs in pure inception and entire execution to Shakespeare himself, may be matters of doubt—to the present writer they are matters of doubt which he neither can nor would greatly care to solve. But there is no doubt that in these years—the commonly accepted twelve from 1585 or 1586 to 1597 will do very well—he was, as the phrase was used of the next greatest man of letters in English, "making himself," and making the English drama at the same time. Of the characteristics which under his hands and those of others it put on, something may be said later; we must, for the moment, turn to the companions whom, in this last ten or fifteen years of the sixteenth century, he had in the business.

George Chapman.

The eldest of them, and in not a few ways the chief, was George Chapman, Shakespeare's elder of some half-dozen years, though he outlived him nearly twenty—a remarkable dramatist, a poet of merit, and an altogether admirable translator. It was practically impossible for anyone who had anything to do with the stage to keep out of "Bohemian" ways and "Bohemian" troubles; nor did Chapman: but he seems to have had comparatively little to do with them, and to have on the whole lived aloof. But the stage evidently had a strong attraction for him; and it would seem that he contributed to it from well within the reign of Elizabeth to well within that of Charles I. He was an Oxford man, and, as his Homer and other things show, no mean scholar; but he could never put off the somewhat unscholarly grandiosity, the towering aims not wholly proportioned to means, the tendency to rant in dialogue and to melodrama in incident and action, which Shakespeare, after experiencing the attractions of these "Delilahs of the theatre," pretty rapidly vanquished and outgrew.

John Marston.

A sort of minor Chapman, like him a gentleman and an Oxford man, like him a member of the extreme blood-and-thunder tragic school, a lesser poet, but a satirist of great virulence and some vigour, was John Marston, whose birth-date is quite unknown, but who would

seem to have been a young man in the closing years of the sixteenth century, when his satires and poems appeared, and had difficulties with the authorities. He wrote drama copiously in the early years of the next century, and seems to have taken orders, abjured the stage, and died about the same time as Chapman, *circa* 1634. In no English dramatist—not in Marlowe and his group, named and anonymous; not in that *nominis umbra* Cyril Tourneur, the very titles of whose plays (the *Revenger's Tragedy* and the *Atheist's Tragedy*) speak for themselves; not in Chettle and others, such as those contributors to the Shakespearian apocrypha, who wrote *Arden of Feversham* and the *Yorkshire Tragedy;* not in the great examples of the time, who are to be named hereafter—Webster and Ford—is the tendency to rely on mere horror, on murders, treasons, and detested sins, more distinct than in Marston.

Thomas Dekker.

It is far less obvious in the personally almost unknown Thomas Dekker, whose abundant work begins in Elizabeth's reign, and is always characterised by a sweet and gracious kindliness. And it is not eminently present in that of Benjamin Jonson, who, as the ruling figure of the next literary period, must be chiefly dealt with then, but whose rather stormy youth was beginning to subside into quieter ways before King James came to the throne, and whose admirable comedy, *Every Man in His Humour*, at any rate in its earliest form, was produced some five years before the Queen's death. But when it is said that these four were only the most prominent of a great company, some idea of the extraordinary fecundity of the time in drama and dramatists may, perhaps, be better given than by jejune lists or unintelligible allusions.

In the minor and general departments of poetry proper, somewhat less was done in this period than in that which succeeded it. Yet it is significant that not merely Spenser, but both the chiefs of the dramatic school—Marlowe, and Shakespeare himself—distinguished themselves at this time. Shakespeare and Spenser indeed, though not Marlowe, are the chiefs of a very curious outburst of sonnet writing,

The Sonnet.

which, with a somewhat dissimilar (or, perhaps we may say, complementary) development in the writing of historical poems, is the chief feature

in poetry proper of the last days of Elizabeth. The two great "historians," Drayton and Daniel, were sonneteers also; the third, as usually ranked, Warner, does not seem to have indulged in this diversion. But the "sugared sonnet" was, on the whole, the chief delight and exercise of the really Elizabethan poet. We have seen in former sections how Wyatt and Surrey introduced this alluring form; how, many years later, Sidney and Watson, soon to be followed by Spenser, poured out in it the sprightliest and choicest runnings of the new poetic spirit. But it was not till the last decade of the century, and more particularly till the four years, 1593-96, that the influence of the sonnet showed itself in its fullest force. The date of Shakespeare's sonnets is as unknown with any certainty as most other things in reference to that marvellous collection; but there can be no moral doubt that they date in composition from this very time. About the sonnet production of others there is no doubt of any kind. The majority of the collections published during this period bear each the name of some real or fancied mistress; as had been the case with the earlier garlands of the French Pléiade, to the list of imitations whereof formerly given may here be added Lodge's paraphrases of Desportes, and the curious *adespoton* called *Zepheria*.

In 1593 Barnabe Barnes appeared with *Parthenophil*, Giles Fletcher the elder with *Licia*, and Thomas Lodge with *Phillis*. 1594 gave Willoughby's *Avisa*, Percy's *Caelia*, the just-named *Zepheria* of an unknown writer, Constable's *Diana*, Daniel's *Delia*, and Drayton's *Idea*. 1595 saw the appearance of *Alcilia*, by a certain "J. C." 1596 supplied Spenser's *Amoretti*, Lynch's *Diella*, Griffin's *Fidessa*, and Smith's *Chloris*.

It must be understood that by no means all the poems in these collections are direct sonnets, even in that modified sense of directness which identifies the sonnet with any quatorzain. Watson himself had extended the sonnet in length to eighteen lines; and his successors very often gave the name (it may almost be said) to any love poem. But the majority of them are sonnets; there is strong likeness between them, and they constitute one of the most remarkable divisions of English poetry, scale and substance being allowed

for. Occasionally, as in the best of Shakespeare and Spenser, or in that simply magnificent thing beginning—

"Since there's no help, come let us kiss and part"

—which appears in some editions of Drayton's *Idea*, but which is entirely unlike his general style, they may also challenge quite the top place in the achievements of that poetry; while the rest, in very different and various gradations of merit at least, betray the presence of a quite extraordinary poetical tone and temper in the mind of the time. Of the other chief forms in which this tone and temper displayed itself, one was very closely akin to the sonnets, one pretty far apart from them. These were the purely "song-literature" of the time, the poems which were actually meant to be sung to the lute or other instrument; and the Satires, which were, for a time at any rate, very much affected, and which, as written by Hall, Marston, Donne, Lodge, and others, supply a picture of manners to be used with a little caution, and an instance of imitation of the ancients (for Horace, Juvenal, and perhaps Persius most of all, are always before the writer's mind) which is not equally dangerous ground to tread on. To Persius, in all probability, the singularly harsh and crabbed style which these Satires affect is mostly due; to Juvenal, the somewhat strained air of moral indignation which they affect also.

Lyrics.

It is somewhat curious that the companion song-literature, which is larger in bulk and of infinitely greater charm, should have failed to keep the literary vogue which these Satires never wholly lost. Perhaps it may be due to the gradual disuse of the lute and its congeners as ordinary implements for the amusement and accomplishment of every gentleman and lady, which came about after the Restoration (though we find the old system maintained by Pepys and others). For the songs were commonly printed with the airs; and when the latter were not in request the former naturally dropped out of sight. But, as a matter of fact, this delightful division of Elizabethan literature was one of the latest to be rediscovered; and it is only within the last few years that it has become known to any but pretty careful students in the mass, or has overflowed in sample and by the channel of anthologies and "poetry-books'

to the cognisance of the general reader. Yet its poetical merits are quite astonishing; and there is to this day something a little unintelligible and not quite "canny" in the attribution to men, sometimes quite unknown themselves, and if known, of no other known accomplishment in letters, of such ineffably beautiful things as those which are scattered about these books. It is not merely that the very soul of music seems to have passed into them; that they sing of themselves like the magic lutes of the legends, fashioned of dead men's bones, and strung with dead girls' hair. For mere poetry, without thought of accompaniment, they are not seldom equally wondrous.

Prose Writers.

The prose of the period is, perhaps, to the reader less interesting than the poetry; though we have, in the early work of Bacon, of Raleigh, and of others, anticipations of the gorgeous music which in the next age was to carry English prose to the very highest pitch, in some respects, that it has ever attained. The truth seems to be that though there were great individual exponents of it, prose, as a whole, was in a state of half disorganisation and half reorganisation, just as poetry had been between Wyatt and Spenser. Something has been said in earlier sections of the prose of the early Renaissance writers, of whom Ascham is the chief in England, of its decent, sensible, but not very inspiriting, combination of Latin order and vernacular strength. This was, during our present period, to reach the highest point it ever attained in the "Ecclesiastical Polity," which, as far as it appeared during the lifetime of its author, belongs to the last decade of the sixteenth century, the first instalment having appeared in 1594, and the second in 1597. From some points of view, no doubt, it may seem as if prose lost as much as it gained by deserting the norm of Hooker, who writes wonderfully at his best, and combines a very great advance in clearness, correctness, and elegance, with a total freedom from anything like jejuneness or aridity. It the diversion of a great part of the educated intellect of England from theological study and ecclesiastical feeling should be accompanied by a disuse of the reading of Hooker and the great divines who follow him, it will, taking the literary view only, be a most serious loss. There is, indeed, still about him a perhaps undue reminiscence of the Schools

—not in method, subject, or quotation, but in general stamp and scheme of sentence and phrase. He still suggests to us a little the man to whom it would be at least as easy to write in Latin as in English, who is not quite sure that he ought not to write in Latin, and who, even when writing in English, cannot help showing the moulds of the Latin sentence, the memory of the Latin syntax. Yet it would not be fair to assert or insinuate that there is any constraint in Hooker; and certainly his achievement in English is a noble one. The more argumentative passages may smack a little of the thesis, which was still a live thing; the more historical and rhetorical, of the pulpit which the writer so often occupied, and which was more and more attracting the talents of Englishmen in expression and the taste of Englishmen in reception. But there are not many greater books in English than the "Ecclesiastical Polity," nor to the reader, who has even a little care for and expertness in the subject, many more attaching.

History, Grammar, Pamphlet Literature.

While this sober, scholarly prose still expressed the chief accomplishment of English letters in this department on one side; and while the strange *rococo* euphuism of Lyly (p. 335), of which enough has been said, gave a new expression in another, prose became more and more the vehicle of those who wished to communicate with the public. On the great scale and on the small it was being practised and put to all manner of purposes. Knolles, in his country home, was elaborating that huge "History of the Turks" which, when more than a century and a half had passed after his death, seemed to some judges still the greatest history on a large scale in English, and which, by all competent censure, is a great book in many other respects besides bulk. The educational writers, who have been already mentioned, were building their schemes for the teaching of youth and for the elaboration of something like what Dante, centuries before, had endeavoured and to a great extent succeeded in forging for Italy—an "illustrious, cardinal, curial, and courtly" speech for England. The equally remarkable though curiously shortlived school of literary critics (for till Dryden's day there was little resumption of their efforts)—Webbe, Puttenham, Campion, Harington, and Daniel —were devoting their attention to the same thing with special reference to the kinds and vehicles of English poetry. The

records of the geographical explorations which employed so large a part of the enthusiasm of the age were being digested in all sorts of forms—some of them to take sooner or later the shape of the great collections of Hakluyt (who published in 1579) and Purchas. The huge miscellaneous pamphlet literature, which had already been of so much service to us, was being ceaselessly compiled and devoted to almost every kind of subject. Once, moreover, in the famous instance of that "Martin Marprelate" controversy, which coincided with the Armada (p. 439), this pamphlet production gathered itself up, and disengaged heat and force in a fashion never quite equalled since (except at the time of the Popish Plot), and hardly comprehensible to a generation, the oldest members of which have, nevertheless, seen the first fights over the Reform Bill, the Anti-Corn Law agitation, and the "Tracts for the Times"—not to mention later controversies. Starting ostensibly as a sort of offshoot or incident of the debate between Presbyterianism and Prelacy, it seems, in some not clearly understood way, to have attracted the sympathies or antipathies of some of the chief literary men of the day. It found its way on to the stage (though this was promptly checked, and the results are not extant), it mixed itself up in the oddest manner with the jealousies of the Cambridge and London literary cliques. It was in fact a sort of anticipation (with its course made more lively by the circumstances of clandestine printing, Government interposition, and a few executions as a climax) of the newspaper controversies of later times. But these latter, it may be admitted by folk not very enthusiastic about our "glorious gains," have some advantages in point of comfort and consequences.

Bacon.

It is one of the things which, though they have been constantly remarked upon, can never be omitted in any treatment of the subject to which they belong—that the greatest man (with Hooker) of this period in prose, Francis Bacon, was an utter heretic and misbeliever in respect of English prose itself. Breaking away from the admirable tradition of respect for English, which no lesser scholars in the Classics than Ascham and Cheke had started in his own university, Bacon constantly expressed his contempt for modern languages as vehicles of literature, his belief that things written in them were destined to be lost and

forgotten. He would probably (if he had dared, and if his ambition had not been of the life of him, so that he could not neglect the set of popular taste) have written wholly in Latin; and as it was, he wrote in Latin when he dared, and when he did not dare, generally translated or caused to be translated his English writings into that tongue, as he thought preservative. Yet nobody then living, with the doubtful exceptions of Raleigh and Lord Brooke (the latter, for all his wilful obscurity, master of a splendid English style, very Baconian in parts), could have written the "Essays" which Bacon published in their first and roughest form during our period in 1597. His most gorgeous work was to come later; but already in this he exhibited that faculty of magnifical phrase—not cumbrously embroidered upon meaning, but clothing it like a natural garment—which, in his own later days and the time after him, was to be cultivated with such wonderful success, and in the hands of Milton, Taylor, and Browne more particularly, and of a crowd of writers who were but little their inferiors, to enrich the language with imperishable treasures. It would not be just to say that Bacon's classical predilections deserve no credit for this phrase. His precision owes some royalty to the Latin Augustans, and his gorgeousness perhaps something to the Latin decadents. But in the main he is, as usual, debtor to but two things—his own innate genius and acquired or developed faculty on the one part, and the spirit of the age on the other.

And so, with a few words on that very spirit of the age—partly of summary, partly of additional definition—we may conclude this survey of a mighty subject.

The Stimuli to Literature.

Some critics, with more or less sustained and deliberate paradox—all, perhaps, who with any competence have tried to disengage and co-ordinate literary cause and effect in relation to periods—have felt disposed to doubt whether anything more can be said than that, at one time, a very large number of persons of unusual abilities took to the writing of books and that at other times they did not. In the present instance, however, some more definite advance on this negative and Pyrrhonist attitude may not unreasonably be attempted. All the exciting causes which were mentioned earlier may fairly be said to have made for literary production; while there must be specially added to

them the effects of the now considerably developed and diffused invention of printing. The changes in the Church (which introduced in every parish a family of children who were at least likely to be brought up with some tincture of letters, instead of a celibate clergy) more than made up for the dispersion of the monastic orders, which had hardly been, for some time previous to the dissolution, active fosterers of learning. And though far too small a part of the secularised ecclesiastical revenues was devoted to educational purposes, the part which did directly or indirectly find its way thither (through the fancy for founding colleges and grammar schools) was not inconsiderable, and must have exercised no small influence on the popularisation of letters. These things at once created a smaller class with a tendency to study and write, and a much larger class with at least no unwillingness to read if not to study. Add the theatre, add the burning social and ecclesiastical controversies, add the fermenting force of the great political changes which were to take place in the seventeenth century, and it will at least appear that it would have been more odd if Elizabethan literature had not been great than surprising that it was.

And yet, as always, the unknown, the inexplicable, the element of chance and idiosyncrasy, still counts for the greater art of the matter. The campaigns of Alexander might have been thought likely to stimulate literature as much as the voyage of Columbus; yet they hardly influenced it at all: and the most specious explanations of the Augustan age at Rome leave a tolerably well-trained sceptic unable to admit any particular reason why it should not have come a century before or a century after. So also in the Elizabethan period, while we can perceive some reasons why it may have been what it was, we cannot ascribe the whole causation with anything like accuracy or satisfaction. After all, there were certain men who could and did write verse and prose, as only a single Englishman had hitherto written verse and as no Englishman had written prose. They were surrounded by a still larger number of inferior but not contemptible talents—all imitating or innovating, experimenting or practising. There was yet a larger public which was purely receptive; let it be remembered that so vast a book as Knolles' "History" went through three editions in twenty years, and that many other books—though,

perhaps, no very large number of copies was reprinted at any one time—were constantly reissued. There must have been—though, except in the case of playwrights, we have very indefinite information as to what it was—some kind of regular remuneration which made it worth while to write books, and possible even to make a livelihood as a writer of books only.

The Quality of Elizabethan Literature.

But, above all, there was an incalculable, indefinable spirit abroad which is there or is not, which is traceable often from the comparative point of view even more in the mediocre or lower authors of a time than in its chief illustrations, and makes the time notable or unnotable, according to its presence or absence. The average work of the strictly Elizabethan period is notoriously of the most unequal character. Many plays, even by authors of high general repute, are extremely difficult to read as wholes, and perhaps owe part of the steady maintenance of their reputation to this very fact. Really unflawed and equable work is excessively rare, even with the very greatest names. Much of the non-dramatic verse is mannered, affected, unreal; while much else is slovenly and trivial. The prose is often pedantic, often conceited, often dull. But the everlasting and overmastering justification of the place assigned to the Elizabethans is not affected by these admissions, and lies quite elsewhere. It lies not more in the fact that in the greater writers beauties of the most dazzling kind are common, and that the whole atmosphere is one of passion, of pathos, of vague promise and potency, than in the fact that things hardly less beautiful are quite likely to be found in writers on the whole quite inferior. In reading a fourth-rate Elizabethan play, a sonneteer who is evidently writing in a school, an industrious teacher of the viol who has got some words to his airs or some airs to his words, flashes and spurts of exquisite literature are not only likely, but are sure sooner or later to make their appearance. There are more books written, with a vast deal more knowledge, and even with a certain advance in strict formal merit, in the last decade of the nineteenth century than there were in the last decade of the sixteenth. I think the average quality of the books of this our time is as respectable an average quality as you shall find at any period in literary history. But you will not find in them often—if you will find in any but those of the very greatest authors—the flash, the

shock, the startling and yet delightful thrill which comes again and again on the readers, not merely of Shakespeare and Spenser, not merely of Marlowe and Donne, but of Dr. Thomas Campion and Captain Tobias Hume.

R. E. PROTHERO. Agriculture.

The Progress of Enclosure.

The characteristic feature of the close of the reign of Elizabeth was that the transition stage from tillage to sheep-farming came to an end. The balance was once more restored between them. Enclosures continued to be made throughout the sixteenth century; but at the end of the period under review, they were not accompanied by the features which had so greatly aggravated the miseries of agricultural labourers. The popular saying had been verified, that "it was never merry with poor craftsmen since gentlemen had become graziers." At the close of Elizabeth's reign, however, the high prices of English wool declined, and at the same time the value of corn and meat rose rapidly. Hence, a stimulus was given to arable farming which provided employment for the rural population.

Decline in the Value of Wool.

The decline in the value of English wool affords a curious illustration of the extent to which enclosure had been carried. When English wool first came into the Flemish market, it was distinguished for its fineness, and sold at a higher rate than its Spanish rival. It was indispensable for the weaver. The best fleeces were those of the Ryeland or Herefordshire sheep, of which Leominster was the market. In the days of Skelton, Elynour Rummynge, ale-wife of Leatherhead, received from her customers payment in kind:—

> "Some fill their pot full
> Of good Lemster wool."

Drayton's Dawsabel had a "skin as soft as Lemster wool." Rabelais makes Panurge cheapen the flock of Dingdong; and when the latter descants upon the fineness of their fleeces, the translator (Motteux: 1717) compares them to the quality of "Lemynster wool." The second price was fetched by Cotswold wool. The sheep that are kept upon heaths and commons,

and walk for their food, produce the finest, though not the most abundant, fleeces. It was the experience of Virgil—

"Si tibi lanicium curae, fuge pabula laeta."

In the same sense writes Dyer:—

"On spacious airy downs, and gentle hills,
With grass and thyme o'erspread, and clover wild
The fairest flocks rejoice!"

As the commons of England began to be extensively enclosed, the quality of the fleeces deteriorated. Heavier animals—better suited to fat pastures, and producing coarse but abundant wool—were introduced. English wool lost its pre-eminence; and, though still obtaining high prices, was no longer indispensable to the weaver. This decrease in value did much to check the conversion of arable land to pasture, and was at least as influential in producing this result as Acts of Parliament. The last of those Acts, passed in 1597, ordered that all arable land which had been made pasture since the accession of Queen Elizabeth should be reconverted to tillage, and none that was then under the plough should be laid down to grass.

The fluctuation in the price of wool probably checked the break-up of the open-field system. When enclosures began again, sheep once more supplied the impetus. So long as roots and artificial grasses were unknown to English farmers, sheep were cotted in the winter months. When winter keep became known, a change was passing over sheep-farming. The animal was originally prized more for its fleece than its carcass. In the eighteenth century the value was reversed. Meat grew more profitable than wool. Heavier animals were cultivated, and turnips put the means of keeping them into the farmer's hands. In this new source of wealth was found a strong incentive to break up the heaths and commons which belonged to the open-field system, and to substitute enclosed compact tenancies, on which turnips could be grown and eaten off by folded sheep.

Simultaneously with the decline of profits from sheep-farming came an advance in the value of other agricultural produce. The Legislature was prompt to encourage a change which promised relief to the congested labour markets, and to

the poverty of rural districts. Restrictions on the exportation were gradually lightened, while protective duties were imposed on foreign grain. For owners of land (whether landlords or yeomen), for copyholders and tenant-farmers, the times were prosperous. Even agricultural labourers shared in the good fortune; for, though their wages remained low and only fitfully rose with the decline in the purchasing-power of money, they were more secure of employment, and thus the worst of their evils was over.

The Increase of Production.

"The soil," says Harrison, "had growne to be more fruitful, and the countryman more painful, more careful, and more skilful for recompense of gain." Internal communication was facilitated, and new roads opened up new markets. Increased attention was paid to manuring. In Cornwall, farmers rode many miles for sand, and brought it home on horseback; seaweed was extensively used on the land in South Wales; in Sussex, lime was fetched from a distance and at considerable expense. In Middlesex and Hertfordshire, the sweepings of the London streets were bought up for the fields. The yield per acre was rising. On the well-tilled and dressed acre, we are told that wheat averaged twenty bushels, barley thirty-two bushels, oats and beans forty bushels. The cultivation of hops was assuming importance, though the distich, of which another version has already been quoted (p. 167)—

Hops.

> **"Hops, reformation, bays, and beer**
> **Came into England all in one year"**

puts the date of their introduction into England too late. Their use was borrowed from the Low Countries by the farmers of the Eastern Counties at the end of the fifteenth century. By the reign of Edward VI., the cultivation of hops had assumed such importance, that an Act of Parliament permitting their growth under certain restrictions was passed in 1552. A quarter of a century later appeared the first treatise on the industry. Reginald Scot's "Perfite Platforme of a Hoppe Garden" was published in 1576; and contains minute instructions for the growing, picking, drying, and packing of hops. Hasted, in his "History of Kent," notices that orchards were turned into hop-gardens; and in Suffolk, in the days of Tusser, hops were extensively cultivated.

Part of the improvement was undoubtedly due to enclosures, and to the new scope which the possession of a separate farm gave to industrial energy. Essex and Suffolk are quoted both by Fitzherbert and Tusser to prove the superior cultivation of enclosed land. The proverbial expression "Suffolk stiles" seems to point to the early extinction of open fields. Norden, in his "Essex Described" (1594), calls it the "Englishe Goshen, the fattest of the Lande, comparable to Palestina, that floweth with milke and hunnye." So "manie and sweete" were its "commodities" that they compensated for the "moste cruell quarterne fever" which he caught among its low-lying lands. To these witnesses may be added the evidence of "W. S., Gentleman," whose "Compendious Examination of Extraordinary Complaints of our Countrymen" was published in 1581. To the husbandmen—who complained that arable land is enclosed and turned into pasture, that rents are raised and labour unemployed—it is shown that the most prosperous counties are those which (like Essex, Suffolk, and Northamptonshire) are most enclosed.*

The Prosperity of the Country Gentry

Of the general prosperity of the land-owning and land-renting portion of the rural community there is sufficient evidence. The ordinary fare of the country gentleman was abundant, if not profuse. The dinner which Justice Shallow ordered for Falstaff might be quoted as an illustration. But more direct testimony may be produced. Harrison, writing at the close of the reign of Elizabeth, says that the usual dinner of a country gentleman was "foure, five, or six dishes, when they have but small resort." Gervase Markham—whose "English Housewife," though published somewhat later, was written about the same time—gives directions for a "great feast," and for "a more humble feast, or an ordinary proportion

* It must be remembered that the value of the sheep on arable land was at this period totally unknown. Hence the two branches of farming, which now are combined with advantage to both the sheep farmer and the corn grower, were entirely dissevered. The arable farmer had only his commons or his pasture to rely upon for the summer and winter keep of his flock. His land was tilled for wheat, barley, oats, and beans. He knew no other crops. Artificial grasses, turnips, swedes, mangolds, were not yet introduced, and, until they took their place among the ordinary crops for which arable land was cultivated, no farmer experienced the truth of the saying that the foot of the sheep turns sand into gold.

which any good man may keep in his family, for the entertainment of his true and worthy friend." The "humble feast or ordinary proportion" includes "sixteen dishes of meat that are of substance, and not empty, or for show." To these "sixteen full dishes," he adds "sallets, fricases, quelque chose, and devised paste, as many dishes more which make the full service no less than thirty-and-two dishes." In dress, also, the country gentry were growing more expensive and costly, imitating the "diversities of jagges and change of colours" of the Frenchman. Already, too, as Bishop Hall has described in his "Satires," they were in the habit of deserting their country-houses for the gaiety of towns, and the "unthankful swallow" built her "circled nest" in

> "The towered chimnies, which should be
> The windpipes of good hospitalitie."

Of the yeomen, or substantial farmers, Harrison says that they "commonlie live wealthilie, keepe good houses, and travell to get riches." Their houses were furnished with "costlie furniture," and they had "learned also to garnish their cupboards with plate, their joined beds with tapistrie and silk hangings, and their tables with carpets and fine draperie." Old men noted these changes in luxurious habits—"the multitude of chimnies latelie erected," "the great amendment of lodging," and "the exchange of vessell," as of treene platters into pewter, "and wodden spoones into silver or tin." In the Isle of Wight Sir John Oglander, comparing the state of the country at the close of Elizabeth's reign and at the outbreak of the Civil War, says: "Money was as plentiful in the yeomen's purses as now in the best of the gentry, and all of the gentry full of money and out of debt."

and Farmers.

The copyholder's house is described by Bishop Hall as being:—

> "Of one bay's breadth, God wot, a silly cote
> Whose thatched spars are furred with sluttish soote
> A whole inch thick, shining like blackmoor's brows,
> Through smoke that downe the headlesse barrel blows.
> At his bed's feete feeden his stalled teame,
> His swine beneath, his pullen o'er the beame."

But the fare which he enjoyed was probably more rudely plentiful than that which falls to the lot of the labourer of

to-day. In one of the Elizabethan pastoral poems, a noble huntsman finds shelter under a shepherd's roof. The food, even if we allow something for Arcadian license, was good. The guest is welcomed with the best that the host can furnish:—

> "Browne bread, whig, bacon, curds, and milke,
> Were set him on the borde."

At this time, it was probable that no great rise in rents had been made. From the pamphlet by W. S. (or William Stafford), which has been already quoted, it appears that landlords had found the greatest difficulty in raising their rents to the rates which compensated them for the enhanced prices which, as consumers, they paid for agricultural produce. The benefit was chiefly felt by the cultivators of land; and their prosperity arose, not from advanced science, nor increased economy, nor improved methods of cultivation, but from the rapid rise in the prices of corn and meat. It was due, in the first place, to the unjust labour laws, which prevented wages from rising to their natural level, and thus cheapened the labour bill of the employer. It was due, in the second place, to the sudden influx of the precious metals and the consequent rapid rise in prices. But no permanent prosperity could in fact be expected until substantial improvements were effected in agriculture, which should at once increase the amount and cheapen the cost of production. The only new crop which was introduced into sixteenth century farming was the cultivation of hops. During the first half of the seventeenth century, on the contrary, a variety of improvements and fresh materials for profitable farming were introduced into the country, though it was not till 150 years later that they were extensively adopted in English agriculture.

J. E. SYMES. Industry and Trade.

THE second half of Elizabeth's reign saw a great increase of national wealth and of national commerce; but it was not marked by any great change in industrial policy, nor by any very new industrial tendencies. The organisation of industry and commerce by the Statute of Apprentices and the trading companies; the policy of protecting native industries, and of encouraging the importation of silver and

gold; the rise in prices, and the slower rise in (money) wages; the building up of new manufactures, with the help of refugees from the Netherlands and from France—all these tendencies and forces continued at work during the second half of Elizabeth's reign, and, in fact, it was then that their results were most clearly to be seen. The peaceful and economical policy of the great Queen aided the accumulation of capital: whilst the encouragement given to rovers and pirates stimulated the spirit of adventure and the arts of seamanship, and indirectly promoted our foreign trade. That English gentlemen of good birth and high character rushed into the profession of piracy (p. 473) is one of the most characteristic facts of the Elizabethan age. We must connect it partly with the new spirit of enterprise which the Renascence had ushered in, partly, perhaps, with the loosening of moral bonds which accompanied the religious revolution. We cannot altogether wonder that refugees from the persecutions under Edward VI. and Mary had sometimes taken to piracy as a means of earning a livelihood; or that unscrupulous adventurers, like Lord Seymour, had been attracted by the possibilities which it offered. But in the reign of Elizabeth, piracy acquired a new moral and religious character from its connection with that hatred of Spain and of Rome, which many good Protestants regarded as a religious and patriotic sentiment. To rob Spaniards was to avenge the martyrs of the Inquisition and to spoil the enemies of the Lord. The Government encouraged the movement for its own ends. It felt that the pirates might form a useful naval reserve, and it was glad to see its enemies annoyed and injured without the expense and risks of a formal war. In the early part of the reign this weapon was chiefly used against France; but the sea-rovers soon found that the Spanish vessels offered a richer spoil. The mutual jealousies of France and Spain, and the desire of both for an English alliance, drove them to submit to these depredations. Philip, indeed, resorted to retaliation, but the event proved that this was a game in which the English gained more than they lost. Philip could not bring himself to declare war, though Spanish treasures and Spanish subjects were being openly sold in English ports, and rich ransoms were being obtained for the liberation of some of those who were thus captured. In 1572,

Maritime Adventure.

when the Government only owned thirteen armed ships, it reckoned its navy at 146, for there were 133 armed vessels, which, although private property, and used for piracy or trade, could, at any crisis, be pressed into the Queen's service.

With the same object of strengthening its naval forces, the Government encouraged the fisheries. We have seen that for this purpose they enforced fasts, in the religious efficacy of which they had little belief (p. 363). Iceland was the chief of the more distant resorts of English fishermen. Hakluyt tells us that in 1577 we had only fifteen vessels engaged in the Newfoundland fisheries, as against 150 French, 100 Spanish, and fifty Portuguese; but he adds that our ships were the best, and gave the law to the rest, and protected them from pirates.

Whaling.

The same writer records the beginning of the English whale fisheries in 1593. The Russia Company soon afterwards made this industry part of its regular work; and though they seem to have been ignorant of the value of whalebone and fins, they made considerable profit out of the oil. This company, however, rapidly decayed towards the close of Elizabeth's reign. Sir Walter Raleigh, in his "Observations concerning the Trade and Commerce of England" (1603), informed King James, that whereas down to about 1590 a store of goodly English ships went annually to Russia, only four had gone in 1600, and only two or three in 1602. By that time the Netherlands had secured their independence from Spain, and were recovering with extraordinary rapidity from the persecutions and devastations of their late rulers. They had, in fact, already become the foremost commercial nation of the world, and were ousting the English from many branches of foreign trade.

In the earlier years, however, of the period here dealt with, their immigrants had continued to render inestimable services to English industry. The sacking of Antwerp by Alva in 1585 completed the ruin of what had been, till the previous sacking in 1567, by far the greatest mercantile emporium in the world. Much of its business was now transferred to London, which was, indeed, becoming the clearing-house of the world, receiving large quantities of goods for re-exportation, and settling many international financial transactions. We have seen, however, that the Netherlands soon recovered the foremost position in European commerce,

Amsterdam taking the place which Bruges and Antwerp had successively enjoyed. In manufactures, on the contrary, England steadily progressed. We no longer sent wool to be worked up in Flanders, except for some of the finer processes, and especially for dyeing.

The Slave Trade:

Our African slave trade is said to have been started in 1562 by John Hawkins. He fitted out three ships, by subscription, and sailed with them to the coast of Guinea. There he obtained slaves, whom he carried off to Hispaniola. Having sold his living cargo he purchased hides, sugar, ginger, and pearls. Then he returned home. The profits made by these transactions encouraged him to make two other similar voyages, and he was rewarded by permission to add to his coat-of-arms a demi-Moor proper, bound with a cord! Elizabethan Englishmen viewed the slave trade with no moral abhorrence; in fact, it was at first negroes, who would otherwise have been put to death as criminals or enemies, who were sold to Europeans; and it might plausibly be maintained that they were the chief gainers by the transaction. Soon, no doubt, the gaudy articles brought by the traders tempted native chiefs to sell innocent members of their own tribes, or to engage in wars simply in order to capture prisoners; but such considerations did not trouble our ancestors. Queen Elizabeth herself did not hesitate to share in the risks and profits of Hawkins' second voyage; and if Burleigh had "no liking for such proceedings," it was apparently because he knew that the slaves were to be sold in Spanish colonies against the laws of Spain, rather than from any pity for the poor Africans.

The African Company.

At a later time a company, known as the Guinea or African Company, was incorporated to carry on the African trade. In addition to slaves they dealt in various commodities, more especially importing into England gold, which was coined into guineas.

The Levant Company.

In 1592 a new charter was given to the Levant, or Turkey Company. This company was originally incorporated in 1581; but its privileges were only granted to it for seven years. During the four years between 1588 and 1592 the Levant trade appears to have been free, and when the new charter was given provision was made for giving outsiders a share in the

trade. This company, however, like most of the others, had only a very moderate degree of prosperity. The demoralising influence of the monopoly, the energetic rivalry of the Dutch, and the fluctuating policy of the Turkish Government, probably account for its want of success.

The East India Company.

Near the close of Elizabeth's reign (December 31, 1600) the East India Company, the one brilliantly successful trade company, was incorporated; but it will be more convenient to deal with its early career in the next chapter, to which also we may defer the American trade, which was inconsiderable in Elizabeth's time.

The Development of the Monopoly System.

In the period we are dealing with, Elizabeth's Government continued its efforts to regulate and organise the various domestic industries. By Acts passed in the thirty-ninth and forty-third years of the reign, the Statute of Apprentices was extended and amended, and the re-organisation of companies, referred to in the last chapter, was energetically pushed forward. The system of granting patents and monopolies was also extended, and, indeed, was greatly abused. The right of exclusive dealing, originally given in the supposed interest of the community, was now being granted to favourites and courtiers, and sold by them to the highest bidder. In other cases the monopolies were sold by the Crown for the sake of the revenue they brought in. The purchasers naturally made use of their monopoly to demand high prices, and to pass off inferior goods on the public. At first the monopolies were confined to luxuries of foreign growth, but the system had now been extended to common, and even necessary articles—such as salt, steel, starch, coal, and leather. Public indignation rose high, and in the Parliament of 1597 the subject was resolutely brought forward. The Queen "hoped her dutiful and loving subjects would not take away her prerogative"; and promised to examine into all the patents that had been granted, and to see that no illegality had been practised. But the promises came to little, and when Parliament met again in 1601 the Commons returned fiercely to the charge. The Ministers urged that the House should satisfy itself with a petition, and one, at least, of the courtiers offered to resign his monopolies. But the Opposition persisted in their

denunciations till the Queen thought it best to yield, and Cecil announced, in her name, that all the existing patents should be repealed, and no more should be granted. This announcement was received with gratitude, to which the Queen replied, "I have more cause to thank you all than you me, for had I not received a knowledge from you, I might have fallen into the lap of an error only for lack of true information." Elizabeth knew when to yield, and could yield graciously; but it is interesting to notice that she, who so often overruled the wishes of her subjects on political and religious matters, should have given way so completely on a purely commercial question.

Their Suspension.

The Queen's promises were not, however, kept. Some of the most objectionable patents were withdrawn, but the majority were left untouched, and the subject became one of the matters of contention between the Stuart kings and their Parliaments. It was not till 1624 that the granting of monopolies was definitely made illegal by Act of Parliament; and, even then, exceptions were made in the case of new inventions and of certain specified commodities.

Their Final Abolition.

The growth of the commercial spirit among Englishmen in the sixteenth century is evidenced by the changed feeling on the subject of taking interest ("usury"). An Act of Parliament passed in 1545, while formally condemning all lending at usury, in accordance with the traditional morality, practically surrendered the principle, and only strove to prevent excessive interest. Seven years later the old condemnation was revived, but in 1571 Elizabeth's Parliament reverted to the settlement of 1545. The legal maximum rate was at this time ten per cent., but in 1624 it was only eight per cent. The accumulation of wealth, and especially of wealth in the form of money, increased the desire to lend at interest, whilst the growing spirit of adventure and the multiplying openings for trade simultaneously increased the desire to borrow and the willingness to pay for the accommodation. In the Middle Ages borrowing implied misfortune or thriftlessness, and lending at interest meant generally the taking advantage of a neighbour's distress or folly. We can, therefore, easily understand why it was so strongly condemned by the Church and public opinion. But

Interest.

in a more industrious age the desire to borrow, even at interest, would often arise from fresh opportunities of profitable trading; instead of being a step in the spendthrift's downward course, it would often be part of a prudent progress to greater wealth. The old idea lingered long in men's minds, but the lending at interest had become in so many cases a convenience and advantage to both parties and to the community, that we can scarcely wonder that both the law and public opinion were gradually modified. The law still professed to condemn usury, but it practically limited its aim to the prevention of excessive rates of interest. The next step was naturally a system of intermediaries discharging some of what we now call banking functions. The goldsmiths began to borrow at interest in order to lend out to traders at a higher rate. In other words, they became the connecting link between those who had money to lend and those who wished to borrow for trading purposes, or it might be to improve their estates. No doubt at first the goldsmiths merely acted as guardians of their clients' hoards, but they soon began to utilise those hoards much as bankers now make use of the money deposited with them. The Government itself soon took to borrowing at interest from bankers for short periods, till the taxes or other forms of revenue came in. There had been a bank at Venice as early as the twelfth century, and at Genoa in the fourteenth, but the bank at Amsterdam (founded 1609) soon outstripped all its rivals.

The Beginnings of Commercial Lending.

Banking.

It was undoubtedly the middle and upper classes who profited chiefly by the development of industry and commerce in the reign of Elizabeth. The actual money wages of labour hardly increased, while the prices of almost all commodities were rising. Thus, if we compare the magistrates' assessments for wages in Rutlandshire for 1564 and for 1610, we get the following results:—

The Position of the Working Classes.

	1564.	1610.
Ordinary artisan (summer) ...	9d. ...	9d. or 10d. per diem.
„ „ (winter) ...	8d. ...	8d. „
Agricultural labourer (summer)...	7d. ...	7d. „
„ „ (winter) ...	6d. ...	6d. „
Mower	(not given separately)	10d. „
Reaper	„ „	8d. „

Here, we see, the only advances were a fractional increase in the summer wages of an artisan, and perhaps some extra remuneration of the more skilled kinds of farm labour. Meanwhile, wheat had risen from 19s. 9¾d. per quarter to £2 0s. 4d.; malt, from 10s. 8d. to 13s. 4¾d.; and prices generally, by more than fifty per cent. On the other hand, it has to be noticed that the rise was somewhat less in the articles consumed by labourers than in those consumed by the upper and middle classes; and that while wages probably rose somewhat more rapidly than the magistrates' assessments, there was also apparently more regularity of employment. Moreover, many of the labourers kept a cow, and did, generally, more agricultural work on their own account, and thus often gained a little by the rise of prices. If we compare the decennium beginning 1583 with that beginning 1603, we find that wheat, which, we must remember, was not, to any great extent, an article of labourers' consumption, rose fifty per cent., but oats only twenty-five per cent. In the same period malt rose thirty per cent., and the average price of sheep about twenty-five per cent.; while the wages of common labour only rose about three per cent. We can scarcely doubt that this difference outweighed the counterbalancing facts referred to above, and therefore we conclude, though with some hesitation, that the material condition of the labouring class was actually deteriorating during the twenty years that we are dealing with; while, if we made the comparison with the second half of the fifteenth century, we should find the deterioration very much more considerable.

The Rise of Prices.

How far this deterioration was due to the expansion of the currency, is less easy to determine. Taking Europe as a whole, Mr. Jacobs calculates the total stock of money in silver and gold at the beginning of the century at £34,000,000; and the additional produce of the mines during the century, after making allowance for wear of coins, at £138,000,000. But of this, much went to Asia, and much was used in arts and manufacture, and for various purposes other than coinage. This Mr. Jacobs estimates at £42,000,000. Accordingly, the stock of money in Europe at the end of the century was about £130,000,000, as against £34,000,000 at the beginning. How

The Increase of the Currency.

much of this circulated in England is not easy to determine; but Elizabeth coined, on an average, during the forty-four years of her reign, £125,311 annually, viz. £107,240 in silver, and £18,071 in gold, making a gross total for the reign of £5,513,717. Of this, only £733,248 was issued from the Mint at the general re-coinage. We cannot, therefore, wonder at the great rise in prices; but the effects on the condition of the labourers seem opposed to the popular view that such a rise is likely to benefit the labouring classes. In reality, it seems that all rapid fluctuations generally have the opposite effect, whether the movement of prices be upwards or downwards.

The following table shows the average prices of typical commodities, as calculated by Thorold Rogers for the decennial periods, 1583-1593, and 1603-1613:—

	1583-93. £ s. d.		1603-13. £ s. d.
Wheat, per quarter	1 3 8½	...	1 15 3½
Barley „ „	0 12 10½	...	0 19 5
Oats „ „	0 8 1	...	0 11 10¾
Malt „ „	0 14 5	...	0 19 10
Cloth (common) per 12 yards	1 1 7	...	1 4 2
Velvet per yard	1 0 6¼	...	1 3 1½
Linen, second best table, per 12 yards ...	1 18 9¾	...	1 13 5¼
Canvas (commonest table)	0 9 3	...	0 8 8¾
Iron (wrought) per cwt.	1 4 7	...	1 12 8
Lead (wrought) „ „	0 12 9¾	...	0 15 4
Sugar per 12 lbs	0 17 1¼	...	1 0 3¼
Rice „ „	0 5 9	...	0 6 0¾
Herrings, 120...	0 2 8	...	0 3 7¼
Oysters, 120	0 0 7½	...	0 0 9
Haberden (salt cod) 120	3 4 3	...	3 3 2
Candles, 12 lbs.	0 3 6½	...	0 4 0¾
Beans	0 16 11	...	0 19 2
Peas	0 16 7½	...	0 17 5¼
Oxen (highest price)	4 7 1	...	6 9 8
Sheep (average)	0 7 9¾	...	0 9 0½
Horses, Coach (highest price)	11 4 10	...	11 16 2

The following are specimens of the average weekly wages during the same decennial periods:—

	1583-93. £ s. d.		1603-13. £ s. d.
Carpenters	0 5 11½	...	0 6 0½
Bricklayers	0 5 11	...	0 6 8½
Sawyers	0 5 3½	...	0 5 9½
Women (ordinary)	0 1 11¾	...	0 2 6

We may now briefly review the economic movements of Elizabeth's reign. On the whole, this period was one of great commercial progress. While the population of England steadily increased, her wealth increased far more rapidly. From being almost purely agricultural and pastoral, our country had now entered on that career which, in the eighteenth century, made her foremost among the nations both in manufactures and commerce; but agriculture remained our chief industry, and we were still far behind the Dutch in almost all branches of commerce. This progress was made possible and inaugurated by the restoration of the currency. It was stimulated by the advent of skilled immigrants, by the rise in prices, and especially by the growing energy of the people. It was fostered, directly by the peaceful and economical policy of Elizabeth, and indirectly by the havoc wrought by religious wars among our foreign rivals. It manifested itself in the great outburst of luxury and splendour which marked the closing years of the reign.

The Economic History of the Reign of Elizabeth.

Change in the Economic Position of England.

On the other hand, it must be noticed that it was the upper and middle classes who secured for themselves almost the whole of the increment in natural wealth. Whilst the money wages of the labourer increased, his real time-wages (measured in the commodities purchasable for a day's wages) undoubtedly decreased. It is probable, indeed, that this diminution was balanced by greater regularity of employment; but, at best, the labourer was worse off than his great-grandparents had been at the close of the fifteenth century, and not perceptibly better off than his parents in the early years of Elizabeth. In spite, however, of the great authority of Thorold Rogers, I cannot believe that the labourer's position steadily deteriorated in the sixteenth century. I should rather maintain that it grew worse down to about 1560; that it then improved for a few years, and that after that it remained fairly stationary till the close of the century.

The Division of the Product.

The Labourers.

The classes immediately above that of the wage-earners, which included small farmers, shopkeepers, and small employers, naturally profited greatly by the rise in prices. Those

The Middle Classes.

who buy to sell again, whether what they sell is in the same form as when bought, or worked up by their own industry, or the forces of Nature, obviously gain something more than the natural fruit of their industry, if prices rise between the time when they buy and the time when they sell. Accordingly, we are not surprised to find that the middle classes grew greatly both in numbers and wealth during the reign of Elizabeth. It was these classes who were most attracted towards Puritanism, which thus became, before the close of Elizabeth's reign, an important factor in the national life, though it was still only slightly represented in the House of Commons, and still more slightly in the House of Lords.

The Upper Classes.

Among the upper classes, too, we find many evidences of increased prosperity. The rise in rents was not indeed proportionate to the general rise in prices; but the upper classes invested largely in the trading and buccaneering enterprises of the time, which, in spite of frequent losses, brought in on the whole very advantageous returns. Moreover, owing to the spread of commerce, the prices of many luxuries from abroad actually fell, while others only slightly advanced. The upper classes now lived in houses built of brick or stone, with chimneys and glass windows, carpets, cushions, and other comforts, which had been, before Elizabeth's reign, almost unattainable luxuries; and there was a corresponding improvement in their dress and in their food.

W. A. S. HEWINS. Pauperism.

THE Reformation would in any case have made necessary much social legislation during the reign of Elizabeth. But great changes were in progress in every sphere of economic activity, and the natural evils of a period of transition were aggravated by a currency problem of the first magnitude. It was in these circumstances that the Poor Law, whose early history has been already described, was shaped into a form which, whatever its defects, was destined to remain unchanged in its essential features for nearly two hundred and fifty years. The statutes dealing with the poor during the reign of Elizabeth were not the work of a group of philanthropists, pursuing

their own course. The same individuals, the same committees of Lords and Commons, in the same session of Parliament, took counsel with each other, struggled and fought about Bills for the increase of tillage, for regulating industry, for the maintenance of navigation, as well as Bills for punishing vagabonds, erecting houses of correction, and relieving the poor. Thus the "Poor Laws of Elizabeth" may very well be described as part of one great economic system.

Elizabeth's First Poor Law.

The first of them,* like the Statute of Apprenticeship, was introduced in the House of Lords. It passed that House on 16th March, 1563, was sent to the Commons, where several amendments and two provisos were added, and the amended Bill was read a third time in the Lords on 6th April, 1563. The Bill went through all its stages in both Houses in less than a month. Thus were enacted important changes in the law as we left it at the end of Mary's reign (p. 256), and from their character it is evident that the difficulties there noted had become more acute. The time for the election of the collectors was altered from Christmas to Midsummer, and mayors, bailiffs, vicars, curates, and other officers mentioned failing to do their duty in electing them, were to forfeit forty shillings, to be levied by distress. The penalty for refusing the office was raised to the large amount of £10, to be levied by distress or by action of debt, bill, plaint, or information to be brought by the churchwardens in any court of record. Churchwardens neglecting to sue for such forfeitures were to be fined £20. Imprisonment was substituted for the bishop's censure in the case of defaulting collectors, and contributions for the relief of the poor were now made compulsory. Those refusing to give, and discouraging others from doing so, were, after due exhortation by the parson and then by the bishop, to be bound in the sum of £10 to appear before the Justices, who were to commit them to prison if they continued obdurate. The gentleness of this punishment, and the extremely roundabout way in which it reached the offender, contrasted with the swift retribution which overtook faulty administrators of the Act, show how unwilling the Government was to adopt a compulsory rate.

The next eight years were a time of great anxiety both at home and abroad, and instead of diminishing, the number of

* 5 Elizabeth, c. 3.

poor and vagabonds increased in an alarming manner. A Bill for the punishment of the latter was read a first time in the Commons on 4th December, 1566. On the 30th of the same month there is an interesting note to the effect that "The almes given this day for relief of the Poor amounted to the sum of nineteen pounds ten shillings, to be paid by Mr. Henry Knolles, senior, and Mr. Grimston, two members of the said House."* In 1569 the Privy Council ordered a "search" for vagabonds, "as the Queen and her Council had a jealousy of certain that went about in the North and in other parts of the nation." The search, which took place on the same day in various parts of the country, resulted in the apprehension of no less than 13,000 "masterless men." The City of London also adopted elaborate measures for discovering and repressing vagabonds.† For two or three years after the Northern rebellion a scarcity was feared, and many persons, not only in the Northern counties but in other districts, were in great want. "I have travelyd," wrote Sir Thomas Gargrave to the Earl of Sussex (6th September, 1571), "this iij wekes and more, daly, excepte Sundays. . . . I have not herd the complaynt so generall of povertye as yt nowe ys."‡ The Government was fully alive to the necessity of further legislation. The subject of poor relief had already engaged the attention of the Privy Council. The Lord Mayor and the Bishop of London had prepared a memorial of instructions, and Sir James Crofts had been appointed to consult with them as to the measures to be adopted and the persons whose advice should be asked.§ When a Bill against vagabonds and for the relief of the poor was brought into the Commons (13th April, 1571) the interest in it was so great that there was an animated debate on the first reading, "which is not commonly used, until after the second reading."‖ One member, "standing much on the care which is to be had for the poor," urged that the Bill before the House was "over sharp and bloody," and that it was possible, "with some travail had

The Rejected Bill of 1571.

* D'Ewes' *Journals*, p. 135.

† For an account of these measures, *vide* Ribton Turner's *History of Vagrants and Vagrancy*, pp. 102, 399.

‡ Cartwright's *Chapters of Yorkshire History*, p. 57.

§ *Acts of the Privy Council* (1591–92), pp. 72, 73.

‖ D'Ewes' *Journals*, p. 165.

by the Justices, to relieve every man at his own house and to stay them from wandering," justifying his opinion by an appeal to Worcestershire experience. Cecil said he would have a Bridewell in every town, "and every tipler in the county to yield twelvepence yearly to the maintenance thereof." Wilson, the author of a well-known treatise on usury, argued that "poor of necessity we must have, for so Christ hath said, until His latter coming." He then described his experience through the greatest part of Christendom, concluding "that such looseness and lewdness was nowhere as here. . . . It was no charity to give to such a one as we know not, being a stranger unto us." This Bill passed the Commons, but was rejected or allowed to drop in the Lords.

A Second Bill (1572).

Another Bill, which afterwards became law, was read a first time in the Lords on 12th May, 1572, reached its third reading five days later, and was sent to the Commons on the 19th. Then difficulties began. On 24th May it was found necessary to have a conference with the Lords on the Commons' amendments, but the Lords clung to their own views. For one thing they strongly objected to the inclusion of "fencers, bearewardes, common players in interludes, and minstrels"—all hateful to Puritan commoners—in the definition of vagabonds and idle rogues. On 30th May the Commons resolved "that the words *Minstrells, Bearwards, Pedlers*, etc., shall not be put out of the Bill, but stand still in the same, qualified by licenses of the Justices of the Peace in such sort as upon the Committee hath been considered and agreed upon, with this condition also—that if the Lords shall not agree to that qualification, then this House will not be so bound by the said resolution, but that they may alter and change the same at their will and pleasure, if they shall so think good."* The Commons, however, had their way, and the Bill became law.†

Elizabeth's Second Poor Law.

This second Poor Law of Elizabeth was by far the most elaborate that had been passed since first the subject attracted the attention of the Government. It is noticeable also that severe measures were once more to be tried for the repression of

* D'Ewes' *Journals*, p. 220.

† 14 Elizabeth, c. 5. Supplemented by 18 Elizabeth, c. 3. Both Acts continued by 29 Elizabeth, c. 5; 31 Elizabeth c. 10; and 35 Elizabeth, c. 7.

vagabonds. They were to be "grievously whipped, and burnt through the gristle of the right ear, unless they can find some one who will, under penalty of £5, keep them in service for a year. In case of a relapse into vagabondism within sixty days after punishment, the penalty was the death of a felon unless some honest person having £10 in goods or forty shillings in lands, or some householder approved by the Justices, would take the offender into his service for two years, entering into bond of £10; from which we may infer that the life of a vagabond at this time was considered equal in value to a labourer's services for two years. It is interesting to notice what classes of people the Government proposed to treat in this fashion. The complaint that the Bill of 1571, which was certainly more severe than the Act of 1572, was "over sharp and bloody" was well justified. The term vagabond, according to the definition in the Act, included the following:—(1.) Those who were, or pretended to be, proctors, going about the country without sufficient authority from the Queen; (2.) those who practised unlawful games or plays, physiognomists, palmists, etc.; (3.) able-bodied persons having no land or master, practising no trade or craft, and unable to account for the way in which they earned their living; (4.) fencers, bearwards, common players in interludes, and minstrels not belonging to any lord, jugglers, pedlars, tinkers, petty chapmen wandering about without license from the justices; (5.) able-bodied labourers, loitering and refusing to work at "*suche reasonable wages as is taxed and commonly given in suche partes where suche persons do or shall happen to dwell;*" (6.) counterfeiters of licenses, passports, and all users of the same knowing them to be counterfeit; (7.) scholars of the universities begging without license from the university authorities; (8.) shipmen pretending losses by sea, other than such as are provided for in the Act; (9.) discharged prisoners begging without license from two justices.

Its Relation to the Statute of Apprenticeship.

The inclusion in the above list of able-bodied labourers who would not work for "reasonable" wages throws much light on the objects of the Statute of Apprenticeship. The "reasonable wages taxed and commonly given" were the rates fixed, or supposed to be fixed, by justices of the peace, as authorised by that Act. Thus a powerful weapon was put

into the hands of the justices to coerce obstinate labourers, if they used their powers. The "reasonable wages" were not what modern artisans mean by a "living wage," but the rates which appeared reasonable and proper to the labourer's station in life in the eyes of the magistrates. In order to fully understand how this second Poor Law affected the working classes, it would be necessary to discuss in detail the administration of the wages clauses of the Statute of Apprenticeship. This, however, is impossible in this place; and it must suffice to point out that, so far as the evidence goes, the justices did not perform their duties with the regularity and efficiency which was required.* It was not only in the clauses directly bearing on the regulation of wages that the Poor Law supplemented the Statute of Apprenticeship. The Act of 1572 provided for the removal from their parents of the children of vagabonds, and for apprenticing them in agriculture, husbandry, or ordinary service. In such cases both the children and their masters or mistresses were bound by the provisions of the Statute of Apprenticeship. Fifty years ago it was more common than it is now for people to declaim about the "rights of the poor" to employment and relief secured to them during the reign of Elizabeth. But nothing could be farther from the intentions of the statesmen of this period. They adopted the principle of compulsory maintenance for the poor very unwillingly, very slowly, and only after many unsuccessful attempts to do without it; to get rid of an abuse which threatened to grow into a social danger, not to satisfy the demands of justice or right. In the same way the schemes for setting the poor to work were based upon the principle—not that the "idle" person, whatever the cause of his idleness, had a right to be provided with employment, but that severe pains and penalties were his proper deserts. It was, however, better to utilise his services, and make him profitable to the State by setting him to work, than to whip him, maim him, or kill him outright.

The provisions in the Act of 1572 for the relief of the poor were carefully thought out. The compulsion to be brought

* The author has discussed the administration of the Statute of Apprenticeship at length in his *English Trade and Finance* (1892) and in the *Economic Journal* (December, 1892, pp. 696–698). There are, however, several more wages assessments in existence than are there mentioned.

to bear on persons objecting to give was made more of a reality. A weekly charge was to be levied on the inhabitants; and it was no longer left to them to say how much it should be. If, however, they objected to their assessment, they had the right of appeal to the Quarter Sessions as a remedy. But refusal to pay in accordance with the justice's award was to be punished with imprisonment. Collectors and overseers were to be appointed annually. The penalty for refusal of the former office was reduced to the sum thought sufficient in Mary's reign, viz., 40s.; refusal of the office of overseer meant a forfeiture of 10s. Habitations were to be provided for the impotent and aged poor; a register to be kept, and a monthly inquiry to be held, when strangers were to be sent back to the place of their birth, or where they had dwelt for three years. The statute was enacted for seven years, and from that time to the end of the next Parliament. But long before then, viz., in 1576, it was supplemented by another Act, "for the setting of the poor on worke, and for the avoyding of idleness." The mother and the reputed father of an illegitimate child were to be charged with its support; and as the "heavy charge for conveying rogues and vagabonds to prison" caused them "to be winked at," the Act threw the expense on the several hundreds through which the offender was conveyed. The provisions for "setting the poor on work" were certain, in so far as they were successful, to manufacture more paupers than were relieved. The collectors were placed in the position of the factor or middleman in what is known as the domestic system. They were, out of a rate to be levied for that purpose, and the voluntary subscriptions of those who saw the great benefit to be derived from putting this law in execution, to provide a stock of raw material: wool, hemp, flax, and so on. This stock they were to distribute amongst the poor, who would work it up in their homes. For the result of their labours, the collectors were to pay "according to the desert of the work," and then sell it in the market for such goods, just as any other middleman would do. If the poor refused this mode of assistance, the Act provided the collectors with a stern answer, in the shape of the houses of correction now established. Here, "in convenient apparel," and "kept in diet as in work," punishment

The Relief of the Poor.

was to be administered at the discretion of the overseer of the house.

A House of Correction.

An interesting document* has been preserved showing the organization of a house of correction at this period, in conformity with the law we have just discussed. The justices of Suffolk drew up elaborate orders for the management of the house at Bury. They appointed a "forren officer" in every hundred to search for vagabonds, and, with the aid of the constable, to arrest them. The vagabonds, after their reception at the house, were to be whipped and put in irons, and then set to work. The whip used was to consist of two cords, without knots. More severe treatment was reserved for the stubborn. The justices appear to have considered every detail of the management of the House; the diet of the inmates, the duties of the officers are defined with precision. With these orders may be compared those of Christ's Hospital, Ipswich, where similar regulations were put in force in 1594.† During the same period, also, there are many instances of loans, gifts of money and material, etc., for setting the poor to work; and on the whole there appears to have been a fair number of attempts to give effect to the law. The ecclesiastical authorities were not behindhand in inculcating the duty of the wealthy to contribute liberally for the relief of the poor, and even to "forbear to have suppers on Wednesdays, Fridays, and fasting-days" with this object.‡

Parliament and the Poor Law.

We come now to the last Parliament but one of Queen Elizabeth, in which, for all practical purposes, the principal provisions of the "Old Poor Law" were finally determined. The Session of 1597–98 was largely devoted to social legislation. It commenced (5th of November, 1597) with Bacon's motion§ against enclosures, when he brought in two Bills, "not drawn with a polished pen, but with a polished heart, free from

* Printed in Eden's *State of the Poor*, vol. iii., appendix vii. Copious extracts are also given in Ribton Turner's *Vagrants and Vagrancy*, pp. 116–393.

† Bacon's *Annals of Ipswiche*, p. 379.

‡ *Vide* Archbishop Whitgift's circular-letter to the Bishops. [Tanner MSS., lxxvii. 69.]

§ The only business before this motion was the first reading of a Bill against Forestallers, Regraters, and Engrossers.

affection and affectation." A committee of the House was appointed to consider the matter. The House was then invited to inquire into "the sundry great and horrible abuses of idle and vagrant persons, and the miserable state of the godly and honest sort of the poor subjects of this realm." This matter also was referred to Bacon's committee. But six days later Sir Francis Hastings complained that they had so far spent all their labour on enclosures and tillage, and had devoted no attention to the punishment of rogues and relief of the poor, and moved for leave to bring in two or three Bills on the subject which had been prepared by different members of the House. It would be tedious to describe in detail the work of this important session of Parliament, and to follow the history of the numerous Bills dealing with the poor which were brought in. By the 22nd of November one committee, consisting of Cecil, Bacon, Sir Robert Wroth, and others, which had been appointed on the 19th, had no less than eleven Bills on this subject referred to it. It must be remembered that many other Bills on social and economic subjects, as well as private Bills dealing with hospitals and the reclamation of waste lands, were being considered in the same session, and some idea will be obtained of the labours of this Elizabethan Parliament. The committee on the various Bills for the relief of the poor used to meet in the Middle Temple Hall. Out of the numerous Bills now before the House we shall select two, one of them a Bill "for the relief of the poor," the other a Bill for "erecting houses of correction."

Lords and Commons.

After reaching its second reading, the former Bill was entirely remodelled, and in the new form passed the Commons on 13th of December, 1597. In the Lords it was amended, carried over the adjournment (20th December-11th January), when the Lords' amendments and provisos were considered by the Commons, and finally became law.* The progress of the Bill for houses of correction was more difficult, for both houses were keenly interested in the subject. Amendments accumulated as the Bill went through the Commons. It passed that House on 5th of December, but the Lords did not intend to let it through without discussion. The committee to which it was

* 39 Elizabeth, c. 3.

referred (8th December) was authorised "to call such of the House of Commons unto them at their meeting as they should find cause to confer withal for the better perfecting of the Bill." It reached its third reading on the day of the adjournment (20th December). When the Commons came to consider the Lords' amendments and provisos, strong objections were urged against them, and they were referred to a committee consisting of Raleigh, Cecil, Bacon, and others (12th January). On the following day Raleigh moved for a conference with the Lords. Repairing to the Upper House to ask for it, he, and the members who accompanied him, were made very indignant at the reception the Lords gave them—"not using any of their Lordships' former and wonted courteous manner of coming down towards the said members of this House to the Bar, but all of them sitting still in their great estates very solemnly, and all covered, the Lord Keeper sitting also still in like manner covered." This supposed affront was explained to the satisfaction of the offended Commons, but the incident did not dispose them to conciliation. The tension between the two Houses was also increased by the disrespectful manner in which the Lords received the Commons' complaint, that they had sent down their amendments engrossed on parchment instead of being written on paper. The result of the conference was unsatisfactory, and we are not surprised to find that (17th January, 1598) "The Amendments and Provisos . . . . being read for the third reading thereof, the Bill being put to the question, and after sundry speeches and arguments first had, both with the Bill and against the Bill, was dashed upon the division of the House." The numbers were—66 for the Bill, and 106 against. The subject was not allowed to drop. The Lords carried a Bill of their own "for the punishment of rogues, vagabonds, and sturdy beggars." It was tossed about between the two Houses for three weeks, but finally became law.*

Elizabeth's Third Poor Law.

These two Acts of Parliament constituted Elizabeth's third poor law. The latter, for the punishment of vagabonds, was very much milder than previous Acts, and there can be no doubt that it owed this characteristic to the Lords, who throughout the reign appear to have regarded the unhappy

* 39 Elizabeth, c. 4. Continued, revived, and explained, 1 Jas., cc. 7, 25.

vagabonds more leniently than the Commons. The Act for the relief of the poor provided for the annual appointment in Easter week of churchwardens and overseers. We have also in this Act the other familiar features of the "Old Poor Law." We find there the principles of relief from a fund raised by a compulsory rate, leviable by distress; employment by the provision of a stock of hemp, wool, etc.; apprenticeship for the children of paupers; the rate in aid of poorer parishes; and the appeal to the Quarter Sessions. It was also provided that parents or children must maintain their relations, and that special rates should be levied for the prisoners in the King's Bench and the Marshalsea, and for hospitals and almshouses.

This Act was to endure to the end of the next Parliament. The last Parliament of Elizabeth, therefore, was bound to reconsider the question of the relief of the poor. On November 5th, 1601, Sir Robert Wroth drew attention to the subject, but nothing further was done until almost the end of the Session. A Bill for the relief of the poor, the famous "Old Poor Law,"* was then hurried through both Houses in a little more than a week. The law complementary to this, for the punishment of vagabonds and erection of houses of correction, which had been enacted until the end of the first session of the Parliament of 1601, was allowed to lapse. But it was revived, explained, and amended in the first year of James I. If it be asked why so important a measure aroused so little attention in 1601, it may be answered that Parliament considered the existing law satisfactory. Cecil only expressed the prevailing opinion when, in reply to a motion that "no private Bill may pass this House, but the procurers to give something to the poor," he said "Our ordinary begging-poor are provided for."†

Elizabeth's Fourth and Last Poor Law.

The great disturber of the public health in the Elizabethan period was plague. How great a disturber it was will appear from the vital statistics of London, which are accurately known for a series of five years—1578–82. Over the whole period the

C. CREIGHTON. Public Health.

* 43 Elizabeth, c. 2. † Townshend's *Historical Collections*, p. 280.

burials were thirty-three per cent. more than the christenings; or, one-third more lives were lost in a year than were added to the population from within. The excess of deaths was wholly owing to plague. In one of the five years (1580) the plague was all but dormant, and in every month of that year, except July (when one of the few influenzas of the sixteenth century was raging, called the Gentle Correction), the baptisms were well ahead of the burials, the excess for the whole year being nearly twenty-five per cent. The inference appears warranted that, barring plague, the public health of Elizabethan London was good. We look in vain in the vital statistics of later periods (if they can be trusted), down to the beginning of the present century, for any year with the baptisms in London one-fourth more than the burials, although that is an excess which is reached in any year at present, and is surpassed in most. It is probable that there were two periods of eight or nine years each in the latter half of the reign of Elizabeth (the years 1583-92 and 1594-1602) when the absence of plague, or the slightness of its prevalence, enabled the births to exceed the deaths, perhaps in the same ratio as in 1580. But the excess in a series of years of immunity from plague was more than swallowed up by the great plague of a single season. Thus, in 1563, from June to the end of the year, there died of plague in the 108 parishes of the City and Liberties 17,404 persons, and in the 11 out-parishes 2,732, making a total of 20,136 deaths by plague, the deaths from all other causes (doubtless including some others really from plague) having been 3,524. The other great plague of the reign was in 1593 when the total deaths by that cause were 15,003, the deaths from other causes having been 10,883, of which probably one-half were also really from plague. Twice in the Elizabethan period the capital lost from a sixth to a fifth part of its population by a great plague, and in each of several other years of the reign its mortality by ordinary causes was more than doubled by plague. Other towns that had a great epidemic of plague in this reign were Norwich, Yarmouth, Rye, Bristol, Plymouth, Totnes, and Tiverton, while the infection was very severe in the northern counties about 1596-97, in a time of dearth.

The great plague-mortalities extended to all parts of London, and would probably have included a due proportion

of all classes had not the rich sought safety in flight when the infection began to wax hot in summer and autumn. But the better parts of London suffered only from their neighbourhood to the rest. In all the great plagues, so far as is known, from that of 1563 onwards, the infection began in the poor and crowded skirts of the City, in the ring of parishes outside the walls. A medical writer of the year 1564 says that twice in his memory the plague had begun in St. Sepulchre's parish (he writes it S. Poulkar's, and would have spoken it Se'Poulkar's), the parish outside Newgate, "by reason of many fruiterers, poor people, and stinking lanes, as Turnagain Lane [which ran down the slope to Fleet Ditch and ended at its brink], Sea-coal Lane, and other such places." It was to check the growth of these nests and breeding-places of plague that the proclamation of 1580 was issued, prohibiting buildings on new sites within a radius of three miles of the City gates, as well as the sub-division of houses into two or more tenements. The fear of plague entering among these "multitudes," and extending thence to the City and throughout the whole realm, was the avowed motive of that remarkable ordinance. The Liberties were then the slums of the City, largely beyond municipal control, although the mayor's jurisdiction extended to the Bars of the Freedom. The space outside the walls had been built over without any such regularity of plan as the City itself had from an early period. It was about 1540 that the three cross-streets of the Western Liberty were paved—Shoe Lane, Fetter Lane, and Chancery Lane. Between these lanes, or the corresponding main arteries in the other parishes, the ground was covered by mean tenements approached by a maze of alleys. The same process was going on farther afield, the country roads and adjoining open spaces becoming "pestered," as John Stow says, "with filthy cottages, and with other purprestures, enclosures, and laystalls, notwithstanding all proclamations and Acts of Parliament made to the contrary, that in some places there scarce remaineth a sufficient highway for the meeting of carriages and droves of cattle."

The London Slums under Elizabeth.

The Growth of London.

The proclamation of 1580 was really a confession on the part of the City of its inability to govern beyond a certain limit. While it did nothing to check the growth of London,

it allowed some three-fourths of the capital to grow up beyond the pale of sanitation.

Sanitary Practices in Towns.

It would be a mistake to infer from the unwholesome state of the crowded ring of parishes outside the walls that there was no sanitary knowledge or practice. Apart from measures of the nature of quarantine for plague (referred to in a former section), much was done in the way of radical sanitation. The danger of nuisances was never unperceived. At first the remedy was "at his suit that will complain," or by raising an action; but in the Tudor period certain persons were elected from among the citizens to represent all the rest as "scavengers." Hooker, of Exeter, says that the scavengers "are necessary officers who cannot be wanting in any well-governed city or town, because by them and their service all things noisome to the health of man and hurtful to the state of the body of the commonwealth, are advertised unto the magistrate, and so they be the means of the redress thereof. And therefore they be called scavengers, as who saith shewers or advertisers, for so the word soundeth." They were, in short, inspectors of nuisances. An election to the office at Ipswich is recorded as early as 1540, on which occasion also four places outside the town were appointed for depositing the refuse or soil upon. Stow, in his "Survey of London," gives the number of scavengers in each ward of the City, along with the number of aldermen and councillors. At Exeter it was part of their duty to attend the mayor to church on Sunday. The scavengers of Exeter had also "their service" under them, who may have been employed in the actual work of nuisance-removal for the common good; but it is probable that the responsibility still rested ordinarily with the individual householder, except in times of plague, when the magistracy appear to have undertaken certain elementary duties of municipal police, such as cleansing the streets every other day.

The Local Sanitary Authorities.

In smaller towns, or in villages, the old usages of the Manor Court remained for long a system of local sanitary government. The following is an example from the Manor Court of Castle Combe, in Wiltshire, in 1590:—

"That the inhabitants of the West Streete doe remove the donge or fylth at John Davis house ende before the feaste of Seynt Andrew h'

apostell next, and that they lay no more there within a foote of the wey, sub poena iiis iiiid.

"And that none shall lay any duste or any other fylth in the wey or pitte belowe Cristopher Besas house, sub poena pro quolibet tempore xiid.

"And that none shall soyle in the church yerde nor in any of our streetes, for every defaulte to lose xiid.

"And that the glover shall not wash any skynes, nor cast any other fylth or soyle in the water runnynge by his house, sub poena xs."

It is said that the same traditional authority of the Manor Court for the prevention of nuisances was found in existence in certain parishes of England at the time when the first Local Government Act came into force, about thirty years ago.

Medical Incidents of the Reign.

Apart from plague, the cause of which seemed to lie deeper than all the sanitation of the time could reach, there were other medical experiences of the reign which show how elementary was the knowledge of the sixteenth century in all that related to the provocation of disease. Hooker, who records the duties of the nuisance inspectors of Exeter, is also the authority for a remarkable incident at the assizes in that city in March, 1586. Sir Bernard Drake had taken on the high seas a Portuguese vessel laden with stock-fish from Newfoundland, and brought his prize into Dartmouth. The men, to the number of thirty-eight, were thrown into "the deep pit and stinking dungeon" of Exeter Castle. Their clothing and persons were filthy after a season at the cod fishery, and they appear to have been left uncared for until the time of the gaol delivery. Some of them died, others grew distracted. Infection spread from them to the other prisoners, of whom many died. When the day of trial came, the Portugals were so weak and ill that they had to be carried into court. Their starved condition moved the compassion of those who saw them, and most of all of the presiding judge, Chief Justice Sir Edmund Anderson, "who upon this occasion took a better order for keeping all prisoners thenceforth in the gaol, and for the more often trials"—namely, once a quarter. The need for some reform was strongly enforced by what followed. Some fourteen days after the trial, symptoms of malignant typhus fever began to

Gaol Fevers.

appear in many who had been at the assizes. Constables, reeves, tithing-men, jurors (eleven out of one jury of twelve), and many of the commons of Exeter, died of it, as well as one of the judges and a number of the gentry of Devon:—two Careys, a Waldron, Basset, Fortescue, Chichester, Risdon, and Bernard Drake himself within a few days of reaching his home at Crediton. An exactly parallel case had happened at Oxford nine years before. The Queen's Bench Prison in Southwark was always crowded, and was never free from the "sickness of the house," by which a hundred had died in six years. The records of coroners' inquests at Newgate show that many deaths occurred among prisoners from "the pining sickness," and some from "pestilent fever," or bloody flux. It is not until the prosperous reign of George II. that similar experiences of "black assizes" and gaol fever reappear in our history.

Health on Shipboard.

The life on board ship was another test of the public health. Two or three weeks after they had beaten off the Spanish Armada, the English ships were at anchor in Margate Roads, with their crews so crippled by disease that it was found impossible to bring the vessels through the Downs to Dover. Admiral Lord Howard wrote: "They sicken one day, and die the next." And in another letter: "It is a most pitiful sight to see the men die in the streets of Margate. The *Elizabeth Jonas* has lost half her crew. Of all the men brought out by Sir Richard Townsend, he has but one alive." Musty rations and want of clothes were believed to have brought on sickness in the first instance, which must have turned to infection afterwards.

Of the Armada itself, the fifty ships which escaped destruction returned to Corunna and Santander in such a state of disease that the inhabitants shut their doors against the disembarking sailors. These were probably instances of ship-fever, or dysentery, or perhaps, in the case of the Spanish ships, of true plague. A more ordinary incident—an incident almost inseparable from a voyage that lasted three months or longer—was scurvy. Sir Richard Hawkins believed that he knew of ten thousand men lost by it during the twenty years that he had used the sea: "It is the plague of the sea, and the spoil of mariners." In Lancaster's first voyage for the East India Company in 1601, he kept the crew of his flagship

in comparatively good health, until he could land them at the Cape, by serving out lime-juice so long as his small stock of it lasted. The other ships, after a three months' voyage, had their crews so reduced or crippled by scurvy, that they were scarcely able to let fall an anchor or hoist out their boats. An incident told of a coasting cruiser, in a letter from one of her company which Purchas saw a few years after, is as follows: a drumbler, of Ipswich, called the *Amitie*, was employed in the Queen's service for two years (about 1600) on the north coast of Ireland, during which time she is said to have lost by scurvy thirty-two of her original crew of forty men, notwithstanding their facilities for getting "fresh victuals and many other helps."

One other aspect of the public health deserves a brief notice. The two endowed hospitals of London were St. Bartholomew's and St. Thomas's, both of them ancient ecclesiastical foundations which had been preserved to the sick poor at the dissolution of the monasteries. William Clowes, surgeon to the former, makes, in a book of the year 1579, a revelation as to the class of patients who occupied the hospitals at that time which cannot but excite surprise. Three out of four, it appears, were admitted as in-patients for the French pox: "I speake nothing of St. Thomas Hospital, and other houses about this citye, where an infinite multitude are dayly in cure. . . . It hapneth in the house of Saint Bartholomew very seldome but that among every twentye diseased persons that are taken in, fiftene of them have the pocks." Along with three other surgeons of the hospital, he had cured one thousand and more such patients in five years. For this deplorable state of things he blames the great number of rogues and vagabonds and the numerous lewd alehouses, "which are the very nests and harbourers of such filthy creatures."

M. BATESON. Social Life.

The Queen showed her sense of the power of the drama to guide public feeling when in the first year of her reign she issued a proclamation against the performance of all plays and interludes for a time. A second proclamation required the licence of the mayor for performances in towns, and of the lord-lieutenant

and two justices of the peace for performances in the country. Furthermore, players were forbidden to touch questions of religion and government. The Theatre. Dudley, afterwards Earl of Leicester, at once applied for a licence for his private company of players. As yet the boys of the Royal chapels, or of the great city schools, the young lawyers of the Inns of Court, undergraduates at the universities, and the retainers of courtiers were the only actors of the new comedies and tragedies written on the classical model which were beginning to be fashionable at court.* The common people attended the Mystery and Morality plays at religious festivals, and heard there many allusions to current theological controversy; they also went to see the Chronicle Histories, in which historical personages were introduced instead of the allegorical abstractions and virtues and vices as of yore; and at the beginning of the reign they crowded to see the new "interludes," such as Heywood was writing, in which fictitious characters, drawn to resemble real life, were for the first time introduced. The moral interlude had become farcical, but as yet the populace had no tragedies or comedies, and for the first fifteen years of Elizabeth's reign the drama as we understand it was an amusement peculiar to royalty. The Queen's Yeoman of the Revels kept an "acting-box," which had to serve the whole country; its masks, dresses, and properties were hired to the schools, the Inns of Court, the Universities, and also to country-players, who are reported to have damaged them, "by reason of the press of the people, and foulness both of the way and soil of the wearers, who for the most part be of the meanest sort of men."† But ere long the noblemen, the schools, and the Queen's players found that money was to be made by public performances, and to this end stages were erected in inn-yards, and the audience viewed the performance from the inn-galleries. In London the Bell in Gracious (now Gracechurch) Street, the Bull in Bishopsgate Street, and the Belle Sauvage on Ludgate Hill were the most famous.

The City authorities were very jealous of their powers in licensing plays, as it was thought that crowded assemblies helped to spread the plague. Harrison, in his "Chronology,"

* Fleay, "Chronicle History of the London Stage," p. 10.
† J. P. Collier, "English Dramatic Poetry," i. 191.

1572, writes that "for this reason plays are banished for a time out of London." He adds, "Would to God these common plays were exiled altogether as seminaries of impiety, and their theatres pulled down as no better than houses of baudry." In 1574, however, the Queen exercised her authority to permit Leicester's company to act within the City of London, "except in time of common prayer or of common plague." Next year the Common Council complained of the "inordinate haunting of great multitudes of people, especially youth, to plays, interludes, and shows," of gross conduct "in inns having chambers and secret places adjoining to their open stages and galleries," of the "waste of money by poor and fond persons, of pick-purses, and of the spread of sedition," and forbade all plays, except those played in private houses for marriages and festivities.

In response to an appeal from the players, the Lord Mayor conceded them permission to play when the death-rate was less than fifty per week. To avoid such stringent regulations, the players determined to build a house suitable for dramatic performances outside the limits of the City, in the Liberty of Halliwell, out in the fields of Shoreditch, the favourite practising ground of archers.

In Harrison's "Chronology," under the date 1572, he speaks of "theatres," and says, "it is an evident token of a wicked time when players wax so rich that they can build such houses." The word "theatre" may here mean not a house adapted for dramatic performances, but a stage, or "pageant house," as it was called, which, when used for Morality plays, was sometimes three storeys high, and very elaborate. If the word be used in the modern sense, and if Harrison wrote the passage in 1572, it is the first mention of such houses. In Lambard's "Perambulation of Kent," 1576, we read:—

"Those who go to Paris Garden, the Bell Savage, and the Theatre to behold bear-baiting, interludes, or fence-play must not account of any pleasant spectacle unless first they pay one penny at the gate, a second at the entry of the scaffold, and a third for quiet sitting."

This is the first mention of the house called the "Theatre," in Hollywell Lane, Shoreditch, which was the first built in London. About this time also the "Curtain" in Moorfields,

Shoreditch, was built. Both houses were quite in the country, and surrounded by fields. The name "curtain" had belonged of old to the land on which the theatre of that name was built; a Curtain Row existed as late as 1745; it is now Gloucester Street. As Sunday was at first the only day on which players were licensed to perform, it was noted in 1578 that the Theatre and Curtain were as full as they could throng, and ministers were disturbed at service by the noise of the drum which summoned the audience. In 1583 a company of Queen's players, which was managed by Leicester's two chief actors, Burbage and Laneham, played in the Theatre, and acquired a special right to the title "Queen's Players," which had hitherto belonged to all who performed before the Queen.

The Drama at the Universities.

Throughout the reign the drama was encouraged at the Universities, and performances were given of plays in English and Latin, by modern and ancient writers, at Oxford and Cambridge, where the *Aulularia* of Plautus was played in King's College Chapel on a Sunday afternoon,* in honour of Her Majesty's visit. Harrington says, the wiser but not the "presyser" sort at Cambridge thought there might be much good in well-penned comedies, and especially tragedies. In 1587 Marlowe and Greene left Cambridge for London, and created a new spirit in the drama. Plays had no "long runs" in those days, and the rivalry of the stages in seeking out new plays by educated playwrights was keen. This rivalry led to an increase in the number of theatres, and by 1592 the "Rose" had been built in Bankside, Southwark. There in that year Shakespeare acted as a member of Lord Strange's company, managed by Henslow. In 1594 the Earl of Sussex's company performed Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus*, a piece whose revolting story was well adapted to the prevalent taste for horrors. In 1594 he played before the Queen at Greenwich, and in his *Comedy of Errors* at Gray's Inn. It has been estimated that out of twenty-eight plays acted before the Queen by the Lord Chamberlain's company, twenty were Shakespeare's.† A contemporary writer says that between March and July, 1592, ten thousand people saw the First Part of *Henry VI.*; and whether this

London Theatres.

* Nichols, "Progresses," i. 166. † Fleay, "Life of Shakespeare," p. 47.

be an exaggeration or not, it is evident that the need of more theatres was felt, for, in 1596, Burbage, Shakespeare's fellow-actor, bought a large house in Blackfriars, which he converted into a private theatre, and before the end of the century two important new theatres were built in Bankside. The district chosen was one of extreme squalor, known as the Clink or Bishop of Winchester's Liberty, and of evil reputation; but as the new "Globe" and "Fortune" were visited by boat, the inconveniences of access were not so great as to the Theatre and Curtain in remote Shoreditch. The new theatres did not follow the classical model described by Vitruvius, as the contemporary Italian theatres did, but like the old Theatre and Curtain, they followed a plan which is generally believed to be an imitation of the arrangement of an inn-courtyard, where the stagings about the house formed ready-made balconies, galleries, and boxes (p. 521). The floor was filled with the poorest part of the audience, the "groundlings" or "pit," who had to stand pressed up against the stage, which was raised on a small scaffold.

The Structure of the Theatre.

From contemporary pictures* it can be seen that the Globe was not fully roofed in; the audience alone were under the thatched roof; yet there were plays even in winter time, for a performance in February is recorded. It was built 1598–9 by the actor Burbage, who had been a carpenter, out of the materials of the Theatre, which was pulled down. It stood close to the bear-garden, and had as its sign Atlas supporting the globe. It was octagonal, and built of wood, lath, and plaster. The Fortune, between Cross Street and Golding Lane, was built by Alleyn, Burbage's rival, 1599–1600, at a cost of £520. The contract is extant,† and shows it to have been a square, measuring 80 feet outside, 55 inside, three storeys in height, "with four convenient divisions for gentlemen's rooms and other sufficient divisions for twopenny rooms," with seats throughout the house. Over the stage there was to be a covering, but in all other respects it appears to have resembled the Globe.

These two playhouses, where alone performances were

* Wilkinson, "Londina Illustrata," plate 98.

† Halliwell-Phillipps, "Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare," 5th ed., p. 265.

sanctioned in 1600, were the great social and political centres of the time. The Globe was a meeting-place for those concerned in the Essex rebellion. The Master of the Revels was dramatic censor, and an attempt was made to check the political use of the stage when in 1581 a divine and a statesman were ordered to help him. Nevertheless the Martin Marprelate tracts (p. 439) were answered from the stage, and plays were filled with political allusions, obscurely put to evade the authorities, and now difficult to understand. Every educated man made a point of reading new plays, and of larding his discourse with quotations from the plays then running. He must speak "in print," and keep a "huge long-scraped stock of well-penned plays." In the playhouses the gallants congregated, and in private theatres, such as Burbage's Blackfriars Theatre, they hired seats on the stage, where they could show off their clothes and their skill in taking tobacco to the best advantage.

The Plays and the Public.

> "Rufus, the courtier, at the theatre,
> Leaving the best and most conspicuous place,
> Doth either to the stage himself transfer,
> Or through a grate doth show his double face:
> For that the clamorous fry of Inns of Court
> Fills up the private rooms of greater price:
> And such a place where all may have resort,
> He in his singularity doth despise." *

Another favourite place, the worst for seeing but the best for being seen, was the box adjoining the balcony at the back of the stage, which the actors used for plays within plays. In Elizabeth's reign prices varied from a penny to a shilling; in the next reign they rose. Twopenny rooms or boxes and the twopenny gallery are often mentioned, but sixpence seems to have been the most usual fee. The St. Paul's private theatre had no seats at less than fourpence, and its audience was more select; there

> ". . . A man shall not be choked
> With the smell of garlic, nor be pasted
> To the barmy jacket of a beer-brewer."

In 1585 a Dutchman reported that "the players might take £10 to £12 at a time, particularly if they act anything

* Sir John Davies' Epigrams (Grosart. ii. 10).

new, when people have to pay double. They perform nearly every day in the week; notwithstanding plays are forbidden on Friday and Saturday, this prohibition is not observed." * The average daily expenditure on a dramatic performance has been estimated at forty-five shillings; a new play was known to cost £6 13s. 4d., though a private theatre would be willing to give double that amount. The data concerning actors' salaries are not precise, but it appears that the takings were divided into shares and fractions of shares; the master-sharers or proprietors of the theatre got a certain proportion of shares, others three-quarter or half shares, and the poorest actors or hirelings about 6s. a week, according to Gosson's "School of Abuse," 1579. Malone estimated that a good actor might get £90 a year (an outside estimate).† Sweet bully Bottom's "sixpence a day in *Pyramus* or nothing" was to be a pension for life, such as Preston got from the Queen for his acting in the play of *Dido*, at King's College, Cambridge.‡

The Finance of the Drama.

As a rule the play began at one o'clock, and as the public playhouses were not roofed in, the performance was by daylight. The private theatres in dwelling-houses alone had evening performances. Plays were advertised by bills in the town, and the signal that the play had begun was the hoisting of a flag. All classes whiled away the intervals between the acts by eating fruit, especially apples, cracking nuts, card-playing, and smoking. Ladies attended, and, when masks came into fashion, were masked. As yet no woman acted, and it fell to "some squeaking Cleopatra" to "boy" her greatness. The floor of the stage was strewn with rushes; in front was a curtain which was drawn from the sides.

The Performance.

The nature of scenery in the reign of Elizabeth has been much debated,§ and many passages may be cited which seem to show that stage effects were very primitive, while others seem distinctly to point to the use of movable scenes. Sir Philip

Scenery and Stage Carpentry.

* Rye, "England as seen by Foreigners," p. 88.

† "Historical Account of the English Stage," p. 179 (ed. 1821).

‡ Nichols, "Progresses," i. 181.

§ J. P. Collier, "English Dramatic Poetry," iii. 170. Drake, "Shakespeare and his Times," ii. 212, seqq.

Sidney makes fun of the written labels used to explain what the properties were intended to represent, but he may be speaking of rustic acting only. There certainly were trap-doors in Elizabeth's reign, and in 1592 a stage direction bids Venus be let down from the top of the stage, and when she has said her speech, "if you can conveniently, let a chair come down from the top of the stage and draw her up." Shakespeare's stage directions involve the use of walls and battlements, from which actors could speak, and the minute descriptions his characters give of scenes in which they find themselves must often have been ludicrous if the objects spoken of were not represented on the stage. Undoubtedly scenery was used for the Queen's great masques and pageants, and it may reasonably be supposed that towards the end of the reign it was being used on the stage so far as there was space for it.

English players and their playing became famous throughout Europe; large towns in Germany and the Netherlands were visited as early as 1591, and in 1597 a company of English actors performed for seven days before the court at Stuttgart. Amateurs soon took to playing Shakespeare, and in 1607 sailors beguiled a weary voyage to the East Indies by acting *Richard II.* and *Hamlet*, which the captain permitted, "to keep his people from idleness, unlawful games, or sleep."*

Tobacco.

Allusion has already been made to smoking in theatres, by the end of the reign, the practice had become general. Sir John Hawkins is believed to have first brought tobacco to England in 1565. Stow, in his "Annales," gives 1577 as the date of its first introduction; but it was certainly used medicinally before that time. Under the year 1573 of his "Chronology," Harrison writes: "In these days, the taking-in of the smoke of the Indian herb called Tabaco by an instrument formed like a little ladle, whereby it passeth from the mouth into the head and stomach, is greatly taken up and used in England, against rheums and some other diseases engendered in the lungs and inward parts, and not without effect." In 1587, he was complaining of its want of efficacy, due perhaps, he says, to the "repugnancy of our constitution unto the operation

* Rye, p. cxi.

thereof." Spenser and Lilly write of it as a drug; Shakespeare, strange to say, never mentions it.

It was Sir Walter Raleigh's example that first made smoking fashionable in England. In 1586, three sea-captains had drawn much attention to themselves by "drinking" tobacco in the streets of London in the form of twisted leaves or "segars." In ten years' time, to learn to "drink" or "take" tobacco was a necessary part of a gentleman's education. Lodge, in 1596, speaks of the foolish fellow who will lug you in his arms, kiss you on the cheek, and cry with an oath: "I love you, you know, my poor heart. Come to my chamber for a pipe of tobacco; there lives not a man in this world that I more honour." In 1698, Chamberlain* noted that certain mad knaves took tobacco on the way to be hanged at Tyburn. Raleigh, too, in the next reign, took a pipe of tobacco before he went to the scaffold, "which some formal persons were scandalised at;" but, says his biographer Aubrey, "I think it was well and properly done to settle his spirits."

The story that certain astonished observers of Raleigh smoking thought he was on fire, and threw a pot of ale over him to quench him, seems to be apocryphal. In 1598 Hentzner, a foreigner on a visit to England, records that at the bear-baitings and everywhere else the English are constantly smoking "the Nicotian weed," "and generally in this manner: they have pipes on purpose made of clay, into the farther end of which they put the dry herb, so dry that it may be rubbed into powder, and, lighting it, they draw the smoke into their mouths, which they puff out again through their nostrils like funnels, along with it plenty of phlegm and defluxion from the head."† Soon after its introduction, tobacco sold for 3s. an ounce—at least 18s. of our money. Every fashionable smoker carried much elaborate apparatus in the form of tongs, priming-irons, and the like. Aubrey says that pipes were at first made of silver, and that the poor were content with a walnut-shell and a straw. One pipe often had to suffice for several, and was handed round the table. Some landladies hired out pipes at 3d. the pipeful. By the beginning of the seventeenth century smoking began to be bitterly opposed, especially by the Puritans, and in 1602 "Work for Chimney-

* Letters, Camden Society, p. 25. † Rye, p. 216.

sweepers, or a Warning for Tobacconists" was written and answered. It was the smokers who were called "tobacconists."*

Besides smoking and going to plays, a man of fashion had many other means, innocent or the reverse, of making time pass quickly. The order of the day for an idler, Sir John Harrington tells us, was chess in the morning; after dinner, cards; then, to exercise the arms, dice; to exercise the body, tennis; warmed by this, he will cool himself at the "tables," backgammon, shovel-board, or billiards; and, tired out with them, go to a play or an interlude—probably an evening performance at a private theatre.

Town Life.

In one of Davies' "Epigrams" an idler's life is sketched thus:—

> "First, he doth rise at ten; and at eleven
> He goes to 'Gyls,' where he doth eat till one;
> Then sees a play till six, and sups at seven;
> And after supper straight to bed is gone;
> And there till ten next day he doth remain,
> And then he dines, and sees a Comedy,
> And then he sups, and goes to bed again:
> Thus round he runs without variety."

"Gyls" was the restaurant or "ordinary," probably near St. Giles, Cripplegate. In choosing his "ordinary," Dekker, in his "Gull's Horn-book," written early in the next reign, recommends the gallant to seek that of the largest reckoning. A shilling dinner was a good one; the lawyer's was threepence.

Much time could be spent at the barber's—especially when long hair and love-locks came in fashion at the end of the reign. The cuts of beards were various, and the barber would ask: "Will you be trimmed to look fierce or pleasant?" Moustachios were curled up like two horns, if possible, to reach the forehead, the countenance was washed with sweetballs, and then—to Stubbes' regret—the barber refused to say what his charge was.† In dress, no change in general character distinguishes the end of the reign from the beginning; but the changes in detail continued unceasing.

Sports and games were not in vogue among Londoners as they were in the country; bowling, gambling, and dicing had in great measure supplanted them. Riding was the chief exercise, and archery was

Sports.

* Fairholt, "Tobacco: Its History and Associations."

† Stubbes, Part ii. 51.

still practised in London for exercise and amusement. As all men carried daggers and every fashionable man a rapier, fencing and sword-exercise were much taught. In 1565 the Queen issued a proclamation to limit and control the "schools of fence," in which "the multitude and the common people" were being taught "to play at all kinds of weapons," and the size of the rapier and dagger was regulated. To the end of the reign the streets were thronged with idle serving-men wearing their lord's badge, and ready to fight their lord's street-battles. A "good fellow," a "merry Greek," was always "a sinful, brawling, quarrelsome fighter."

The Streets.

Principal Streets.

The Regent Street of Elizabethan London was Cheapside—a fine, broad, paved street, containing, on its south side, the fine set of houses called Goldsmith's Row. Holborn was the Elizabethan Kensington, boasting of gardens and fresh air. A "church parade" was held every day in "Paul's Walk," the nave of St. Paul's Cathedral, a sanctuary for debtors. Here the fashionable tailor took his order, and jotted down the measurements behind a convenient pillar. Hither men went to display their clothes; and here the well-dressed man must have a care to the slide of his cloak from the shoulder, and, if its lining were rich, must mind he clutch it behind his back as if in a great rage. Another sanctuary for fraudulent debtors was Whitefriars or Alsatia, and here the outcasts of society congregated. There were many fashionable houses in the neighbourhood of Mark or Mart Lane (Fenchurch Street)—for instance, Sir Francis Walsingham's and one of Essex's houses in Seething Lane. Burghley's house was in the Strand, and there also was Leicester's, afterwards occupied by Essex.*

Shops.

Each trade occupied its own quarter of the town, and every shop had its own signboard. The haberdashers and mercers were in the fine houses on London Bridge—the only bridge. The grocers were in Bucklersbury; the butchers, tavern-keepers, and cooks in Eastcheap (where Falstaff's inn, the Boar's Head, stood). The actors' tavern, the Mermaid, was in Cheapside. The booksellers were in St. Paul's Churchyard. A number of good shops were placed

* Wheatley and Cunningham, "London, Past and Present."

in the upper storeys of the new Royal Exchange; but those on the ground floor proved a failure, as it was too dark. Most shops, except the goldsmiths', were still without glass windows; and, accordingly, little display was possible. The noise and dirt of the London streets were much complained of; the Thames, too, was dirty, and the smell acquired by clothes which had been washed in it was notorious. Familiar sights in London streets were the conduits of water flowing at the junction of thoroughfares, the water-carriers or "cobs" with their casks of water, selling to those who preferred not to go to the conduit for it, and in certain well-known places the apparatus for the punishment of criminals adorned the streets; on Cornhill were the stocks, pillory, and cage; by Thames-side the cucking-stools for scolds; and on London Bridge, in 1598, thirty traitors' heads were still fixed on one of the towers.

Riding and rowing were the ordinary means of transit. The fashionable gentleman never walked anywhere, lest his brilliant shoes should suffer. Davies writes:—

> "Faustus, nor lord, nor knight, nor wise, nor old,
> To every place about the town doth ride;
> He rides into the Fields plays to behold,
> He rides to take boat at the waterside,
> He rides to Paul's, he rides to th' Ordinary."

River Traffic.

Watermen were analogous in Elizabeth's time to the chairmen of a later date and to the cabmen of our time. The riverside was lined with landing-places, and, according to Harrison, 2,000 wherries were kept upon it, and 3,000 poor men maintained themselves by boating.

The Sights of London.

The sights in and round London which were most attractive to visitors were the monuments of Westminster and St. Paul's, which were explained by showmen, the view of London from the top of St. Paul's damaged steeple, on payment of one penny (and here Dekker recommends his "Gull" to carve his name in the leads), and also the armour and animals in the Tower. The primitive Zoological Gardens at the Tower contained, in 1598, three lionesses, one lion, a tiger, a lynx, a wolf, a porcupine, and an eagle, all kept in a remote place, "fitted up for the purpose with wooden

lattices at the Queen's expense."* Hampton Court and Windsor Castle were much visited. Those who cared for music went to evening prayer at St. Paul's, where a delightful organ was played and accompanied with other instruments. English choral singing was famous.

In the chapel of Windsor Castle the Duke of Würtemberg listened "for more than an hour to the beautiful music, the usual ceremonies, and the English sermon. The music, especially the organ, was exquisitely played, for at times you could hear the sound of cornets, flutes, then fifes and other instruments; and there was likewise a little boy who sang so sweetly amongst it all, and threw such a charm over the music with his little tongue, that it was really wonderful to listen to him." Fiddling in taverns, bands in theatres, and ballad-singing in the streets, provided music for the poor. The ballad-singer's auditory, "which hath at Temple Bar his standing chose, and to the vulgar sings an alehouse story," is described at length by Sir John Davies:

> "First stands a porter, then an oyster-wife
> Doth stint her cry and stays her steps to hear him;
> Then comes a cut-purse, ready with a knife"

to detach the tempting hanging-pocket everybody wore; and by him stands the constable, never thinking of the arrest he should be making. The English were reported by Hentzner in 1598 to be "vastly fond of great noises that fill the ear, such as the firing of cannon, drums, and the ringing of bells; so that in London it is common for a number of them, that have got a glass in their heads, to go into some belfry and ring the bells for hours together for the sake of exercise." At the tavern-suppers of the wealthy the favourite music was that of the cornet and sackbut.

London Life for Women.

The great duties of country women were good housewifery and hospitality, but in London hospitality was neglected. Men of all ranks dined at the ordinary and supped at the tavern, and in London, "where every man is for himself and no man for all,"† Harrison complains that men excuse their niggardliness on the ground of little room. "In reward of a

* Rye, p. 207. † Crowley, "Select Works," p. 11

fat capon, or plenty of beef and mutton largely bestowed upon them in the country," in London "a cup of wine or beer, with a napkin to wipe the lips, and an 'You are heartily welcome,' are thought to be a great entertainment." The marketing was left freely in the hands of the married women. Of them a Dutchman writes:—

"They are well dressed, fond of taking it easy, and commonly leave the care of household matters and drudgery to their servants. They sit before their doors, decked out in fine clothes, in order to see and be seen of the passers-by. In all banquets and feasts they are shown the greatest honour. They employ their time in walking and riding, in playing at cards, visiting their friends, making merry with them at child-births, christenings, churchings, and funerals; and all this with the permission and knowledge of their husbands, as such is the custom. This is why England is called the paradise of married women. The girls who are not yet married are kept much more rigorously and strictly than in the Low Countries." *

England was called the purgatory of servants and the hell of horses, because servants were treated with arrogance and horses were hard-worked. The paradise of married women was, perhaps, not entirely free from the note of monotony, and to vary the employments paradise provided, card-playing was much in vogue. Harrington † argues that men and women should be allowed to play cards, since men cannot be always conversing nor women always "pricking in clouts." The Queen had in her own life set an example of diligent application to study, which at the beginning of her reign was followed, but in 1587 Harrison distinguishes the "ancient" ladies of the Court "who shun idleness, who work or read the Scriptures, our own or foreign histories, write volumes of their own, or make translations into English or Latin," from the young "who apply their time to lutes, citherns, pricksong, and all kind of music for recreation's sake."

According to Stubbes, young unmarried women loved "to show coyness in gestures, mincedness in words and speeches, gingerliness in tripping on toes like young goats, demure nicety and babyishness," when they went out with their silk scarves "cast about their faces fluttering in the wind, or riding in their velvet visors, with two holes cut for the eyes." The passage calls to mind Hamlet's "God hath given you one face, and you make yourselves another; you jig, you amble,

* Rye, p. 72

† "Nugae Antiquae," I. p. 200.

and you lisp, and nickname God's creatures, and make your wantonness your ignorance." Much immorality resulted from the child-marriages which were common in fashionable life. The introduction of the use of masks in public places, which became general at the close of the reign, did not tend to improve the moral tone of the upper classes.

The Morals of Society.

The element of sham in Elizabethan society was large, but perhaps it was little more than superficial. Like the Queen's false hair and painted face, and like her lies and equivocations, they were shams that deluded no one. Harrington, the Queen's favourite godson, thus lashes the weaknesses of himself and his fellows—"We go brave in apparel that we may be taken for better men than we be, we use much bombastings and quiltings to seem better framed, better shouldered, smaller waisted, and fuller thighed than we are, we barb and shave oft to seem younger than we are, we use perfumes both inward and outward to seem sweeter, wear corked shoes to seem taller, use courteous salutations to seem kinder, lowly obeisance to seem humbler, and grave and godly communication to seem wiser and devouter than we be."*

It was a worldly age, an age that was, before all, practical—practical and worldly even in its views of religion. "I care not what you talk to me of God, so as I may have the prince and the laws of the realm on my side," said an Englishman who had lately returned from Italy. Perhaps his view was exceptional, for the proverb runs—"An Englishman Italianate is a devil incarnate." Though crowds went to hear sermons because to do so was fashionable, there were some who lamented that godlessness also was the fashion. There was plenty of spiritual allusion in conversation, even in Parliamentary debate, but on the whole, Elizabethan spirituality confined itself to words. It remained for the Puritan revolution to sweep away the outward signs of worldliness, the bombastings, quiltings, perfumes, and corked shoes, and to do what was possible to bring genuine religious feeling home to the heart of man.

* "Nugae Antiquae," I. p. 209.

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